

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Series D - No. 68

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT AND CULTIVATION:
ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES IN LANGUAGE PLANNING

by

Anton M. Moeliono

Translated by Kay Ikranagara

(MATERIALS IN LANGUAGES OF INDONESIA, No.30)

W.A.L. Stokhof, Series Editor



Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS is issued through the Linguistic
Circle of Canberra and consists of four series:

SERIES A - Occasional Papers
SERIES B - Monographs
SERIES C - Books
SERIES D - Special Publications

EDITOR: S.A. Wurm

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: D.C. Laycock, C.L. Voorhoeve, D.T. Tryon, T.E. Dutton

EDITORIAL ADVISERS:

B.W. Bender

University of Hawaii

David Bradley

La Trobe University

A. Capell

University of Sydney

Michael G. Clyne

Monash University

S.H. Elbert

University of Hawaii

K.J. Franklin

Summer Institute of Linguistics

W.W. Glover

Summer Institute of Linguistics

G.W. Grace

University of Hawaii

M.A.K. Halliday

University of Sydney

E. Haugen

Harvard University

A. Healey

Summer Institute of Linguistics

L.A. Hercus

Australian National University

Nguyễn Đăng Liêm

University of Hawaii

John Lynch

University of Papua New Guinea

K.A. McElhanon

Summer Institute of Linguistics

H.P. McKaughan

University of Hawaii

P. Mühlhäusler

Linacre College, Oxford

G.N. O'Grady

University of Victoria, B.C.

A.K. Pawley

University of Auckland

K.L. Pike

Summer Institute of Linguistics

E.C. Polomé

University of Texas

Malcolm Ross

Australian National University

Gillian Sankoff

University of Pennsylvania

W.A.L. Stokhof

University of Leiden

B.K. T'sou

City Polytechnic of Hong Kong

E.M. Uhlenbeck

University of Leiden

J.W.M. Verhaar

Divine Word Institute,

Madang

All correspondence concerning PACIFIC LINGUISTICS, including
orders and subscriptions, should be addressed to:

The Secretary
PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
The Australian National University
~~G.P.O. Box 4~~, Canberra, A.C.T. 2601
Australia

Copyright © The Author

First Published 1986

Typeset by Ling Matsay

Printed by A.N.U. Printing Service

Bound by Adriatic Bookbinders Pty Ltd

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for assistance in the
production of this series

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund

ISSN 0078-7566
ISBN 0 85883 332 8

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
EDITOR'S PREFACE	vi
PREFACE	vii
CHAPTER I: LANGUAGE PROBLEMS AND LANGUAGE PLANNING	1
1.1 Linguistics and language problems	1
1.2 Some definitions in the field of language planning	4
1.3 Alternative plans for treatment of language problems	9
CHAPTER II: LANGUAGE-DEVELOPMENT AND -CULTIVATION PROCESSES	10
2.1 Planning	11
2.2 Implementation	18
2.3 Evaluation	20
CHAPTER III: POLICY IN FUNCTIONAL ALLOCATION OF LANGUAGES	23
3.1 Sociolinguistic functions of language	23
3.2 State language, national language, and official language	25
3.3 Languages of wider communication	30
3.4 Languages for special purposes	30
4.5 Languages in education	32
4.6 Languages of culture	41
CHAPTER IV: DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE CODES	43
4.1 National development and language development	43
4.2 Codification	45
4.3 Diglossia and standard languages	49
4.4 Language standardisation	53
4.5 Differences between standard and sub-standard varieties	62
4.6 The degree of standardisation of Indonesian	66
4.7 Language modernisation	69
CHAPTER V: CULTIVATION OF LANGUAGE USE	76
5.1 Raising the level of functional literacy	77
5.2 Promoting the product of codification	79
5.3 Language cultivation	84
NOTES TO CHAPTER I	89
NOTES TO CHAPTER II	89
NOTES TO CHAPTER III	93
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV	101
NOTES TO CHAPTER V	103
BIBLIOGRAPHY	104

*For M - D - M
the three most important women
in my world*

EDITOR'S PREFACE

I am very happy to be able to welcome the publication of the English translation of Anton Moeliono's important book *Pengembangan dan pembinaan bahasa: ancangan alternatif di dalam perencanaan bahasa* Jakarta: Djambatan, 1985. (In English *Language development and cultivation: alternative approaches in language planning*). This book, which is a major contribution to questions of language planning, conceived of and compiled on the basis of the author's many years' extensive language planning in Indonesia, both from a theoretical and applied point of view, is a milestone in our understanding of language planning, in particular in situations as encountered in multilingual areas as characteristic of Indonesia and other parts of the western and south-western parts of the Greater Pacific Area.

While the author has had a very detailed knowledge and erudition in the relevant fields for many years, and has applied his knowledge in practical language situations for a considerable length of time, he has experienced difficulties in writing a comprehensive account of this field, because of the extreme pressure of his day-to-day duties. In the light of this, the Department of Linguistics in the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University, Canberra, was very happy to be able to offer Anton Moeliono a Visiting Fellowship in the department for four months in late 1980, so as to make it possible for him to be freed from the pressure of his duties and to concentrate on putting his vast knowledge and the fruits of his practical experience in language planning to paper, and to produce the manuscript of this very valuable book. The manuscript was produced in Indonesian, and Anton Moeliono presented a draft of each chapter in English at research seminars in the framework of the Department of Linguistics where they were the subject of scholarly discussion by the participants, and he also discussed the contents of the individual chapters in detail with senior members of the Department of Linguistics on a regular basis, in particular Tom Dutton, Don Laycock and Darrell Tryon. After four months of this work, the Indonesian manuscript was completed and afterwards submitted as a dissertation to the University of Indonesia, where it was accepted. After the publication of the Indonesian manuscript as a book in Indonesia, PACIFIC LINGUISTICS was chosen as the channel for the publication of the English Edition, which is distributed widely throughout the world as a number of this extensive linguistic series, so as to bring to the attention of scholars, and others concerned with questions of language planning, the fruits of the author's many years of extensive experience in this field of study in an area of great linguistic complexity like Indonesia.

S. A. Wurm

PREFACE

The Indonesian language has often been taken as an example of success in language planning, especially in its function as a national language. It cannot be denied that its place in the linguistic, social and political history of Indonesia has been very important. Bodenstedt (1967), for example, taking a sociological approach, has attempted to describe the relationship between the national language and the political movement which led to Indonesia's independence. Khaidir Anwar (1967) has dealt with problems related to the choice of Malay as the national language of unity in Indonesia, and the subsequent role of Indonesian as an official national language, from a sociolinguistic perspective. Historical and sociolinguistic aspects have also been emphasised by Husen Abas (1978), who studied the role of Indonesian as a unifying language in the intra-ethnic and intracultural networks of communication.

The similarity of this writer's study to the three theses above lies in its interest in language problems and how to solve them. The difference will appear in the approach which places these various problems in the framework of a theory of planning of developing languages. This study attempts to systematise the basic concepts in this theory, based on the practice of language cultivation and development in Indonesia to the present time. This study develops the framework of a new model, which, in the opinion of the writer, integrates various points of view on language planning into a more systematic whole. Although the writer does not wish to be accused of only tampering with terms currently used in the literature of language planning, it is felt to be necessary in this work, at the outset, to attempt to define limitations on meanings of terms which are sometimes used in conflicting ways.

In addition, writing in Indonesian*, the writer is faced with problems in expressing his thoughts in a scientific variety of language. Based on the belief that the development of science and of a scientific variety of language are interdependent, in this work a number of Indonesian terms will be found used perhaps for the first time to express concepts whose expression in English has already been agreed upon by sociolinguists. The writer also wishes to point out that toiling with the material discussed that had to be recorded in a language often regarded as underdeveloped, has been a creative process for him.

In the writing process, the writer has been much influenced by the ideas of Haugen, a pioneer in the theory of language planning, who through his works has coloured the interpretation of various topics in this study. The writer's thinking has also been enriched by the insights of Ferguson, Fishman, Rubin,

*The original version of this book is in Indonesian.

Neustupný, and Jernudd, who, both through personal conversations and through their works have been sources for whatever is valuable in this study. Naturally any divergencies from their opinions on language planning that the writer now adheres to, shall not be their responsibility.

A summary of several current language planning theories and the language planning problems with which they are concerned, such as the position of the national language, language standardisation, and inadequacies of language use are given in chapter I. Also in this chapter several alternative approaches are advanced to conflate the various theories into an integral system.

Chapter II takes the line that language planning consists of the basic activities for language development and language cultivation. The narrowing of the definition of language planning is deemed necessary since there are language problems whose solutions do not depend on planning, but on policy decisions. These policy decisions can serve as a starting point for language planning, which in its turn is followed by the phases of execution and evaluation in a series of processes. To the knowledge of the writer, the defining of these phases, with their limits sharpened and clarified, is a new approach, which has rarely been discussed systematically.

In chapter III, which is concerned with policy decisions, the functional allocation of languages is discussed and a language typology is presented which is based on the sociolinguistic roles of languages in multilingual societies.

Chapter IV, which deals with the development of language codes, discusses the problem from three perspectives: creation of a writing system, standardisation, and modernisation. Because the Centre for Language Cultivation and Development (Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa) concentrates on language standardisation in Indonesia today, a description of diglossia is also included which explains the paradox that Indonesian is considered easy to learn by some people while others put it in the category of languages whose rules are difficult to learn. The aspect of language modernisation is not considered a separate field which can be effected without planning.

The main subject discussed in the final chapter is the cultivation of language use. Together with the development of the language code it will become clear that if development efforts are successful they will make the native speaker aware that language has both an intrinsic function, as a system of reference connecting the world of concepts to verbal symbols, and also social functions, which are communicative, expressive, and integrative (Smith 1973). Although the communicative function is admittedly its primary social function, it is not the only function of language.

The books by Fishman and Cobarrubias (1983) and Eastman (1983) describing the latest advances in language planning had not been published yet when this manuscript was already completed so it was not possible to include them in this writer's discussion.

There are many people to whom I am indebted for the completion of this work, which was originally submitted as a dissertation to the University of Indonesia. Those who gave me moral support, those who provided me with invaluable advice and shared their knowledge with me, and those who provided the financial support and many facilities will always be remembered and thanked for. I feel particularly indebted to my promoters Professors Amran Halim, Harsya W. Bachtian and Stephen A. Wurm. To Dr Tom Dutton, Dr Don Laycock

and Dr Darrell Tryon, I would like to express my sincere gratitude for acting as advisors and friends during my four-month stay in Spring 1980 at the Australian National University, Canberra. Professors Koentjoroningrat, Harjati Soebadio, Ihromi, J.W.M. Verhaar, and Dr Eddy Masinambow for reading this manuscript and for their conscientious comments.

I am also very grateful to Dr Wim Stokhof, who actually did not want to be mentioned here, as my moral supporter and for editing this publication. My thanks also go to the authorities of the faculty, Professor Dr Mahar Mardjono, Professor Dr Sujudi, and Gondomono, S.S., M.A., for their help and the approval of my study leave.

Finally I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Ahmad Jayusman Alma E. Almanar, Ling Matsay, Lois Carrington and all the staff of the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, the Australian National University, for their technical help; to all my colleagues at the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia for their solidarity in temporarily sharing my teaching load; and to all the staff of Pusat Bahasa of the Department of Education and Culture whose attitude and work have been the sources of inspiration for the ideas included in the following exposition.

A.M.M.

CHAPTER I

LANGUAGE PROBLEMS AND LANGUAGE PLANNING

1.1 LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

1.1.1 Language problems

From the point of view of pure linguistics, multilingual language areas are a paradise for the researcher, especially when there are a large number of languages in the language community. It has been estimated for example that there are 300 languages in Indonesia, 200 Bantu languages in Africa, 550 languages in South America, and 100 languages in Russia. These languages should be described before they disappear, for languages are dying out faster than new ones appear. The speed with which languages are lost cannot always be measured in centuries, for languages with a small number of native speakers, for example five thousand speakers, can disappear in one or two generations. Many of these languages too do not have a written style. Thus for the addition of linguistic information and the development of linguistic theory, languages which have a small number of native speakers or which are used in areas isolated from wider communication should be recorded both in oral and written form.

Language variety is often the linguistic aspect of the ethnic and cultural variety of a society. If a society which is culturally varied is a political and geographic unity, language problems will arise. Many of the language problems in multilingual societies like Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore – just to mention four ASEAN countries – can basically be attributed to communication problems.

Populations which use many languages or dialects need a means of communication to allow all members of a single political society to socialise and work together.

The wave of nationalism and the formation of a new nation arouses aspirations for a national language as a symbol of national unity which can strengthen political loyalty. To work well what is needed is an official national language which can be used by the government for its communication with the people and by all the citizens who are members of the wider language network. Communication will be better if there is language uniformity to a certain extent. Such language uniformity will allow faster and more reliable communication. From the economic point of view, good communication can improve the level of production.

The level of success of the government development program does not only depend upon the wealth of manpower, the level of expertise or the capital available, but also — and perhaps primarily — on the people's understanding of the purpose of development. Without a sufficient understanding of the benefits of development, and its difficulties, there will be no motivation which can activate public participation. It seems that societal participation depends upon all the citizens understanding each other.

Determining the national language and the official state language raises a host of other language problems. Among them are the following. If the national language has many dialectal styles, which will be chosen as the norm over all the others? Among the many languages in a multilingual society, which can be used as a language of instruction at the various levels of education? These problems create a need for standardisation, textbooks in the language, and scientific terminology in various fields of knowledge.

The spread of the national language or the official state language is related to the fight against illiteracy, for in modern life many useful and profitable things are beyond the reach of those who cannot read and write, even if they can use the spoken national language to some extent.

Another language problem is how the language is to be spelled and pronounced. A uniform spelling system is useful because it decreases the possibility of misinterpretation. Does a language need uniform pronunciation? There are those who feel that pronunciation may differ as long as the differences do not impede communication, either objectively in terms of the content of the message, or subjectively, in terms of arousing feelings of amusement, scorn, or irritation in the listener. On the other hand there are those — particularly teachers — who desire that uniform pronunciation be attempted as soon as possible.

In general these language problems may be grouped into three categories: (1) problems related to the social function and position of the language; (2) problems related to the language code or system; and (3) problems related to the usage of the language by the members of the community.

It has long been known that languages change, and change in a regular way. The *Junggrammatiker* felt in fact that this change was on the one hand inexorable and on the other without exception. This deterministic attitude, adopted by some practitioners of pure linguistics, can be seen in their scepticism or professional resentment when the influence of planning on language change is suggested as a linguistic discipline suitable for study.

We may ask why language change should be influenced, particularly when we consider that such attempts are conceived and planned by a group of experts, while a language belongs to a society in general which perhaps does not want its language to change rapidly. This is discussed at length, for New Guinea Pidgin, in Mühlhäusler (1979).

As pointed out above, we can identify a number of language problems, including some of which the layman may be unaware. But people's statements that Indonesian, for example, is "immature because it is still growing", or that "one cannot express one's innermost feelings in Indonesian", or that "Indonesian graduates cannot write good reports" (Kawuluan 1980), all show that there is a feeling of dissatisfaction with Indonesian, in terms both of code and of usage. This feeling of dissatisfaction reflects the existence of a problem which needs to be overcome.

We can let the problems drag on in time until their solutions appear by themselves, or we can try to solve them so that the language changes in a more satisfactory direction in a shorter time, at not too great expense, and with optimal results.

The involvement of linguists in the activity of solving language problems, in general, may be considered an attempt to apply their knowledge, stimulated by their professional concern with helping to solve a set of human problems in the fields of communication and expression. Wurm, ed. (1977), for example, presents a number of articles by linguists on various language problems in Papua New Guinea.

1.1.2 Sociolinguistics and the solution of language problems

There are linguists who besides having an interest in language structure and its analysis, also have another interest: the study of the relationship between the linguistic repertoire on the one hand and the repertoire of roles in society on the other, within a language community. They have gained the insight that linguistic behaviour reflects social behaviour. As change in social behaviour can be influenced, so sociolinguists also believe that linguistic behaviour can be changed, or influenced. Therefore, language problems, which are linguistic behaviour which is considered inappropriate, can only be solved if all the constraints that operate on other kinds of social change are also applied to them. Rubin (1973) reminds us that the background of the society, the special characteristics of the language innovators, and the type of motivation which underlies the change, can influence the success or failure of the change.

Linguists, according to Haugen (1966a; 1972) can act in the process of language change and correction and can be responsible for efforts to overcome language problems as historians, descriptive linguists, theorists, and teachers.

As historians, linguists can follow the tracks of the history of the language they are investigating. Such studies can determine the continuity of the culture of the people speaking the language. Linguists can study the differences between original forms and borrowed forms. Their findings can form the basis for solutions of problems of borrowing in a language.

As descriptive linguists, linguists can prepare accurate descriptions of languages at the present time, either in their written or their spoken forms. The results of such work may appear in spelling guides, grammar books, style manuals, or rules for formation of terminology.

As theorists, linguists can give guidance to understanding the nature of language, and by applying their expertise in the technical field of language analysis, they can outline language programs. Their knowledge of the relationship between spoken and written styles allows them to predict what might happen if one, or both, are manipulated. They are aware of the importance of unity of structure for efficient communication and, at the same time, admit freedom for individual differences.

As teachers, their education in linguistics prepares them to deal with problems of teaching and language information. The linguists' experience can be helpful in evaluating the feasibility or necessity of a project.

In the opinion of the writer, the linguist can also act as a planner who not only records what has happened or is happening in a language but also gives direction to its development and information on effective and correct usage.

The differences between the approaches to language of the social function point of view and the structural point of view have given rise to the new branch of science called language planning. The following sections will describe in general how this concept has been understood and practised.

1.2 Some definitions in the field of language planning

1.2.1 Functional planning

What is really meant by language planning? The expression 'language planning' is used here as it was first used by Haugen (1959), who defined it as follows: "Language planning is the effort to guide language development in the direction desired by the planners. Planning is not merely predicting the future on the basis of what is known about the past, but is a directed effort to influence the future."¹ As examples of planning efforts he mentions the creation of normative spelling systems, and the compilation of grammars and dictionaries, as guides for speakers and writers in a nonhomogenous society. In his essay on the relationship of linguistics and language planning (1966a) he showed that normative linguistics could be considered a kind of management or manipulation of language which prefigured 'language planning'.²

The scope of the meaning of language planning in roughly the last twenty years has been quite wide, in terms of both the activities and the actors involved.

Summarised below are a number of important views which have been influential in the formation of the present theory of language planning. Ray (1961) felt that the purpose of language planning was limited to active recommendations on the best way to solve language problems. The result of language planning would depend on the existing network of social communications. Tauli (1964; 1968; 1974), who looks at language primarily as a means of communication, defines language planning as "the methodical activity of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common regional, national, or international languages." The job of the language planner, according to the latter writer, is to find ideal norms based on the principles of clarity, economy, and beauty. Haugen (1971) criticises this 'instrumentalism' because, in his opinion, language is more than merely a tool; among other things it is also an expression of the individual and a symbol of identity which is not completely subject to mathematical and logical laws. Any natural language measured by the standards of pure logic will show redundancy and ambiguity. What Ray and Tauli desire has long been attempted by good writers and speakers, but language planners must be aware that language cannot be reduced to a set of uniform formulae, such as may be achieved by mathematical and logical formulae.

Neustupný (1970) approaches language problems from another point of view. He starts from the inadequacies and inconsistencies of language. The first source of inconsistency stems from different styles of language in a society, the second from individual language usage. Two ways of dealing with both of these kinds of language problems are suggested: (1) the policy approach, and (2) the cultivation approach. The first approach deals with problems like the choice of national language, language standardisation, literacy, spelling, and

different language levels (the repertoire of language variation). This approach may be called macroscopic in nature. The second approach is characterised by primary attention to problems of correctness and efficiency in language use, problems of language style, and constraints on communication. This approach may be considered microscopic.

Neustupný (1968) also reminds us to pay attention in dealing with language problems to (1) the relationship between language code and expression; (2) the relationship between language code and other patterns of social behaviour; and (3) the relationship between verbal and nonverbal communication. Centring attention on the language code alone, without considering the patterns of expression and attitudes of the users of the language, will be defeating in the long run and will increase the danger that language planning will fail.

Neustupný's ideas stimulated other scholars interested in language planning, and we may see this development in their formulations of the nature of planning. Rubin and Jernudd (1971), for example, adopted the policy and cultivation approaches in their concept of language planning carried out by agencies especially created for that purpose or agencies which have been given the responsibility for attempting to change the system of pronunciation or language code or both. Kloss (1969) further differentiates between two dimensions in language planning, planning of languages and planning of the language corpus. The first type of planning concerns determining the position of a language and its relationship to other languages. The second type of planning includes spelling change and creating terminology. Garvin (1973) in his analysis of the concept of language planning expressed the opinion that in planning, two matters should be differentiated: (1) the choice of a particular language for the purpose for which it is planned; for example, as a national language, or official language, involving many extralinguistic factors; and (2) the development of a language, particularly to raise the level of literacy, and efforts for standardisation. Gorman (1973) similarly differentiates language planning from language allocation. The latter is concerned with language policy and is an aspect of language regulation. Language allocation is a decision by those in authority to maintain, extend or limit the extent of use of a language in a particular situation. For Gorman, language planning is a coordinated action taken to select, codify, and sometimes also develop aspects of spelling, grammar, or lexicon, and to spread the approved forms to the public.

1.2.2 Planning as a process

The descriptions of language planning above show the attention scholars have paid to the language code which has to be changed and to the products of this change. In addition, language planning can also be considered from the perspective of the process of change.

Haugen (1966a, 1969) suggests that language planning begins with knowledge of the language situation. Then an action program is prepared including targets, policy decisions on how to reach the targets, and procedures to carry out the program. Finally there is evaluation both of the policies and of the results of the actions. Such procedures can be divided into four types.

If the target concerns language form, that is, the complex structure of language, the first actions to be taken are (1) the choice and determination of norms, implemented by (2) codification of the norms, that is, explicit (written)

explanations of those norms. If the target is concerned with language functions, that is the varieties of language use intended for the planned language form, the first action is (3) the elaboration of its functions so that the language can be used, for example in the fields of science, fantasy, and spiritual life. The next step is (4) the active extension of the suggested norms so that they are accepted by the target population.

Table 1: Language planning procedure (Haugen)		
	Initial step	Implementation
Language forms	1. choice of language norms	2. codification of language norms
Language function	3. elaboration of some functions of the language	4. spread of language norms and acceptance by target population

Fishman et al (1971) in an outline of research for comparative study of language planning suggests that the planning process as an example of social change includes a number of basic principles and procedures. The process is divided into four sub-parts: (1) policy formulation, (2) codification, (3) elaboration, and (4) implementation.

Policy formulation deals with decisions taken by formal bodies, to do with (1) functional allocation of the language codes of the society, and/or (2) special characteristics of one or more codes in the linguistic repertoire of the society. Codification refers to the standardisation of language variation (regional, social, group) compiling of which comes about with the official grammar books, dictionaries, spelling guides, etc. Elaboration is concerned with raising the level of intertranslatability with other languages which already have widely varying functions. Products of elaboration are word or terminology lists, or dictionaries of terminology needed in particular fields of science or the professions. Implementation includes all activities directed toward seeing that the policy decisions and outcomes of planning efforts are generally accepted.

If Neustupný's (1970) theory is interpreted from the perspective of Haugen's (1966a, 1969) and Fishman's points of view as described above, we may note the following. For language problems to do with choice of language code, planning is concerned with the formation of official policy. For problems having to do with efforts to stabilise the code selected, planning involves codification by means of grammars, dictionaries, etc. For problems concerned with increasing the varieties available to the language for new functions, planning includes elaboration efforts, such as extension of vocabulary, the terminology system, etc. Finally for problems concerning the desire to differentiate language styles from each other more clearly, planning efforts attempt cultivation by means of preparation of style manuals, essay competitions, and literature for various public groups (Fishman 1972:56). The realisation of plans for all four types of problems falls into the stage of implementation.

Jernudd (1973), who was involved in formulating this framework with Fishman, Das Gupta and Rubin, then suggested that this scheme be simplified. He prefers to use the term 'language determination' in place of 'policy formulation', and places codification and elaboration under what he terms 'language development'.

In this connection, Jernudd and Das Gupta's (1971:196) article is of interest. It considers language planning as a political and administrative process which involves a set of decisions on the national level aimed at the solution of language problems in the society. The planning process from the perspective of making these ideal decisions is as follows: "The broadest authorisation for planning is obtained from the politicians. A body of experts is then specifically delegated the task of preparing a plan. In preparing this, the experts ideally estimate existing resources and forecast potential utilisation of such resources in terms of developmental targets. Once targets are agreed upon, a strategy of action is prepared. These actions are authorised in its turn by the planning executive. The implementation of the tasks may be evaluated periodically by the planners. In these ideal processes, a planning agency is charged with the overall guidance."³

In the most recent development of the concept of language planning, Das Gupta and Ferguson (1977) find it is necessary to differentiate between plan-making and planning. Plan-making for them is limited to the setting of goals, analysis of optimal results, investigation of the feasibility of realising goals, and evaluation of the effectiveness of the implementation of the program. In this work, which reports on a language planning research project in Indonesia, Israel, India, and Sweden from 1969 to 1972, four aspects of planning which were investigated are brought out, that is, the indicative aspect, the regulative aspect, the productive aspect, and the promotional aspect. The indicative aspect involves guidance of the language situation from the perspective of the need for social development and identifying areas needing change. The regulative aspect has to do with the need for action on the part of the responsible parties in the form of formal regulation accompanied by sanctions, to advance the types of language use needed in particular fields. The productive aspect involves the development of ability in a language so that new demands can be met in the fields which are the target of planning. The promotional aspect, for the success of planning, is the effort to promote new products and standards in target populations such as a government, education, the mass media, and the business world.

In brief, it may be concluded that language planning, like planning in other areas such as in development economics, has as its goal achieving a level of development, in one or two generations, which took hundreds of years in other language communities. Language planning looks farther ahead than descriptive linguistics because within it are included plans leading to language development in directions chosen by the planners. That is, this endeavour does not only predict language changes which will take place, but attempts to influence those changes.

1.2.3 Varying terminology

Although the term *language planning* was first used in 1959, such activities had long been carried on in a number of areas. It was given various names and its scope was not always the same. Sometimes such activities were given no

specific name, as in Indonesia in the period of the Japanese occupation, when there was an Indonesian Language Commission, and Alisjahbana published the magazine *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia* (1948). When Alisjahbana wrote in English, the term he preferred was *language engineering* (1961, 1962, 1970c, 1971a, 1971b) which he considered more appropriate than *language planning* which was too narrow in meaning. Alisjahbana's goal was the development of well-regulated language in the wider contexts of social, cultural, and technological change based on careful planning. Problems of *language engineering* which Alisjahbana considered important in 1967 were (1) standardisation, (2) modernisation, and (3) materials such as textbooks and reading materials.

Miller (1950) included in *language engineering* the creation of an international language for flight communications, spelling system change, special vocabulary development, and translation. Springer (1956) interpreted *language engineering* as creating orthographies and standardisation of languages not yet fully standardised.

Hall (1951) in his paper on the language situation in Haiti used the term *glottopolitics* to refer to applications of linguistics to government policy to determine the most appropriate communicative facilities. The survey included language choice, spelling system, and teaching method.

There is also the term *language reform* which was used by Heyd (1954) and Gallagher (1971) who wrote about language reform in Turkey. The same term was used by DeFrancis (1950) and Serruys (1962) in writing about Chinese language reform and the illiteracy campaign there.

In the literature in English we sometimes find the terms language development and language planning used interchangeably. For example Noss (1967) in his paper on the language situation in East Asia, concerning the interaction between language and higher education, considers the primary purpose of language development to be the extension of technical vocabulary for science. Similarly, Ferguson (1968) divides language development activities into three types: (1) creation of orthographies, (2) standardisation, and (3) modernisation.

Looking at the outline of development of the concept of language planning in the last twenty years, it appears that there is not complete agreement on the part of the experts on the scope of the meaning and the activities to be included under language planning. If it is true that language planning is only one way of acting on language problems (Rubin 1973) and if it is true that language planning cannot be applied, for example, to choice of national language or formal state language (Garvin 1973 and Gorman 1973) because such political decisions only consider two possibilities: acceptance or rejection, then it is time to put language planning in the network of human behaviour towards language and determine its relationship to other concepts such as policy formulation, language cultivation, language development, and language standardisation.

1.3 ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES FOR TREATMENT OF LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

In the following sections I will propose alternative approaches for systematising treatment of language problems. These approaches describe alternative syntheses of the views of the experts discussed above and are also influenced by the experience of the writer during the last twenty years in Indonesia in the fields of language development and cultivation.

We can distinguish three approaches to language problems. The first is the language policy approach, the second the development approach, and the third is the cultivation approach.

1. *Language policy*, sometimes called language politics (Hall 1951; Slametmuljana 1959; Halim 1976a), is concerned with the determination of the positions of languages and their sociolinguistic functions.
2. *Language development* concerns the development of language codes. It includes creating orthographies for unwritten languages, language standardisation, and language modernisation.
3. *Language cultivation* has as its purpose increasing the number of speakers of a language and their standard of usage by spreading the results of standardisation and information and guidance.

1.4 LANGUAGE PLANNING

Language planning in this scheme is not fully applicable to the language policy approach: for example, the determination of the positions and sociolinguistic functions of languages rarely depends upon language planning, but more often upon political considerations, social and cultural factors, and economics. The decision to accept English as the formal language or Arabic as the language of religion in a society does not involve planning in the usual sense. On the other hand, if the government wishes to set language policy to determine the language of instruction in the schools, planning may be applicable. For example, it may be applicable to doing a sociolinguistic profile or to research on implementation: manpower, costs, teaching materials, and steps in enforcement. These may be considered elements of planning. If a language has already been accepted as the national language and it must fulfill new functions, so that there is a gap in the language system, then the development approach is applicable. Further, if the use of the national language needs to be spread over a wider area or if the use of the national language proved to be unsatisfactory both by individuals and a particular segment of the population, so that inadequacies both among individuals and societal groups can be felt, then the language cultivation approach is applicable.

Thus language planning can only be fully applied to the development and cultivation approaches. When planning is applied (because we also see efforts at language development and cultivation without good planning) it is at the beginning of these two approaches. Application and evaluation of the development and cultivation programs are not here considered part of language planning.

Planning in this limited meaning is closer to what is understood by planning in the fields of economics and management. Of course language planners can also function in the implementation stage in writing grammars or style manuals and in the evaluation stage in analysing feedback data, but in these functions they do not act as planners. Implementation and evaluation can also be performed by experts who are not planners.

The term *plan-making* is used here to refer to the expression of planning in written or printed forms called *plans* (but see Asmah Haji Omar 1978).

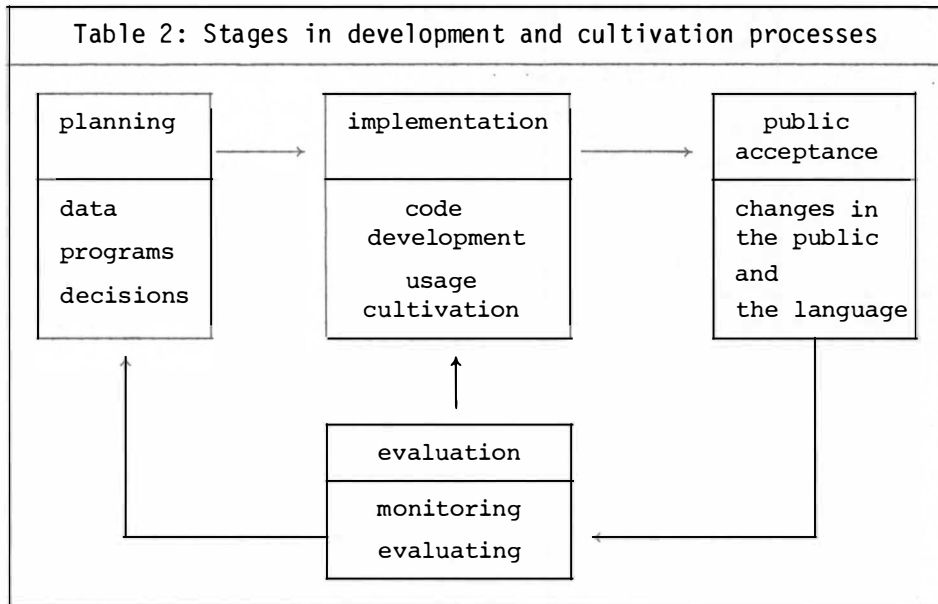
Problems of language planning which are the bases of language development and language cultivation will be discussed further in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II

LANGUAGE-DEVELOPMENT AND -CULTIVATION PROCESSES

When the formal elements of planning are applied to the processes of language development and cultivation, three stages can be differentiated: (1) planning, (2) implementation, and (3) evaluation. Although we can clearly differentiate these stages by type of activity, in reality they often overlap in time or are carried out at the same time. For example, we cannot wait for all decisions to be final on norms of standard grammar, or the standardisation of terminology in all branches of science, before wider implementation. Moreover, in the evaluation stage it may appear that results of codification or dissemination are not acceptable or do not successfully reach their target populations, and such feedback can be directly processed into designing new plans or making the necessary adjustments.

Thus these processes and three stages should be seen as overlapping and repeating cycles. However, for clarity of presentation, the three stages will be discussed in the order above. The following table illustrates interrelationships among the stages.



2.1 PLANNING

Language planning can be considered from several different points of view. We can ask (1) who does the planning; we can ask (2) what or (3) who is the target of the planning; we can ask (4) how the planning takes place, and (5) what the requirements are for the planning to be relatively successful. These five aspects will be discussed in the following sections on language planners, program planning, and decision making.

2.1.1 Language planners

The language planners may be the members of a formal government body which is assigned to develop the language and its usage, or may be a non-governmental group or individuals who are active in planning language development and cultivation. In Malaysia and Brunei, for example, there are the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* (Language and Literature Boards), which were founded in 1959¹ and 1962 respectively (Alisjahbana 1970c, 1971a, 1971b, 1974; Asmah 1975, 1979a). In Singapore the *Lembaga Bahasa Melayu* (Malayan Language Agency) was founded in 1950 (Alisjahbana 1970a). In the Philippines the *Surian ng Wikang Pambansa* (National Language Agency)² was founded in 1936 (Aspillera 1970, Yabes 1970, Sibayan 1974). In Japan the official translation agency was founded in 1811, the *Kokugo Shingikai* (National Language Board) in 1934 and the *Kokuritsu Kokugokenkyoso* (National Language Research Committee) in 1948 (Moriguchi 1970). In China we may mention the *Gwo-li byan-yi gwan* (Agency for Formulation of Technical and Scientific Vocabulary and Translation) which was founded in 1932, and which subsequently was moved to Taiwan (Barnes 1973), and the *Research Committee on Revision of Written Chinese* in 1952 (Tsang 1970; DeFrancis 1977) under Mao Zhe-dung. In Tanzania, the Government founded the *National Swahili Language Board* in 1967 (Whiteley 1974).

In Europe formal and semi-formal agencies had appeared by the 16th century. The *Accademia della Crusca*, founded in Firenze in 1582 for Italian, was the model for the *Académie Française* founded by Richelieu in 1635 (Robertson 1910, quoted by Haugen). Then a number of similar academies were founded in other European countries: in Spain the *Real Academia Española* in 1713 (Guitarte and Quintero 1974), in Hungary in 1830. In Sweden the *Svenska Akademien* (Swedish Academy) was founded in 1786 and then in 1944 the *Nämnden för svensk språkvård* (Committee for Cultivation of the Swedish Language), which became the *Svenska Språknämnden* (Swedish Language Commission) in 1974. In Norway the *Norsk Språknämnd* (Norwegian Language Commission), founded in 1954, was renamed the *Norsk Språkråd* (Norwegian Language Board) in 1971. Denmark has had the *Dansk Sprognaevn* (Danish Language Commission) since 1955 (Molde 1975).

In England although the foundation of such an academy was supported by such writers as Milton, Dryden, Defoe, and Swift, none was founded, as the English did not want to imitate the French (Flasdieck 1928, quoted by Haugen).

In Latin America, the Spanish academy became a model for a number of republics which had Spanish as their national language. For example, we may note the founding of academies in Columbia (1871), Mexico (1875), Ecuador (1875), El Salvador (1880), Venezuela (1881), Chile (1886), Peru (1887), and Guatemala (1888) (Guitarte and Quintero 1974).

In Indonesian the Dutch Government founded the *Commissie voor de Volkslectuur*³ in 1908, which became *Balai Poestaka* (Literature Office) in 1917,

and which by virtue of the publication of its magazines *Sari Poestaka* (The Extract of Literature), *Pandji Poestaka* (Guide to Literature), and *Kedjawen* (Javanism), may be considered a language planning and developing body. In 1942 the Japanese army of occupation in Java and Sumatra formed two Indonesian Language commissions,⁴ one in Jakarta and one in Medan, to develop the Indonesian Language by formulating scientific terminology, new grammar, and new loan words. After the Proclamation of Independence, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia formed the *Panitia Pekeraja Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian Language Working Committee)⁵ in 1947 to develop terminology, prepare school grammars and compile a new dictionary for teaching Indonesian in the schools. In 1948 the Government replaced it with the *Balai Bahasa* (Language Office),⁶ a branch of the Ministry of Education and Culture, located in Yogyakarta. The Balai Bahasa's functions were wide-ranging. It was to study Indonesian and all the languages of Indonesia, in their spoken and written forms, and their old and new forms. In addition, the Balai Bahasa was to offer evaluation, instruction, and guidance to the public on matters concerning Indonesian and the other languages of Indonesia (Supra and Lake, 1974). They began to publish the magazine *Medan Bahasa* (The Field of Language) in 1951.

In 1950 the *Komisi Istilah* (Terminology Commission)⁷ was formed. A year later it was incorporated into the Balai Bahasa, and the Balai Bahasa (including the terminology committee) was united with the *Lembaga Penyelidikan Bahasa dan Kebudayaan* (Agency for Research on Language and Culture)⁸ of the Fakultas Sastra (College of Letters and Science) of the University of Indonesia, Jakarta, 1952. The united agency was called the *Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya* (Agency for Language and Culture)⁹ until 1959, when it was separated from the University of Indonesia and made an autonomous body under the name *Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan* (Agency for Language and Literature).¹⁰ Following the political disturbances of 1965, the rearrangement of government agencies under the New Order placed the agency within the Department of Education and Culture. Near the end of 1965, the Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan was incorporated into the Directorate General of Culture with the status of a directorate.¹¹

In 1969 the *Direktorat Bahasa dan Kesusastraan* changed its name and status again. It became the *Lembaga Bahasa Nasional* (National Language Agency)¹² with the function of studying and developing Indonesian and the regional languages of Indonesia, as well as their literatures, and the development of the teaching of foreign languages and translation.

Finally, on April 1 1975, as part of a program to improve the structure of government departments, the Lembaga Bahasa Nasional became the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (Language Cultivation and Development Centre).¹³ As a formulator of policy in the field of language research and development this agency is directly responsible to the Minister of Education and Culture, but it is administratively responsible to the Director General of Culture.

The functions of the *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* are like those of the *Lembaga Bahasa Nasional*, and can be outlined as follows: (1) research (in the fields of language and literature) on Indonesian and regional languages of Indonesia including the compiling of dictionaries and terminology formulation; (2) controlling language and literature cultivation and development activities; (3) research (in the areas of language and literature teaching) on Indonesian, regional languages, and foreign languages taught in Indonesia; (4) studying the results of language and literature cultivation and development activities (Maman Sumantri et al 1978). Through the magazines

Bahasa dan Sastra (Language and Literature) and *Pengajaran Bahasa dan Sastra* (Language and Literature Teaching), both published from 1974, the Language Centre attempted to disseminate its ideas on language development and teaching.

There are various non-governmental bodies or organisations which can be described as planners of language cultivation and development. First there are the armed forces, which maintain that failures of communication can be fatal so that they must think of uniform systems of command, nomenclature, and terminology in weaponry and logistics. Then there are legal bodies which must interpret the law for the protection of the rights of citizens. The legal languages codified in the new nations of Asia and Africa are not always the national languages of those countries. Thus it may happen that courts of justice feel it necessary to plan changes in the language code as part of the legal process. A third group consists of religious organisations which need translations of their sacred books for their work. If the members of these organisations work among peoples who have spoken languages only, they must create orthographies and spelling systems for the languages.¹⁴ A fourth group consists of publishers who need guides to writing style for the authors who submit manuscripts to them.¹⁵ A fifth group consists of professional organisations which need terminologies for specialised concepts in their fields.

The relationships among such groups are not always the same. Sometimes, as in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Sweden, there is regular cooperation between the professionals and scientists, and the language development and cultivation agencies in the area of terminology formulation. Sometimes there is simply consultation, as in the Netherlands and Belgium in the field of spelling (Geerts et al 1977).

Finally, we must note language planners who by intuition, create practical theories of language or influence the direction of language development, because of their love of languages, or their concern for the importance of the role played by some languages, or the needs of their professions. Ivar Aasen is such a figure: the author of a Norwegian grammar in 1864 and a Norwegian dictionary in 1873 (Haugen 1969). Samuel Johnson completed his dictionary of British English in 1755, and Noah Webster published his dictionary in America in 1828.¹⁶ Eliezer Ben Yehuda, who inspired the revival of the Hebrew language planned the realisation of that dream (Fellman 1974). Malaysia had Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad, better known by his acronym Za'ba, who compiled a Malay grammar and spelling guide (1926, 1928, 1931, 1949), Wilkinson who published a dictionary and spelling guide (1901, 1904, 1919, 1932), and Windstedt who wrote a grammar and dictionary (1913a, 1913b, 1916, 1920, 1952, 1953, 1958, 1960).

Among the important figures in this field in Indonesia, we may select for special mention Van Ophuijsen, Poerwadarminta and Takdir Alisjahbana, whose works had great influence on the development of Malay and Indonesian.

Van Ophuijsen, a Malay School Inspector in Sumatra, prepared spelling guides for Malay in both Arabic and Latin writing systems, which were published in 1882 and 1902.¹⁷ In addition, he published in 1901 the *Kitab Logat Melajoe*, a word list according to his standard spelling system. His grammar, published in 1910, was an important instrument of standardisation of Malay structure, as, due to its influence in Dutch educational circles, it became a frequently used reference work. Alisjahbana (1974) notes in particular that the teachers from the Sekolah Raja (King's School) at Fort de Kock (Bukittinggi) taught throughout the Dutch East Indies, and they taught Malay as they learned it in school from Van Ophuijsen's book.

Poerwadarminta, a self-taught scholar who also knew Javanese and Japanese, compiled an Indonesian language dictionary. It included elements from classical Malay literature and the language of literature from the twenties to the middle of this century, borrowings from other languages and dialectal forms.¹⁹ Because he distrusted the work of the Komisi Istilah, almost none of the scientific terms created by the commission were included.¹⁹ Six editions of his dictionary were published in the twenty-year period after the first edition in 1952. Poerwadarminta's dictionary was a model for the dictionary published by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Malaysia in 1970.²⁰ In addition we should note two of his other works: *ABC karang-mengarang* (The ABCs of composition) and *Bahasa Indonesia untuk karang-mengarang* (Indonesian for composition) which were pioneering works on the development of functional style in language.

The single most important figure in the planning, development, and cultivation of the Indonesian language has been Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana. His idealistic philosophy together with his love for language and keen sense of enterprise, have made him the foremost developer of Indonesian language and literature. Through the magazines *Poedjanga Baroe* (New Writers)²¹ and *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia* (Builders of Indonesian)²² first published in 1933 and 1948 respectively by Pustaka Rakyat, his own publishing house, Alisjahbana developed language and literature and provided guidance to correct language usage for teachers. His book *Tatabahasa baru Indonesia* (New Indonesian grammar), published in two small volumes in 1949 and 1950 and repeatedly reprinted²³ was meant as a reference for elementary and secondary school teachers rather than a book of language lessons with exercises and problems to improve language usage. He wrote dozens of essays on the development and modernisation of languages. He published a terminology dictionary in two volumes in 1946 and 1947 which were the results of the work of the Komisi Bahasa Indonesia. In addition to all of the above, Alisjahbana compiled the reader *Pelangi* (Rainbow) in four volumes, and the anthologies *Puisi lama* (Early poetry) and *Puisi baru* (New Poetry) for secondary school students.

Having completed this brief discussion of planning agencies and important figures in language development, in the following sections I will outline important aspects of programs of language planning activities. Without attempting to be exhaustive, the following subjects will be discussed: (1) the targets of planning, (2) problems of policy in implementation, (3) the making of alternative plans and strategies, (4) problems of decision making.

2.1.2 The targets of planning

In the most general sense there are two types of targets to be considered in language planning: aspects of the language to be developed, and target populations to be reached with the suggestions and standards proposed.

In terms of aspects of the language to be developed, our targets may be of several types. We can plan the development of the language code in the areas of orthography, spelling, terminology or discourse style development. We can also plan the cultivation of language usage in the areas of language information services and teaching. Finally we can plan the revival of a language, as was done in Ireland (Macnamara 1971) and Israel (Heyd 1954, Gallagher 1971, and Fellman 1974)²⁴.

Turning to target populations, planning can be directed toward native speakers or non-native speakers, to school children or adults, to teachers

at various levels of the educational system, to mass media communicators, to populations in industry, trade, publishing and libraries, and to writers. Decisions about aspects of the language code and target populations to be dealt with will affect whether plans are short or long term. For example, spelling systems can be completed within a few years, grammar and vocabulary take longer periods of time, while development of scientific terminology may go on for an unlimited period of time. Therefore, for the results of standardisation to reach their targets, plans must be organised in accordance with careful classification of the aspects of the field they will deal with (Moeliono 1978).

The planning of the amount of time to be expended on particular processes also depends upon the availability of funds for the three stages of language development and cultivation.

If the language planning agency functions in the context of national development and is responsible for close cooperation with other government institutions, language planning may have in addition other dimensions, such as planning language teaching curriculum, preparing language textbooks, training new language teachers, or in-service training of language teachers to teach the results of the new codification in the schools.

2.1.3 Policy in implementation

Before policy for the implementation stage can be determined, a number of political, social, economic and educational factors must be known.

Language planning and implementation on the national level must have governmental and parliamentary support. If, for example, the development and spread of a national language to all levels of society can weaken strong regional feelings in a multilingual society, a government which seeks centralisation will give the plan full support. In Papua New Guinea, for example, decentralisation means that regional governments are very important. A lingua franca of the northern part, Tok Pisin, might have become the only national language, but it met with competition from Hiri Motu, another lingua franca used in Papua, in the south.²⁶ When in 1966 the campaign for the new Indonesian spelling system was introduced by the Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan, the Indonesian parliament did not consider it a matter of high priority. Among other things, the political situation at that time prevented an agreement between Indonesia and Malaysia on a common spelling system, because there were factions which felt that such an agreement would be counter to the political doctrine of 'confrontation' which had been directed toward Malaysia for several years.

The social situation also determines whether the implementation of language planning will succeed or not. If values change and attitudes about security, for example, weaken; or if a people lack achievement orientation and pride in their work (Koentjaraningrat 1974), or if adherence to principle is not firm and is easily shaken; or if they can only be motivated by financial gain; such values, aspirations and motivations will be reflected in individual and societal attitudes toward the development of the language code and disciplined and careful language usage. Therefore language planning should be based on a knowledge of society's values, attitudes toward the language to be developed and cultivated, and rewards which might encourage people to accept the results of codification and use them in their daily life.

The economic situation, in terms of different social classes, differences between easily accessible and isolated groups, and differences between mobile and static populations, will influence the speed of the implementation stage of language planning. For example, it may not be easy for those who live in isolated areas, or who cannot afford to buy reference books, to achieve a high level of competence in a standard language (Sibayan 1978).

Plans are also shaped by levels of education and literacy. In fact, at times the first priority must be to create orthographies for languages which occur in multilingual societies with only spoken languages. Moreover, planning national languages in societies with varying cultural backgrounds and levels of literacy must take into account the choice between written and spoken varieties. Although language standardisation is primarily oriented toward written varieties, language cultivation in the sense of enlarging the area of use of a language involves both the written and spoken varieties.

The levels of education available, whether elementary, secondary, or advanced, are another variable to be taken into account in making up a plan for development. For example, if most of the population end their formal educational careers at the elementary or secondary levels, then the preparation of a student dictionary is of higher priority than an etymological dictionary or encyclopedia.

The importance of sociolinguistic surveys to collect data for language planning cannot be doubted. Ferguson (1966) and Abdulaziz (1975) give general overviews of methodology, implementation, and evaluation of such surveys. Abdulaziz emphasizes that the purpose of such a survey should be specified clearly and in detail and that a system of checks should be put into operation. He also suggests that in planning and processing a large scale survey local people should be involved as much as possible. This is especially true if the survey is meant to influence decisions which have to do with government policy. All the officials in such a case should be involved in the process of setting goals, seeking funds, and finding personnel. Ohannessian (1975) wrote an extremely useful report on the conference in Washington D.C. in 1971 which discussed various aspects of sociolinguistics. Census data, according to Lieberson (1966) can supply valuable material because its scope, both geographical and historical, is much wider than that which can be achieved by a single researcher. It is regrettable that in the 1971 census in Indonesia, information concerning regional languages was not included. Information on the number of native speakers of regional languages and their geographical distributions is useful in selecting languages of instruction for the schools. Stewart (1968) offers a sociolinguistic typology which gives profiles of multilingual societies in terms of language types and functions in the society. Mackey (1969) and Ferguson (1966, 1977) offer similar profiles, which are also applied to Indonesia.

Some surveys are described below as case studies. In 1967 a survey of language use and language teaching was carried out in some East African countries: Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, and Tanzania (*The Linguistic Reporter* 1967). Otanes and Sibayan (1969) surveyed language use of heads of households and teachers in the Philippines. At that time it appeared that Philippine regional languages were most often used in teaching, while English was the dominant language for reading. Pilipino (Tagalog) still played a minor role as a medium of instruction and as a means of self-expression. Halim and Latief (1973) described the sociolinguistic situation in Indonesia, and Latief (1979) reported the results of an interesting survey on foreign language teaching in Indonesia. Khubchandani (1974) found that in North-Central

India, Hindi and Urdu were considered two separate languages – although they are variants of the same language code – because of religious differences between their speakers. Harrison, Prator and Tucker (1975) studied the role of English in Jordan by doing a survey in the schools. With their respondent population weighted toward the educated, their results showed that the Arab population there needed to learn English.

Based on identification of language problems and analysis of sociolinguistic data such as that described above, policy for language cultivation and development can be determined.

2.1.4 Alternative plans and strategies

After determining general policy outlines, various concrete alternative plans can be formulated, with specification of their targets in terms of aspects of the language code and target populations. (See the section on *The targets of planning* above.) In addition to the components of time, manpower, and funds, which must be taken into consideration, there is another important component: strategy. The strategy determines the order of the activities which will guarantee, or at least predict, that at each step in the implementation, the purpose of the planning is achieved. The strategy also determines the means and the best channels to disseminate the results of planning to the target populations. Examples of means are printed matter, posters, reports on activities, language campaigns, informational lectures, and workshops. Examples of channels are schools; mass media: especially newspapers, radio and television; publishers' organisations, and bookstores. Finally the strategy determines the selection among various possible activities designed to persuade the public to accept and use the outcome of planning. Examples of activities are competitions for awards, promotion, and sanctions. In Malaysia, for example, since Malaysian has become the only official language, official letters to government employees written in English will not be handled or answered directly.

When the plans and strategies have been set out, then decisions are made on which of the available alternatives will be selected.

2.1.5 Decision making

The aspects of decision making which we will discuss here are authority and the requirements of decisions which involve setting language norms. Other aspects which might be dealt with in social science will not be considered here.

The first matter to be discussed is the source of the authority of the language planning agency. If the agency is formed on the basis of law, as in the case of the Philippine National Language Agency²⁷ in 1936 (Aspillera 1970), or the Arab Language Academy in Jordan in 1976 (Ibrahim 1979), in theory the decisions of the agency are binding. In Indonesia it was long public opinion that the position of agencies like the Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan and the Lembaga Bahasa Nasional were not in accordance with their responsibilities. Their decisions were not even always considered to apply in all the institutions under the Department of Education and Culture, such as educational bodies and publishing houses.

Of course it must be acknowledged that authority alone does not guarantee that the public will follow the rules of codification of the language planning

and cultivating agency. Authority must be accompanied by the power which comes from a positive reaction to the products and suggestions offered. This power may be said to be more important than authority in developing and cultivating language because it is impossible to sanction all deviations from the language rules and teachings.

For decisions concerning language problems to be successful, Haugen (1966a) suggests three criteria: efficiency, adequacy, and acceptability. A decision is efficient if the rule it creates is easy to learn and easy to use. A decision is adequate if the forms regulated by the language norms can correctly convey the information required by the user. Finally the decision is acceptable if the opinion leaders in the community agree to aid and support its use. The opinion leaders may be characterised by power, education, birth or wealth. Whoever the leaders are, they are considered to be appropriate models because of their power. Others will imitate the selected language form so as to be considered part of that group. Since, for example, in his speeches President Suharto has been using the word *kesinambungan* *continuity*, suggested by the Spelling Committee of the Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan in 1966, that form has gradually replaced the form *kontinuitas*.

The three criteria cannot always be applied simultaneously because, as pointed out by Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971), a theory which is adequate from the linguistic point of view could be impossible to implement because of obstacles to acceptability in the language community. Such obstacles might be overcome with sufficient time and effort, but such a decision could not then be called efficient. Thus in practice decision making often involves much compromise. Finally it should be pointed out that possibly the most efficient and acceptable decision would be not to change anything.

2.2 IMPLEMENTATION

Implementation includes all activities necessary for the realisation of the plan selected.

2.2.1 Development of the language code

The activities involved in implementation of language development are codification of the norms of spelling, grammar, vocabulary, and the norms for functional styles of the language for use in various types of discourse. Codification means explicit statement of norms. It does not mean the norms themselves. In language development we often find norms which are not yet codified or which will not be codified. Products of codification which result from development of the language code and functional styles are spelling manuals; grammar books; guides to terminology formation; various types of dictionaries, such as popular dictionaries, standard dictionaries, thesauruses, geographical dictionaries and terminology dictionaries; style manuals; correspondence manuals; and various style manuals for such fields as science, journalism, literature, etc.

2.2.2 Cultivation of language usage

The activities involved in implementation of language cultivation are: disseminating the results of codification to the target populations, informational activities, and activities to promote correct language usage. If language teaching is included under language cultivation, then in the implementation stage, the language development and cultivation agency will also be responsible for activities such as: development of language teaching curriculum, preparation of language textbooks of various levels, and perhaps also guides to translation if a large-scale translation program is planned. If language teaching research or management is in the hands of various agencies, then the development and cultivation agency should at least attempt co-operation, so that, for example, textbook writers use the terminology supported by the agency. Rubin (1977c) reported that in 1969 in Indonesia, of 24 writers of chemistry textbooks, only eight knew the terminology suggested by the Lembaga Bahasa Nasional, and only five used it. Of 16 writers of grammar textbooks, only 9 knew the suggested grammatical terminology, and only eight used it.

2.2.3 Problems of 'marketing'

An important problem at the implementation stage is 'marketing' the outcome of codification and elaboration. If the channels mentioned in section 2.1.4 above are not used, or not used intensively, the language being developed may formally be said to be standardised and developed, but standardisation and development are not truly realised until they have been accepted by the target populations. Alisjahbana (1962, 1971a) emphasises the importance of school systems for the spread of standard languages and, of course, the spread of national languages in multilingual societies. Schools were long considered the most important channel by language planners. Recently it may be said that in developing countries the mass media of the spoken language have taken the place of the schools as the primary channel of language development and cultivation. Cheap transistor radios in areas where there are as yet no schools spread national languages more widely and swiftly (Goenawan Mohamad 1976) because, as pointed out by Schram (1964), mass communication tends to penetrate to all sectors of life in a multilingual society. The media become channels of information both for world events and for events close to the local population.²⁸

The role of the mass media will be even clearer if we look at Ray's (1963) theory of standardisation. He states that standardisation is the creation of models to be imitated and the attempt to promote those models so that they win out over any competing models. The models to be imitated are of two kinds: spoken varieties and written varieties. Spoken varieties are realised in use by model speakers, while written varieties are realised in various discourse styles. Karam (1974) formulates it as follows: through the models available to the listeners and readers, they are habituated on the one hand to codification and dissemination by the language development agency and on the other hand to new elements arising from the general public. These two streams influence each other in such a way that competition often arises between words, terminology, phrases, or expressions originating from the two sources. In this competition the channel of the mass media often determines the fate of new language forms. If elements are accepted by the mass media, those forms have a good chance of being incorporated into the language corpus. If not, the

forms will disappear from general use. Some examples from Indonesia which illustrate the influence of the mass media in language change are the use of *membawahi to be superior to*, *memenangkan to win*, *wiraswasta private enterprise* and *umpan balik feedback*, whose semantic interpretations differ from other complex forms with the same suffixes, or which are translations based on false etymologies.

We are also in agreement with Noss (1967) who writes that the mass media, especially in developing countries, have strong influences not only on the spread of national languages, but also on the forms of the language finally accepted by the general public. Here the new creations and rules of usage, including those invented by the language agency, are accepted or refused.

2.3 EVALUATION

Evaluation involves monitoring and judging planning activities and the outcomes of implementation. It also includes collection of feedback on language changes which are accepted or are not accepted, which later provide new input for planning and implementation stages to follow. Such feedback can cause the planners or developers to modify their plans or activities (Karam 1974). Basically the purpose of evaluation is to see whether and to what extent actual outcomes match expected outcomes.

2.3.1 Formal evaluation techniques

Rubin (1971a) points out that formal evaluation techniques can facilitate evaluation of targets, strategies, and consistency between targets and strategies, or between expected outcomes and targets. At the data collection stage, an evaluator can assist the language planners in identifying the problems they face. Subsequently, in the planning stage, an evaluator can assist in formulating targets, strategies and results to be achieved. In addition, he can take part in outlining criteria to compare the influence and results of the targets and strategies chosen. These criteria will be useful in determining the order of priorities among the targets and strategies chosen. At the implementation stage, monitoring data is collected to compare actual outcomes with predicted outcomes. At the feedback processing stage the evaluator can assist the language planner in formulating standards to evaluate the success of the activities. He can suggest ways to reformulate targets or select other strategies to bring the outcomes of implementation into line with desired outcomes.

Here is one example of the value of evaluation in language planning and implementation in Indonesia. When the new spelling system launched by the Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan in 1966 was not well received in all quarters, the Department of Education and Culture finally got involved in 1972 with the suggestion for three new strategies: (1) holding a national seminar to include scientists, religious leaders, educators, journalists and government administrators in a discussion of language standardisation and modernisation; (2) forming an interdepartmental committee to implement the decisions of the seminar with promotional activities, and (3) the ratification of the new spelling by the head of state. The strategies were successful, for both the government and leading members of the society, including popular opinion leaders, were involved, so that in that same year the spelling system decided

upon at the seminar, considered an improved version of the original concept, was ratified by the President. The Parliament, which had previously shown little interest in the problem of the spelling system, issued a statement supporting the decision.

A problem which arises in evaluation is the selection of techniques so as to obtain good feedback. The most controlled and valid way would be by a process of experimentation, but experimentation takes time and money, while planners and executors must continually be making decisions. Experimentation, it seems, can only be applied at the final evaluation stage, and not at the planning and implementation stages. Rubin quotes Stufflebeam (1968) who states that evaluation techniques depend on (1) the environment in which decisions are put into effect (2) the environment in which decisions are made, (3) the type of instruments and techniques used, (4) the degree of precision desired in data collection and analysis, and (5) the methodological skills of both those doing the evaluating and those who use their evaluations. Such techniques include cost-benefit analyses, such as those done by Thorburn (1971) and Jernudd (1971); operational research; program evaluation and review techniques; program planning and budget systems, and systems analysis. Rubin also reminds us that the evaluation process is constrained by several limiting factors. These limiting factors should be taken into account in the evaluation process so that expected outcomes are not too different from actual outcomes. First there are political limiting factors. Some policy makers would prefer to avoid formal evaluation so as not to have to face up to inconsistencies in their policies. This is especially true when the policy makers wish to avoid explicit expression of ultimate goals which are still covert. An example from Indonesia is the lack of formal evaluation of the relative benefits to English teaching in the schools, of taking either British or American English, or both, as standards. As a result, both English and American published books are available on the market.

A second type of limiting factor has to do with inconsistencies in the environment. Because the environment itself is subject to change, we can almost never characterise all aspects of the environment which must be considered in language planning. A third type of limiting factor is the skill of the planners in collection and use of data.

In addition, because planning, development and cultivation of language are usually long-term processes, it is not easy to be certain of the cause-effect relationships between strategies and outcomes. For example, increased circulation of newspapers and magazines may simply reflect increased buying power rather than a rise in literacy levels.

2.3.2 Some case studies

Some formal evaluation studies in connection with research on language planning on the national level are found in *Language planning processes* edited by Rubin et al, 1977. Das Gupta (1977a, 1977b), for example, reports on the development of Hindi as the national language and link language of India. According to his evaluation, the Indian planning and development agency is more concerned with quantity than with quality, or with the public's acceptance of their products. On the other hand, Fellman (1977a, 1977b) in his study of the Hebrew Language Academy, found that the Academy felt that they should have a public relations section and their own publishing house. The public relations

section would give out information to the general public and institutions concerned with the academy's activities, and the publishing house would market and distribute the products of their activities through an active promotional program. Rubin (1977a) felt that until the end of the sixties, the Indonesian Lembaga Bahasa Nasional was not very actively involved in solving language problems in education. Its main activity was terminology development, but its products were not channeled in any formal way to educational institutions, and no research was done on their acceptability or use by teachers, researchers, or students. Jernudd (1977a) reports on the interest of the general public in Sweden in reading about correct language and etymology. Language development and cultivation handbooks are well known, and language cultivators, writing columns on language in two Stockholm newspapers, receive frequent enquiries from the public, both from professionals and from laymen.

The examples above illustrate the importance to effective planning of critical evaluation activities on planning and implementation. It is only through evaluation as an integral part of our language development and cultivation activities that we can improve our programs on the basis of past positive or negative experience.

CHAPTER III

POLICY IN FUNCTIONAL ALLOCATION OF LANGUAGES

3.1 SOCIOLINGUISTIC FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE

Decisions that concern language policy (Slametmulyana 1959; Halim 1976), as pointed out in the first chapter, are often influenced by linguistic variables but are usually largely motivated by non-linguistic variables. The motivations are political, educational, cultural, or for wider communication. Basically, such policies are formulated to deal with the sociolinguistic functions of the languages in a society with the assumption that in the modern world there are no truly monolingual societies. The decisions about such functions will determine what purposes the languages should or will be used for by the language communities involved.

Discussion of the dimensions of language policy are found in Kloss 1969, who discusses language corpus and status; Garvin (1973) on language allocation; Halim (1976a, 1976b) on language function and status; and Stewart's (1968) sociolinguistic typology of multilingualism. Reviewing these sources and using Stewart's language typology, policy can be discussed theoretically on three dimensions: (1) policy on national languages, (2) policy on other native languages, and (3) policy on foreign languages used for special purposes. The languages in each category can then be further categorised according to the functions they fulfil.

The five basic functions, with further subdivisions are: (1) as an official language, of a country or a region; (2) as a language of wider communication, on a sub-national, national, or an international level; (3) as a language of special purpose, such as religious use or group identity; (4) as a language of education: either as a general medium of instruction, as a first medium of instruction, or as a subject to be studied; (5) as a cultural language in the fields of art, science, or technology. These basic functions may be used to characterise languages of the three main types as shown in the table on the following page.

Function	Language		
	National	Regional	Foreign
1. official			
a. official state language	--	--	--
b. official regional language	--	--	--
2. wider communication			
a. sub-national level	--	--	--
b. national level	--	--	--
c. international level	--	--	--
3. special purposes			
a. religious	--	--	--
b. group identity	--	--	--
4. educational			
a. general medium of instruction	--	--	--
b. first medium of instruction	--	--	--
c. subject studied	--	--	--
5. cultural			
a. language of art	--	--	--
b. language of science	--	--	--

If within one country, there is more than one native (regional) language, the columns for the two language may show different combinations of functions. Similarly in the case of two foreign languages in one country, the two languages may show different combinations of functions. In Indonesia, for example, the columns for regional languages will show different functions for Javanese and Karo (a language of Sumatra), and in the case of foreign languages, different functions for English and Arabic.

Noss' (1971) discussion of language policy differentiates (1) official language policy: government recognition of language types and their uses; (2) educational policy: concerning the use of languages as media of instruction and as subjects of study at various levels of governmental and private education; and (3) general policy: unofficial agreement given by the government to the use

of languages in business, mass communications, and for communication with foreigners. Noss' first two kinds of policy are already mentioned in the typology used here, and the third, even if not official, is included under the function of wider communication (4) which covers such areas as tourism, aviation, and contact with foreigners.

The first, second, and third categories have a characteristic in common, that is, once they are settled upon by the institution concerned, parliament, or the law, all that is required for their recognition is acceptance by the general public.

The fourth and fifth functions, especially for written and standard languages, have the following characteristics. Language policy in these two fields often requires further planning and implementation action in the form of development and cultivation. In addition, these two functions can only be realised with active cooperation from the public, or at least from intellectuals. Finally, language policy in the fields of education and culture, at least in Indonesia, is frequently discussed at conferences^{1a} and meetings on linguistic matters,^{1b} and decisions in these fields are evaluated by bodies in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government.

The sociolinguistic functions of language are not necessarily static, but may change through time. The most obvious change in the functional allocation of languages takes place when one language in a society takes over the functions of another in a major way. In an extreme case a language community may substitute another language for its mother tongue. Ferguson (1977) quotes Jones (1953) to illustrate changes in language functions which may occur.

For example, in the mid 14th century, English was used in England as the language of the home, while French functioned as the language of the courts and parliament and Latin was the language of education and science. By the mid 16th century, English had taken over all the functions of French and Latin, except in some fields of education and science where Latin still prevailed. By the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, lexical items from French and structural influence from Latin had become part of the English language, with the development of the functions of the English language in various fields.

3.2 STATE LANGUAGE (BAHASA NEGARA), NATIONAL LANGUAGE (BAHASA KEBANGSAAN), AND OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

Many new nations face the problem of political and ethnic boundaries that do not coincide. The nation as a political and geographical entity is not always identical with the nationality as a social and cultural entity. It would be useful here to take up Fishman's suggestion (1968b) that we differentiate between 'nation' and 'nationality', as the distinction has to do with this type of language problem and related policy. His term 'nation' refers to an independent political territorial unit ruled by a nation.² While 'nationality' is a group of people forming a socio-cultural unit with a system of organisation, beliefs, values and behaviour which covers the primordial ethnic distinction.

The ideal of 'nationalism' (in Fishman's terminology) is to achieve political unification, that is, to form a state or nation, which often precedes social and cultural unity. This unification or integration can be looked on as horizontal unity. The ideal of 'nationalism' (in Fishman's terminology) is to achieve social and cultural integration. Such integration can be looked at as vertical integration. A nationality can develop through a process of fusion

of several primordial ethnic groups each with its own authenticity, values, and sense of belonging.

The basic language problems for nationalism are choosing a national language and promoting its wider use. The basic problem is, having chosen the language, to cultivate it, and to develop it. In nationalism the first language problem is not authenticity or national identity, but efficiency. The choice of Malay and English as official languages by Malaysia in 1957, and the choice of Malay, English, Tamil and Chinese by Singapore in 1965 are examples of solutions to language problems in terms of policies of nationalism.

The national language problem in terms of nationalism is tied to the ideal of cultivation of a larger cultural/ethnic identity. The language that is ideologised becomes a symbol of unity for mobilisation of the masses and involvement and commitment of the elite (Fishman 1968a).

As an illustration of this point we may refer to Soekarno's speech of August 15, 1928 in Jakarta, one year after the founding of the *Perserikatan Nasional Indonesia* (Indonesian National Association)³, in which he stated that language differences between ethnic groups would not hinder unification, but the sooner Malay (Indonesian) became widespread, the sooner Indonesia would achieve independence (Schrieke (1929) in Van der Wal 1963:481).

As Director of Education and Religion, Schrieke suggested in a report to Governor General De Graaff that Malay be eliminated as a required subject in the *Hollands-Inlandse School* in Java. He added that the use of Malay by the nationalists had become a way of expressing their nationalistic beliefs. In 1932 the elimination of Malay from these schools was considered by the Dutch East Indies Government. It was generally supported by the *Persatoean Goeroe Hindia-Belanda* (Dutch East Indies Teachers' Association),⁴ but strongly opposed by the native press (Van der Wal 1963:481).

The third section of the *Sumpah Pemuda* (Youth Pledge) composed by Muhammad Yamin (Reksodipuro and Subagio 1974) at the Indonesian Youth meeting in 1928, referred to the 'bahasa persatoean' ('one language' or 'language of unity'), showing that at that time the concept of a national language was already formalised.⁵ Seventeen years later the language of unity became the language of the Indonesian state.

The term 'national language' ('bahasa kebangsaan' or 'bahasa nasional') was not used by either the formulators of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the 1949 Constitution of the United Republic of Indonesia, or the 1950 Provisional Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In the 1945 Constitution it was stated that the state language ('bahasa negara') was the Indonesian language, while in the 1949 Constitution and the 1950 Constitution we find the sentence: "The official language of the Republic of Indonesia is Indonesian."

In the Dutch East Indies period, the problem of Malay as an official language arose as early as 1918 when the *Volksraad* was opened by Governor General Van Limburg-Stirum in Jakarta (Van Heekeren 1918, De Taalkwestie ...). Mohammad Thamrin also suggested then that the use of Malay (Indonesian) be allowed to native members of the congress (Maleisch 1938). Although Malay was then recognised as the second official language, after Dutch, not many of the members used it. The problem of official language arose again at the first Indonesian Language Congress in Solo in 1938. One decision made there was to appeal to the Dutch East Indies Government to recognise Indonesian as an official language, and for Indonesian to be used as a medium of communication in all representative bodies (Lembaga Bahasa Nasional 1972).

During the Japanese occupation, when the use of Dutch was not allowed and not many people understood Japanese yet, the Japanese government was forced on April 29, 1945 to recognise Indonesian as the official language (Teeuw 1961). Finally even Governor General Van Mook, head of the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration, put out an announcement on November 6, 1945 to the effect that Indonesian⁶ would be the second official language in addition to Dutch in the colony.

The review of these events brings us to the conclusion that in the history of Indonesia, the functions of the national language, state language, and official language, although somewhat similar, can be differentiated. The national language is the language of unification. It is based on nationalism, and it can be realised before the state is formed. There can only be a state language when there is a political and geographical entity, which has a legal form. It is based on nationalism. The functions of the official language may or may not be based on the concepts of nationalism or nationism.

It may be added that national languages usually function as state languages and official languages, as, for example, in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. On the other hand, official languages are not always national languages: for example, English, Tamil, and Mandarin Chinese in Singapore. It may also happen that a country has no national language, as in Brunei, Switzerland, Belgium, Canada, and perhaps also the Philippines. In 1973 the Philippines rescinded the choice of Pilipino (Tagalog) as the national language. The revised constitution stated that the Philippine National Language Council must take steps to create a new national language, to be called Filipino, and which should be a combination of all the Philippine languages. This decision has left a number of foremost linguists there in some difficulties as to how to proceed.

The three types of languages can also be characterised in terms of their symbolic functions. In this connection Garvin (1973) distinguishes three functions: (1) as a symbol of unity, symbolising national identity; (2) as a symbol of specialness, representing differentness from other languages, and (3) as a symbol of authority, representing the prestige of the language community.

State languages and official languages function as symbols of authority. National languages function as symbols of unity, specialness, and authority.

Sociolinguists have been greatly interested in describing the conditions which allowed Malay, the native language of a small percentage of the population (4.9% in comparison with 47.8% for Javanese and 14.5% for Sundanese), to become the undisputed national language. At that time there were about sixty million inhabitants in Indonesia (Van der Veur 1969:32). Three reasons have often been mentioned. First, Malay had functioned as a lingua franca for intercommunication between ethnic groups at least since the beginning of this century, taking into consideration its spread through the school system and the press. It was known in various styles - 'pasar' Malay, both as a pidgin and as a creole; the administrative Malay of the Dutch East Indies government, school Malay which was the closest to the dialect of Riau, and the Malay of the press.

Second, although the number of native speakers was not as great as the number of speakers of other Indonesian languages, such as Javanese, Sundanese, or Madurese, it has a wider geographical distribution as a second language

than the other languages. Third, Malay is related to other Indonesian languages and not considered a foreign language.

In addition to such sociolinguistic reasons, there was a psychological reason. Just because it was the language of a minority, and the native speakers of Malay were not politically, economically, socially, or culturally dominant at that time in comparison with other groups – even taking into account the wealth of the Kingdoms of Aceh, Malaka, or Sriwijaya – the choice of Malay as the national language did not make anyone feel they would be dominated by a more powerful group.

Thus, although each group had to be willing to give in on the use of their own native language, the decision did not result in a dominant group winning out. This hypothesis is supported by cases of national language decisions in other parts of the world.

The choice of Swahili, the native language of a minority group in Tanzania, as the national language of that country is an example of a situation similar to that in Indonesia (Kelman 1971; Whiteley 1968, 1971).

On the other hand, the choice of Hindi-Urdu,⁷ the language of 42% of the population of India, as the national language, has been vigorously disputed by native speakers of other languages, especially Tamil⁸ (Kelman 1971, Khubchandani 1974).

The uncertain situation of Filipino (Tagalog) as the national language of the Philippines today is understandable when we note that among the eight major languages of the Philippines,⁹ Tagalog is the native language of 21% of the population, Sebuano of 4.1%, Ilocano of 11.7%, and Panai-Hiliganon of 10.4% (Sibayan 1971). Sebuano and Ilocano are in competition with Tagalog. Their native speakers do not want Tagalog to 'win' (see Espiritu-Reid 1982).

The analysis above may also be applied to Singapore,¹⁰ where Malay was chosen as a national language, although it was not meant to be widely used. The function of Malay is as a ceremonial language (Kuo 1980).

The types of languages chosen as national languages or official languages may serve as the basis for a typology of nations (politico-geographic entities), illustrating the variety that may be found.

Kloss (1968) identifies two main groups: (1) endoglossic nations: that is, nations whose official languages are native languages, (2) exoglossic nations, or nations whose official languages originate from other language areas.

Endoglossic type	National Language	Official State Language	Official Regional Language
1. Indonesia 2. Malaysia	Indonesian Malaysian	Indonesian Malaysian ¹¹ (since 1967)	
3. Thailand	Thai	Thai	
4. Belgium ¹		Flemish, French	
5. People's Republic of China	Putonghua	Putonghua ¹²	

Exoglossic-Endoglossic Type	National Language	Official State Language	Official Regional Language
1. Philippines 2. Hindi	Pilipino (1946-72) Hindi	Pilipino, English, Spanish (1946-72) Hindi, English	(on the basis of the constitution, 11 languages: including Tolugu, Tamil, Morati, Benggali)
3. Singapore	Malay	English Chinese (Mandarin), Malay, Tamil	
4. Tanzania 5. Ethiopia	Swahili Amhar	Swahili, English Amhar, English (semi-official)	

Exoglossic Type	National Language	Official State Language	Official Regional Language
1. Somalia	Somali, Arabic	English, Italian	Hausa Kituba, Luba, Lingala, Swahili
2. Haiti	Creole	French	
3. Senegal	Wolof	French	
4. Liberia		English	
5. Mauritania	Arabic	French	
6. Sudan	Arabic	English (replacing Arabic)	
7. Papua New Guinea	Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu	English	
8. Nigeria		English	
9. Ghana	French	English	
10. Congo		French	

(Data partially from Kloss 1968)

There is still one problem to be discussed in this context, i.e., how national integration can be achieved in a multilingual situation. According to Fishman (1968), there are two reasons why multilingualism need not be considered as an obstacle to national integration.

First, the use of different languages in everyday life need not be seen as an unusual situation. Differences in phonology, morphology, syntax, or even code, whether used consciously or unconsciously, are often not considered as

interfering with communication. As well as in Indonesia, such situations may be found in East and Central Africa where Swahili is used (Polomé 1963 quoted by Fishman), and elsewhere in South-East Asia. These differences are only divisive if there is an ideology of division: conversely, if there is an ideology of unity, such differences are minimised or even considered non-existent.

Second, even recognised language differences need not be divisive in a well-established diglossic,¹³ or polyglossic situation. In a nation like Indonesia, with hundreds of languages, it would surely be impossible to carry on government administration, education, and business in hundreds of different languages. Thus there must be a division of labour between the national language and the regional languages of various ethnic groups.

In a multilingual situation, notes Stewart, there is a tendency for the languages used side by side to take on separate functions, so that a stable situation develops in which the languages are no longer in competition.

3.3 LANGUAGES OF WIDER COMMUNICATION

To describe the functions of languages of wider communication, we may start with the assumption that there are four types of communicative situation which are concentric, and which may be called primary, secondary, tertiary, and quaternary language communities.

In a primary language community, often based on face-to-face communication, the language differences between speakers are personal or idiosyncratic: in the literature these differences are often called differences of idiolect. In Indonesia such a situation exists in the language communities speaking dialects of Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, or Batak. The differences within these communities, in this classification, also include variation in patois.¹⁴

The secondary language community is the community of speakers who use autonomous languages which are related. That is, structurally, these languages are similar. Unlike dialects, these languages are not simply sub-variants of another language. For example, Achenese, Madurese, Balinese, and Toraja share a fairly high level of mutual intelligibility. The differences between these languages, in phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon, do not prevent understanding based on their common core.

The tertiary language community is the multilingual language community. Members who speak only one language experience difficulty communicating with other members who do not speak that same language. Such societies need languages of wider communication¹⁵ to communicate across the boundaries of primary and secondary language communities. In tertiary language communities, two types of language of wider communication may be distinguished: one type functions at the subnational level, the other at the national level. Examples on the subnational level are Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu in Papua New Guinea (Wurm 1968, 1974; Dutton 1976). On the national level examples are Indonesian, Swahili, and Putonghua. The latter type of language of wider communication functions as a national language.

The quaternary language community is the community whose speakers cannot intercommunicate by means of any of its idiolects, dialects, or languages. For mutual understanding an international language of wider communication is necessary. Greek Koine, Latin, Arabic, Persian, French, Spanish, and

Portuguese, — and perhaps also Putonghua, if other major Chinese languages such as Cantonese Wu, Southern Min, Northern Min and Hakka (Halliday et al 1964) are not considered dialects — have been used as international languages of wider communication. But today the language which seems to be emerging as the foremost world language is English.

Despite the lack of an explicit official policy, there is often unofficial agreement among the authorities on the use of a language of international communication within a nation in particular areas: such as aviation, diplomacy, tourism, business, etc.

The desire for a single international language to be used throughout the world was apparent in the atmosphere of 'progressive internationalism' after the First World War. At that time a new interest arose in artificial languages created at various periods: Esperanto (1887), Ido (1901), Interlingua (1903), Occidental (1922) and Novial (1928).¹⁶ It is interesting that Sapir (1931) and Jespersen (1928), as well as Guérard (1922), Shenton (1933), and Jacob (1947), launched appeals for the acceptance of international auxiliary languages as world languages.

The International Auxiliary Language Association has attempted since the Second World War to create various types of languages in the hopes that one will eventually be chosen as a world language. The vocabulary is to consist of common elements of English, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. With McQuown (1964), we may say that such a language will be accepted by the world when the world is ready, regardless of imperfections still being discussed.

In addition to the language of wider communication, there is also the concept of the 'working language'. A working language is the medium which is most widely understood, and therefore most appropriate for the work of national administration or international conferences. In the United Nations, for example, English, French, Spanish, Russian, and Putonghua are official languages, but only English and French function as working languages (Kloss 1968). Similarly, although Singapore has four languages which function as official languages, only English is generally considered a working language (Kuo 1977).

Working languages are characterised by two other functions, the function of advantage, which reflects the benefits of using the language, and the participatory function (Garvin 1973), which allows the language user to take part in world culture and civilisation. If the participatory function is limited in scope to the national level, a sufficiently developed national language, state language, or official language may take on this function in a multilingual society. Native speakers of Loinang in Sulawesi, for example, can participate in the political and social development of Indonesia through the medium of Indonesian.

3.4 LANGUAGES FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES

Languages for special purposes are languages used in a community only in specialised fields. That is, in general, they are rarely used outside of certain fields.

One such field is that of religion. In Indonesia, the following languages are used as languages of special purpose in the field of religion: Arabic (classical) by Moslems; Latin, Greek, and Hebrew by Christians; and Sanskrit

for Balinese Hindus and Buddhists. These languages have in common that they are classical, literary, and primarily written languages. People may consider such languages 'holy' because of their association with religion.

As languages of religion or of holy books, they are often taught in educational institutions, especially religious ones, such as institutes of religion, theological schools, and seminaries.

Of course, as a living language, Arabic has different functions in other communities.

Another function which may be discussed under this heading is the psychological and sociological role sometimes played by a particular language in the identity of a particular social group (cf. Herman 1968). In Indonesia, when in the context of a conversation, one participant wishes to find out the background, education, or social class of another participant, he may slip in a term of reference or address from Dutch (u or ik), Chinese (owe) or Jakarta Malay (ane or ente). If the addressee replies in kind, it is as if he has shown a membership card. The psychological distance between the two participants disappears and is replaced by a feeling of solidarity (cf. Brown and Gilman 1938). The use of the English pronoun you in Indonesian conversation does not have this clear function of identification, perhaps because English is taught from junior high school everywhere in Indonesia so that it does not come to function as a symbol of any particular group.

3.5 LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

Policy concerning languages to be used or taught in formal education in a multilingual society may also be seen as having three components, following the pattern of general language policy. First is the question of how the people are to learn the national language so that they will identify with their country and its culture. Second is how to maintain proficiency in their mother tongue — if they are not native speakers of the national language — so that they can appreciate the spirit of their native ethnic group and thus value their heritage. Third is how to promote the study of foreign languages which can open the doors to the worlds of international science and technology, to societies which are close to them for historical reasons, or civilisations they should know about because of their importance.

The most important medium of educational policy is the school system. Through the educational system, planned and systematic teaching can be given. From the historical point of view, a detailed study of language policy in Indonesian education from the time the Dutch first arrived in Indonesia would be extremely interesting. A complete description of the history of this subject would be beyond the scope of this study. Literature on educational and language policy during the Netherlands Indies government period is extensive for those who might wish to reflect on the experience of others and avoid their mistakes.

Among works we might mention are: Abendanon (1913), Brugmans (1930, 1938, 1961), Van der Chijs (1864), Creutzberg (1923), Van Diffelen (1936), Lukman Djajadiningrat (1942), Furnivall (1943), Habbema (1900), Jonkman (1918), Kats (1915), Lekkerkerker (1929), Van der Meulen (1929), Neys (1945), Nieuwenhuys (1922, 1930), Post (1933), Schrieke (1938), Schuit (1933), Soetomo (1936), Stokvis (1925), Van der Veur (1969), Van der Wal (1961a, 1961b) and *Publicaties Hollandsch-Inlandsch Onderwijs-Commissie* in 12 volumes (1929-1931).

3.5.1 The Dutch era to 1942 and from 1945-1949

Before the nineteenth century, neither the Netherlands Indies Company nor the Government paid a great deal of attention to the education of the native population. In the mid-nineteenth century, government education was limited to elementary schools for Dutch children, Christian children, and military children. No secondary education was provided.

In 1848, when a wave of liberal reform arose in the Netherlands, a royal command, later followed by a government regulation, in 1854, provided for the establishment of schools for native children. The first three-year elementary school taught in a regional language was opened in 1849. The same year the government began subsidies to private schools in Maluku, Minahasa, and Timor. In 1852 the first teachers' training school was established in Surakarta to train elementary school teachers (Brugmans 1938).

The 1854 (and 1855) government regulations stated that native schools should be established in every district of Java. The educational policy was no longer only to train potential government employees but to educate both the nobility and the common people. In 1893 there was a reorganisation, resulting in two types of schools: the five-year schools usually called first-class schools (*Openbare inlandse lagere school der eerste klasse*) for children of the nobility and other important figures, and the three-year second-class schools (*Openbare inlandse lagere school der tweede klasse*) for the children of commoners. Eventually the first-class schools came to be taught for six and seven years and the second-class schools for four and five years.

Both types of schools were taught in regional languages. Where it was felt that for some reason the regional language could not be used, the language of instruction was Malay. Because of the increasing number of these schools in addition to the Dutch schools, the Netherlands Indies government established a department of education in 1867.

In 1870 another new type of school was established: the village school (*Indlandse gemeente school*). Like the 1848 schools these were three-year schools. The local civil service was responsible for these schools (Brugmans 1938).

In 1907 the first-class schools (which taught regional languages, Malay, geography, history, science and land surveying) began to teach Dutch in the last three years. The name *tweede klasse school* was changed to *standaardschool* in 1908.

The Chinese, feeling that they were not being offered educational opportunities, opened Chinese language schools taught in Mandarin and Hakka. The Netherlands Indies government then opened six-year schools (HCS: *Hollands-chinese School*) in 1908 in which Dutch was the language of instruction.

In 1914 the first-class schools became seven-year schools with Dutch as the language of instruction (HIS: *Hollands-inlandse school*). Then in 1916 the two-year schools (*vervolg-school*) were established for further education after the three-year village schools. The language of instruction was a regional language or Malay. In 1929 all second-class schools were classed together with village schools and *vervolgschool*. Graduation from *vervolgschool* was considered equivalent to graduation from *standaardschool*.

For secondary education of the village school students, the five-year *schakelschool* were established in 1921, open to graduates of the village schools or the third level of the *standaardschool* (previously the second-class schools).

Graduation from the *schakelschool* was considered equivalent to graduation from HIS (Brugmans 1938).

Elementary education on islands other than Java in the nineteenth century was begun. Schools were established in Maluku in 1917, in Timor in 1811, in Minahasa in 1829, in Kalimantan Tenggara in 1836, and in Larantuka in 1876. The educational system was only extended to islands other than Java at the beginning of the twentieth century. This was probably due to the fact that Dutch power was not yet consolidated in many areas.

We should also note the special schools (*speciale school*) established for children of the military, members and employees of the court, and Christian members of the military. The directors of these schools were Dutch, and the curriculum was adapted from Dutch elementary schools. Among them were the *Ambonse burgerschool* (1869), *Depokse School* (1873), *Menadose School* (1901), *Delische School* (1904), *Asahanse School* (1904), *Langkatse School* (1904), *Serdangse School* (1910), special schools in Magelang, Kotaraja, Cimahi (1911), Yogyakarta (1912), *Saparua School* (1911), *Kasatrian School* in Bandung (1910), *Mangkoenegarasche School* (1912) and *Kapoetranschool* (1911) in Yogyakarta. The special schools became HIS in 1922 (Brugmans 1938).

The first secondary education for native children was established with the three-year *Meer uitgebreid lager onderwijs* (Mulo) which was open to graduates of HIS and *Schakelschool* after a preparatory grade (*Voorklas*). After 1919 further education was provided by the three-year *Algemene Middelbare School* (AMS).

As noted above, teacher education was begun in 1852 with Javanese as the language of instruction. In 1871 the two-year *normaalcourse* were opened for assistant teachers. In 1914 the three-year *Hogere kweekschool voor inlandse onderwijzers* (HKS) were established. The language of instruction was Dutch and they were intended to train HIS teachers. In 1917 the six-year *Hollands-chinese kweekschool* were established and in 1927 the six-year *Hollands-inlandse kweekschool* (HIK) which combined teachers' schools and the HKS.

The institutions for technical training which might be mentioned here were the *landbouwschool* (1903); the three-year *ambachtsschool* (1909) which accepted graduates of second class schools; *cultuur-school* (1911), *middelbare landbouw* (1911) for mulo graduates; *lagere nijverheidsschool voor meisjes* (1918); *middelbare handelschool* (1935); and *Kleinhandelschool* (1937) (Brugmans 1938).

We should also mention here the training in public administration, first offered at the five-year *hoofdschool* in 1878, which then became the three-year *Opleidingschool voor inlandse ambtenaren* (Osvia) in 1900, the five-year *Middelbare opleiding voor inlandse ambtenaren* (Mosvia) in 1927 and finally a three-year institute for higher education as the *Bestuursacademie* in 1938.

Education in the field of law was offered at the three-year *Rechtsschool* (1909) for graduates of Dutch elementary schools, followed by the five-year *Rechtshogeschool* (1924)^{17e}.

The medical schools, which produced such important figures as Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo and Soetomo, were the two-year *School voor inlandse geneeskundigen* (1951), which became the *School tot opleiding van inlandse artsen* (Stovia) in 1902 and the *Geneeskundige hogeschool* in 1927. In Surabaya the *Nederlands Indische artsen school* (NIAS) was founded in 1913 and the *School tot opleiding van indische tandartsen* (Stovit)^{17f} in 1928.

Education for Dutch children began in 1817 with the *Europese lagere school* (ELS). In 1860 the *gymnasium* was founded. It became the five-year *hogere burgerschool* (HBS) in 1867. In 1901 the three-year HBS was opened and in 1924 the *lyceum* schools were established (Brugmans 1938).

Institutions of higher education in addition to those already mentioned were the four-year *Technische hogeschool* (THS) in Bandung (1920), the five-year *Faculteit der letteren en wijsbegeerte* (1940) in Batavia (Jakarta), and the five-year *Landbouw hogeschool* (1941) in Buitenzorg (Bogor). The five institutes of higher education which were in areas occupied by the Dutch during the revolutionary period were combined to become the *Universitet van Indonesië* in 1947.

The total number of schools (1), students (2), and Indonesian students (3), in 1940 is shown in the following table.

Table 7: Summary of number of schools and students			
	No. of Schools	No. of Students	No. of Ind. Students
ELS	292	47,282	5,150
HCS	110	25,696	2,408
HIS + Special Schools	300	76,756	74,862
Hol. Arab. School	2	316	53
Schakel School	52	5,832	5,750
Village Schools	17,718	1,896,374	1,883,847
Vervolgschool	2,783	296,885	285,055
Second-class Schools	34	9,759	9,731
Chinese Elementary Schools	26	2,963	99
Mulo	68	14,278	8,235
Three-year HBS	10	1,293	105
Five-year HBS	13	3,156	553
AMS	8	1,544	922
Lyceum	5	2,691	206
Dutch Teachers' Training Colleges	118	11,588	
Native Teachers' Training Colleges	622	26,855	
Advanced Colleges	4	1,246	

(Source: Van der Wal, 1961 and 1963)

The language policy of the Netherlands East Indies government may be sketched as follows. At the elementary school level, regional languages and/or Malay were the language of instruction in native schools such as the village schools, *vervolgschool*, first-class schools, and second-class schools. Dutch was the language of instruction in Dutch schools including the HIS, HCS, *speciale school*, *schakelschool* and *Hollands-arabische school*.

At the secondary and tertiary levels of education Dutch was the language of instruction for almost all schools.

As a subject of instruction, the Dutch language was taught at all the Dutch schools, but at only a few of the native schools.

The choice of foreign languages (other than Dutch, as Dutch was not then considered a foreign language) generally followed the language policy in the Netherlands. Thus in the secondary schools of the Indies, although there was almost no direct contact with European countries, English, French, German, Latin and Greek were taught, according to the type of school they were modeled after in the Netherlands. A notable tendency of the Netherlands Indies policy on language in education was that it changed according to the world political and economic situation.

The native schools were first set up to provide training for potential civil servants for the lower echelons of government service. Because civil servants had to be able to deal with the upper echelons of the civil service and the local population, they were taught in regional languages and Malay. In locations on borderlines between two linguistic areas, like Cirebon and Purwakarta, three languages were taught: Malay, Sundanese, and Javanese (Brugmans 1938).^{17a}

When the Achenese war broke out in 1872 and the sugar crisis arose in 1884, the economic consequences affected the educational system. Because Dutch was expensive to teach, it was eliminated from the curriculum of the teachers' training schools in 1886 where it had been a subject since 1865.^{17b}

In the *hoofdenschool*, Dutch was replaced by Malay as the language of instruction in 1893, and reinstated in 1899.^{17d} Frugality was a factor again during the governorship of Van Heutz. The five-year second-class schools, which taught reading and writing in the Javanese and Latin scripts and arithmetic, were originally intended for commoners. Van Heutz considered these schools too expensive if they were to serve the thousands of common people. So in 1907 the three-year village schools were provided, taught in regional languages.

In our evaluation of the Netherlands Indies educational policy, it must be remembered that the political and social situation in the Netherlands influenced policy strongly. The proposal to open a HBS in Batavia in 1860 failed because at that time there were no such schools in the Netherlands.^{17c} But from a historical point of view, we may characterise the Netherlands Indies language policy as utilitarian and based on trial and error.

A major factor in the establishment of the HIS was the fear of the Dutch that too many Indonesian students would apply for places in the ELS, which were not only expensive, but which raised national consciousness. With the HIS the popular desire to learn Dutch was dealt with, and the high quality Dutch elementary schools were saved from an influx of Indonesian students. On the question of the role of Dutch versus Malay in education there were strong differences of opinion among civil servants in the Netherlands and in the Netherlands Indies. There were those who thought Dutch should be widely taught and those who thought it should not be.

Nieuwenhuis (1930) theorised that Dutch should replace Malay as the *lingua franca*, and therefore that Malay should be eliminated from the HIS curriculum. Students should be taught only in their regional languages for the first two years. Dutch should be taught from the third year and by the fifth year Dutch should be the language of instruction. One million speakers of Dutch would ensure the economic and cultural ties between the Netherlands and its colony, for through Dutch they would be educated as Westerners. The Netherlands Indies

Teachers' Association rejected Nieuwenhuis' proposal, not on theoretical grounds, but because putting off teaching Dutch to the third year would lower the standard of HIS, which would then no longer be equivalent to the ELS. They had previously (1926) agreed to Malay being eliminated at the HIS (Van der Wal 1963).

We may consider the number of Indonesian students in 1940 studying in schools where Dutch was taught (see Table 7) as indicative of the very small number of Indonesians who spoke Dutch among a population of seventy million. Thus it is understandable that few Indonesians felt it as a loss when Dutch was replaced by Indonesian as the state and official language.

The British government policy in India of providing education in English, beginning with Governor General Bentinck in 1835 (Mayhew 1928 quoted by Brugmans 1938), had very different results. Today India could not replace English in higher education and public administration.

We may conclude that in general the exoglossic boundaries of choice of national languages by new nations depends upon the former level of intensity of use of foreign languages in education up to that point. Dardjowidjojo (1975) even states that the reluctance of the Dutch to force Western thought on the Indonesian public was a blessing in disguise.

3.5.2 The Japanese occupation 1942-1945

During the Japanese occupation (1942-1945), Indonesian was the language of instruction at all levels of the educational system. Japanese, the only foreign language allowed, was taught from the upper levels of elementary school to the institutions of higher education (the medical school in Jakarta and technical college in Bandung).

3.5.3 The republic of Indonesia, 1945 and after

The Republic of Indonesia's policy on language of instruction in the schools may be summarised as follows.¹⁹

In grade 1, 2 and 3, according to the first language of the majority of the population, the language of instruction may be Indonesian, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Batak, Balinese, or Achenese.¹⁹ In remote areas the regional language may be used as an additional first language of instruction. In areas where several regional languages are spoken, each with only moderate numbers of native speakers (such as in South Sulawesi, where Buginese, Makasar, Mandar, and Toraja are spoken), the language of instruction from the first grade is Indonesian.

From the fourth grade (in some areas the third grade) of elementary school, through high school, Indonesian is the only language of instruction. The regional languages which are the languages of instruction in the first grades are taught as elective subjects in all grades of junior high school, the first two years of high school in the language sections, and the third year of high school in the social science sections (*Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan* 1978).

In the institutions of higher education Indonesian is the language of instruction. English, and a number of other foreign languages may be used as

secondary languages of instruction in the language departments of French, German, Dutch, Japanese, Russian, Chinese, etc. Guest lecturers usually use English as the medium of instruction.

3.5.3.1 The national language

In general, we may say that language policy in new nations focuses on national languages. The strength of the national language in the educational system according to Noss (1967) depends on three variables: (1) the degree to which the use of the language is widespread throughout the country, (2) the number of native speakers of the national language and of other languages within the country and in the world, and (3) the availability of literature in the national language.

The degree to which the national language is widespread does not depend only upon the language policy. Other variables influence its spread. Among them are: (1) facilities for teaching non-native speakers, including teachers, materials, and methods; (2) motivation to learn, including economic and career incentives; (3) opportunities available for learning the language, both for children and for adults; (4) valid testing procedures on the national level to evaluate improvement in language proficiency for purposes of language planning and implementation; (5) strengthening and cultivating the national language through the mass media, including private radio stations²⁰ and publishing, and (6) patterns of migration²¹ and transmigration (Gonzales 1978).

The relation between the number of speakers of the national language²² and speakers of other languages depends upon: (1) the rate of population growth; (2) policy toward other languages and efforts to develop regional languages as part of national policy; (3) foreign interest, which may increase the number of speakers. Foreign interest in the language may be motivated by economic considerations or for purposes of studying literature in the national language.

The amount and types of literature in the national language depend upon (1) general educational policy encouraging new works as well as translations; (2) a healthy book industry and libraries planned to develop interest in reading (cf. Kridalaksana 1967); and (3) policy in other fields. For example, a trade policy facilitating the importing of books in the national language will provide healthy competition and improve the quality of domestic production.

3.5.3.2 Regional languages

Language policy for the educational system of a multilingual nation must take into account many, sometimes conflicting, considerations. It is usually not problematic that the official national language will be taught as a school subject. A more difficult problem is the choice between the national language or a regional language, the first language of the students and the language of instruction.

In making this choice, the factors noted by Bowers (1968) should be noted: (1) the psychological advantages of education in the mother tongue; (2) the demands of various ethnic groups for recognition of their languages, and political repercussions in the society; (3) the costs of multiplying languages of instruction; (4) the availability of teachers able to teach in both regional

languages and the national language; (5) the lack of teaching materials in regional languages and impact on writing, translating, and publishing; (6) the problem of achieving a standard testing system in several languages; (7) problems arising in secondary and tertiary education if the language of instruction or language taught as a subject does not have an adequate literature or is not well developed for expressing the ideas of modern science.

The considerations above may be further elaborated as follows. The 1953 UNESCO conference on education concluded that education should be given in the mother tongue as far as possible, on the assumption that exposure to the mother tongue as long as possible is useful for the development of intelligence, emotional growth, and socialisation of the individual. A number of studies (Prator 1950, Osterberg 1961, Macnamara 1966, Davis 1967, Rubin 1968, Engle 1975) seem to support this conclusion. In the ideal situation, we would not need to question this position, especially where the majority of the population all speak the same language.

But policy-makers cannot simply set aside the constraints that force them to compromise in the implementation of ideal policies. They are faced not only with the rights of individuals, but with problems of economic feasibility and of equalising educational opportunities. Let us take note of the comments of Bull (1955) and Dakin (1968) on the UNESCO report, and apply them to our own situations.

In a multilingual community, what is best for the child psychologically and pedagogically may not be best for him as an adult socially, economically, and politically. And what is best for both the child and the adult may not be possible for the society which must provide a useful general education which cannot be organised and executed on an individual basis.

Most modern nations today have achieved their positions through the unification of a heterogeneous language community as a more homogeneous political and economic unity (cf. Fishman 1968c). Modern education and national administration cannot easily be achieved in a highly multilingual community.

In addition to the factors mentioned by Bowers (above), we must also point out that a teacher is not necessarily qualified to teach a (regional) language solely on the basis that he/she is a native speaker of the language. That consideration also applies to teachers of the national language. Many teachers of Indonesian are convinced that they are prepared simply because they are Indonesians. Language policy must evaluate costs and benefits, both short-term and long-term, for the individual, the child, and the society.

With these considerations in mind, we conclude that the solution to the problem of language of instruction does not lie simply in accepting or rejecting the mother tongue. The mother tongue may be used as the language of the first few grades. What should be further investigated is how long the mother tongue should be used so that the national language can take over as the language of instruction at the most appropriate point. If in section (a) above concerning the national language we suggested that multilingual stability was guaranteed as long as diglossia or polyglossia was maintained, then in the matter of language of instruction at the elementary level there need not arise any competition if the diglossic functions are maintained.

3.5.3.3 Foreign languages

The purposes of teaching and constraints which apply to policy on language of instruction also apply in large part to policy on foreign languages.

We are sometimes faced with policies which are based on the prejudice that the teaching of foreign languages, such as English in Indonesia, must be provided for all secondary students for the sake of equal opportunity. All students should be provided with the same opportunities to learn English. Although this appears to be fair, it does not take into account differences in language ability among students, for English is a required subject, not an elective. In this connection, policy makers in developing nations should consider the factors pointed out by Noss (1967), who studied the relationship between language policy and implementation.

The first factor is the attrition rate. If there are a large number of drop-outs, that factor should be taken into account in planning language teaching. If a new language, for example a foreign language, must be taught to a large number of students, it is far more economical to put off that subject as long as possible. Teaching a new language from the first grade will not only spread financial resources thin but is not a good use of time for (potential) drop-outs who could be doing other subjects. Latief (1979:64) has shown that junior high school (ages 13-16) attrition is 52.4-24.5=27.9% (an initial enrollment of 1,732,776 drops to 730,345) and senior high school (ages 16-19) attrition is 24.5-11.6=12.9% (an initial enrollment of 730,345 drops to 318,331). Less than half of the high school students go on to higher education.

The second factor is the compression factor. The compression of time in language study, especially if the language is only taught as a subject and not used as a language of instruction in other subjects, is far more efficient from several points of view. In general we may say that one hundred teaching hours in three months are far more effective than one hundred hours over a whole year. In practice in Indonesian elementary schools English is taught for four hours a week for three years; in high school it is taught on the average three and a half hours a week for three years (Latief 1979:70-71).

The third factor is the availability of teachers able to serve as model speakers. The purpose of English teaching in Indonesian schools was outlined in 1967 as emphasising the following skills, in order of importance: (1) effective reading ability; (2) ability to understand spoken English; (3) writing ability; and (4) speaking ability. The second and fourth skills require a teacher whose spoken English can serve as a model. Providing the number of qualified teachers required for the thousands of children between 13 and 19 years of age (according to Latief's article: 6,071,209) is a serious problem, one which cannot be set aside with the formula that all must be provided with equal opportunity. The final results have proved to be that high school graduates have none of the skills mentioned above which are needed for higher studies. The purposes of language study and Indonesian national language policy, are discussed further in recent articles by Burhan (1976), Oka (1976), Tarwotjo (1976), Kartono (1976), and Retmono (1976).

3.6 LANGUAGES OF CULTURE

Languages of culture serve as means of expression in the fields of art, science, and technology. Arts which are expressed in language are vocal music; literature (prose and poetry); and theatre (modern and traditional). Film and the traditional shadow play may be considered types of theatre (Koentjaraningrat 1967). Languages of science are written modes which are used for recording research and for communication in the fields of science and technology. In Ferguson's (1962) typology, languages of science are types W_2 and W_3 , differentiated from type W_0 , languages usually not used for purposes of written communication, and type W_1 , languages used for written communication only in everyday contexts.

Languages which function as languages of literature in Indonesia are such well-known languages as Javanese and Sundanese, as well as Indonesian. Modern Indonesian literature has been shaped by poets, writers, and dramatists of various ethnic backgrounds.

Indonesian writers like Chairil Anwar, Sitor Situmorang, Ajip Rosidi, Achdiat Kartamihardja, Rendra, Soebagyo Sastrowardjo, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, I.G. Pandji Tisna, Usmar Ismail — to mention only a few — have created a literature which is on a par with world literature, as inheritors of a traditional culture and of world culture. In this way, writers have contributed to the development of present-day Indonesian as a natural language. A language without a literature is more readily considered an artificial language.

In this connection perhaps we should re-examine the stance of the writers of the 1945 generation who wanted to cut all ties to their mother tongues, in order to create a new literature. Perhaps because Indonesian was the official language, and therefore came to be used in formal situations, it seems that when Indonesian is used as a language of culture and literature, the sayings and idioms which characterise a mature language are no longer often used.

Because people want sayings and idioms, they used translated or borrowed ones, which are difficult to understand without knowing the originals. For example we may mention the new proverb, *la mendengar lonceng berbunyi, tetapi tidak tahu tempat anak loncengnya bergantung* (literally: *He hears the bell ringing, but doesn't know where the clapper hangs*). A synonymous older saying is, *seperti katak mendengar guruh like a frog hearing thunder*. The expression menarik satu garis dengan *take the same line as* has the synonymous *berpihak pada side with*. Van Pernis (1952) has collected dozens of such examples in the story of Si Malin Kundang.

Certainly languages of culture must be firmly based in the present, and look to the future, but the past need not be rejected. It is strange to hear some people proclaim on the one hand that languages of culture are very different from Malay, and on the other that they could never express their innermost feelings in Indonesian. Such statements reveal the prejudices of those who base their evaluations of the capabilities of the language only on their own level of ability in that language.

Languages of science and technology embody specialised symbols and vocabulary. There is an interdependence between the progress of science and the development of the language which records it, explains it, and communicates it to others. A society which does not encourage scientific development will not have a language of science; the lack of a language of science will retard the growth of a new generation of scientists (cf. Nasoetion 1970, 1974 and Samsuri 1978).

What are the characteristics of a language of science? Havránek (1964), a linguist of the Prague School, in discussing the characteristics of a standard language which underlie those of a language of science, concludes that the most important characteristic is its rationality. This means that it can formulate statements which are accurate, exact, and abstract. The form of such sentences reflects the objective precision of science in such a way that the parts of the sentence resemble logical propositions. Logical relations are expressed in compound sentences which show the ordered logical connections between ideas.

In addition to relations of equality shown by coordination, relations such as cause and effect, motive and goal, parallelisms, possibility, probability, and necessity, are made explicit by sentence structure with a hierarchy of subordinate clauses. Such complex sentence structures raises the need of new conjunctions. In Indonesian, for example, a number of nouns have changed their word class to become conjunctions: *sebab* *cause/because*, *untuk* *for*, *ration/for*, *bagi* *part/for*, *berkat* *blessing*, *favour/due to*.

A language of science requires a unified lexicon which (1) is unambiguous, (2) precisely captures the details of complex concepts, (3) expresses abstract and generic concepts. Languages of science express information, whereas languages of literature express the imagination.

CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE CODES

4.1 NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

As noted above in chapter one, in carrying out language development activities, we must differentiate between the structural and the functional point of view. From the structural point of view, all languages serve as adequate means of communicating information, within their own sociocultural settings. From this point of view all languages are equal: there are no languages which are primitive or backward. The recent interest of linguists in 'language universals' (e.g. Greenberg, ed. 1963, 1978; Verhaar 1970) has shown that although languages are amazingly different in surface structure, basically their surface variety may be reduced to a universal set of linguistic features. Linguists are convinced that it is impossible to construct a satisfactory scale on which to rate the linguistic structures of different languages.

If, then, from the structural point of view all languages are equal, why do we worry about language development? Is it not the case that languages grow and develop by themselves? Briefly, we may answer this question with the statement that a language situation which took hundreds of years to develop by natural evolution must be achieved within a few generations, when a language community wants to breach the gap between their situation and that of another language community.

Language development takes place in a situation in which a language must play a new role in a community. In a community which is developing and implementing national systems in many fields: politics, economics, education, science, technology, social organisation, etc., the need arises for the people to be able to speak and write about whatever they can conceive of within these new constellations. In order that not only political stability but also socio-cultural integration may be achieved in the tertiary language community (see chapter III, 3.3), communicative networks must be cultivated: these must include the primary and secondary language communities, where the communication is often face-to-face.

At the 1975 Seminar on National Language Policy (Jakarta), Halim (1976a) discussed how Indonesian, as a national and state language, functions as a means of communication on the national level for governmental and developmental planning and implementation.

Just as language expresses and reflects cultural life in the widest sense, so it may also be said that the level of development of a language expresses and reflects the level of national development in its various aspects in the life of a nation. The relationship between national development and language development is especially evident during periods of social change, as a result, for example, of urbanisation, migration, and modernisation, which require that languages fulfil new functions. From the functional point of view, a language should be readied for these demands.

In connection with the subject of the correlation between national development and language universals, Ferguson and Dil (1979) propose fourteen generalisations, in the form of hypotheses, which should be taken into consideration by language planners and policy makers in Indonesia. In these generalisations they take an historical point of view on national development. Here the term 'national development' does not refer only to that going on at present. Their points are summarised below:

1. The development process requires the use of a 'language of development' in fields such as government, education, and business.
2. The development process tends to promote the use of one language of development in a nation. That is, the use of one language will facilitate the development process, while the use of additional languages of development will hold back the process.¹
3. The development process tends to build up communicative networks based on a single language at the expense of social ties which would weaken the process.
4. The development process tends to standardise the language of development and the language used for formal communication on the national level. The process of language standardisation reflects the processes of integration and standardisation of aspects of development pointed out in hypotheses two and three above.
5. The language which becomes the primary tool of new discoveries in technical fields and management decision-making will eventually become the dominant language of development. The more speakers of the language carry out these activities on their own, the faster the language of development will take over the position of foreign languages previously used.
6. The language style which is the primary tool of new discoveries in technical fields and management decision-making tends to become the language style which increases its vocabulary most rapidly. If there are two centres of development using the same language, it is inevitable that two sets of vocabulary will emerge. For example, in the U.S. and England there are such double sets of terms as switch and point, freight car and goods wagon; in Indonesia and Malaysia there are *kesan* and *pengaruh* *influence*, *kadar* and *laju level*.
7. The language which is dominant in the centre of development tends to become the dominant formal language for communication on the national level.
8. The dominant language style in the centre of development tends to become the model for language style in the country, as for example in England (London), France (Paris), Japan (Tokyo) and the People's Republic of China (Beijing).
9. The development process tends to create new functions of language and thus encourage the expansion of technical vocabulary and diverse discourse styles.

10. The development process tends to encourage the use of classical languages which are felt to be strong symbols of ethnic identity or national identity. If there is a classical language which is part of the country's religious or cultural heritage, that language will tend to be used as a source of technical terminology.²
11. The development process tends to create or intensify social tensions among groups of speakers which prefer using more traditional language and those who prefer more modern language. This tension reflects the more general schism between groups tending toward orthodoxy versus groups promoting modernisation.
12. When development is tied to ethnic identity, it tends to raise the status of the language of that ethnic group.
13. The development process tends to stimulate language development and cultivation, as for example in 15th and 16th century England, in the Islamic world in the Abassiah period, and in Turkey under Attaturk.
14. The development process tends to create either bilinguals or speakers capable of using more than one language register.

The generalisations above will clarify why the development of the Indonesian language is closely related to the process of national development. Dutton (1976b) makes the same point about the development of the national language in Papua New Guinea.

In connection with language development activities, Kloss (1952; 1967) introduced the terms *Abstandsprache* and *Ausbausprache*, frequently used in the literature of language planning. *Abstandsprache* is the linguistically-based concept of language. *Ausbausprache* is a sociologically-based concept which refers to the type of language purposefully developed so as to serve a range of new uses.

Ferguson (1962; 1968) describes language development activities as involving three dimensions which correlate with such non-linguistic aspects of national development as the level of literacy of the population, standardisation in industry and trade, and modernisation of government and private institutions. The three dimensions are: (1) literacy; (2) language standardisation, and (3) language modernisation. Development activities in each of these fields will stimulate development in other fields. These interrelations will be discussed further in the following sections.

4.2 CODIFICATION

Codification of a language includes creating an alphabet or writing system not only choosing ideograms, but also making decisions about such conventions as capitalisation, punctuation, compounds, and numbers.

Codification can also mean replacing an accepted writing system with a new one. Turkey, for example, has used Cyrillic, Armenian, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Latin scripts (Smalley 1963:73). In Malaysia the traditional orthography was Jawi. In 1963, it was formally declared that Malaysian was to be written in Latin script, although a revised ruling in 1971 permitted the use of Jawi also (Asmah 1979). In China the movement for latinisation of Chinese orthography was begun in the sixteenth century by Jesuit missionaries. In 1958 the National People's Congress formally adopted the phonetic Chinese alphabet (Han-yu pin-yin fang-an) to write Chinese in Latin script³ (Tsang 1970; DeFrancis 1977; Tu 1978).

In Indonesia, Latin script is now used by most people to write Madurese, Balinese, Javanese, Batak, and Sundanese — to mention a few examples. Previously, a script originating from Southern India was used. With many modifications it spread throughout South-East Asia as Hinduism and Buddhism flourished. Arabic script was widely disseminated with Islam, and has been used for Spanish (Smalley 1963), Malay, North African and Middle Eastern languages, and even Javanese and other Indonesian languages to a certain extent.

Codification of languages may be part of a literacy program. Literacy will be discussed further in Chapter IV, on Language Cultivation.

4.2.1 Creating systems of orthography

In creating an orthography for a language which has not yet been written, as part of a language development program, political and sociocultural factors must be taken into account. Although language analysis and transcription are the work of a linguist, the final decisions must be acceptable to the public. Pike (1947), Pulgram (1951), Burns (1953) Garvin (1954), Berry (1968, 1977), Smalley et al (1963c), Sjoberg (1966), Bowers (1968), Valdman (1968), Venezky (1970), and Fishman, ed. (1977) present views on this subject which take into account both linguistic and social factors.

Smalley (1963a) discusses the problems of symbolising pronunciation with orthographies at various levels. At the phonetic level we can devise a phonetic transcription which represents every small difference of sound. At the phonemic level we can create a phonemic spelling system which symbolises each phoneme, although it may be realised in several ways phonetically, with the same grapheme. Similar to a phonemic spelling system is a syllabic orthography in which each letter represents a series of phonemes. Such a system is used, for example, in Javanese, Sundanese, Japanese, and Amharic. There are also morphemic orthographies. The grapheme <s> in English, for example, represents the plural morpheme. Morphemes can also be differentiated with different spellings, even though they are pronounced the same, as in English to-too-two and key-quay. This principle also applies to the Chinese characters which allow Cantonese speakers to read what Putonghua speakers write although they have difficulty understanding each other orally. The orthography also can symbolise aspects of a grammatical system. Punctuation symbols, such as periods, commas, and question marks, mark off grammatical units. In Arabic-Malay script and the old Indonesian spelling the symbol for the number (2) represents reduplication.

Finally it may be added that based on accepted convention, the writing system can be used for the following purposes: paragraphs, indicated by indentation, or spacing, represent a single idea; quotation marks represent a quote from speech; initial capital letters represent, among other things, personal names; and italics represent, among other things, emphasis.

American structuralism and the theories developed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics after World War II influenced linguists who were transcribing new languages, in the direction of phonemic representations (cf. for example Cochran 1977). One phoneme-one grapheme correspondences were the rule. Phonemic spelling systems are attractive because they are based on definite principles, and do not require too many graphemes. However, already in the fifties, Jones (1950), DeFrancis (1950) Nida (1954), and Hockett (1955, 1958) showed that purely phonemic spelling systems were not appropriate for languages with literary traditions.

Joos (1960) depicted the characteristics of the ideal orthographic system as follows: (1) The spelling is morphophonemic to a certain extent so as to maintain the stability of morpheme forms, (2) The spelling is flexible enough to allow each native speaker to realise the phonemic symbols phonetically according to his own ideolect, (3) The spelling system is uniform so that all the dialects of the language can be represented. The second and third characteristics above require that each grapheme be diaphonic and that each group of graphemes be diamorphic (cf. Daniel Jones 1950).

Recently linguists have become more aware that the rules of a good spelling system cannot be completely consistent with a single principle although phonemic systems are still usually the basis. Gold (1977), for example, states that spelling systems are often collections of competing principles. As well as the phonemic and morphemic (or morphophonemic) principles there are also two other principles which should be taken into account.

The first is the principle of etymology, which applies to pairs of words which would be homophones if the spelling system were phonemic, such as Indonesian *masa time, period* and *massa mass, sanksi sanction* and *sangsi doubt*.

The second is the principle of functional load. This principle has to do with the importance of the distinctiveness of a phoneme in the phonological structure of the language. We can also apply the concept of functional load to symbols. If, for example, the difference between two distinctive phonemes, represented by the same grapheme, is only important in a limited number of minimal pairs, then the differentiating diacritic marks needed have a light functional load.

An example of a diacritic mark in Indonesian spelling with a light functional load is the accent mark which differentiates the phonemes /e/ and /ə/, both represented by the grapheme <e>. Djoko Kentjono (1967) found about sixty minimal pairs differentiated by the opposition of /e/ and /ə/ alone. For teaching pronunciation, it is far more economical to list these pairs in a language textbook than to place the accent mark on each <e> grapheme which represents the phoneme /e/, as suggested by, among others, Alisjahbana, in his grammar. In practice it seems that the absence of the accent in Indonesian texts has implications only in pronunciation and not for sentence comprehension.

In addition to these linguistic considerations, there are other factors to be taken into account in devising new orthographies. For pedagogical reasons, a spelling system should make learning to read and write as easy as possible. And in a multilingual society with a national language, the spelling systems for languages which do not yet have orthographies should, as far as possible, be in accordance with that of the national language, so as not to create additional difficulties for the students when they switch over to the national language as the language of instruction. Certainly there may be modifications needed due to different phonological structures. In addition, the spelling system should make it as easy as possible to do reproduction with available typing and printing equipment. For this reason, diacritics and unusual letters should be avoided when possible.

Sometimes an existing spelling system is felt to be unsatisfactory, because the symbols are not appropriate or their scope is not wide enough. Or dissatisfaction may arise when more than one spelling system is in use. For example in Malaysia before 1972 there were three different spelling systems (Asmah 1979) when a movement for spelling reform arose. The success or failure of such a movement depends not only on the excellence of the new system, but on a number of external factors.

Among these factors are: (1) whether there exists a literary tradition, and if so, (2) whether there is a high level of literacy in the society, as well as (3) a reading culture, and (4) a book industry. An additional factor is (5) whether there are changes in the society brought about by political or cultural changes which are expressed in language behaviour. Apparently (6) national character — if we may use this term — has some effect on the reform movement. Following are some illustrative examples.

The successful spelling reform in Indonesia and Malaysia was clearly influenced by political developments and their results: a new administrative era which also affected the area of language.⁴ In addition, it is also important that the first four factors above were basically absent in this situation.

It is of interest to compare this case with the Dutch and English spelling reform movements, where the first four factors above are all present, and apparently function as strong obstacles. All efforts to reform English spelling have failed. In addition, linguists are not convinced of the need for change since Chomsky and Halle's (1968) phonological theory, in the framework of generative-transformational grammar, which re-evaluates English spelling.

From the phonemic point of view, English spelling is difficult. In the English spelling system, what is basic is not correspondence between phonemes and graphemes, but correspondence between lexical representations, which are abstract, and written symbols. Thus the spelling is interpreted as representing elements of language which carry meaning. The morphophonemic rules of English are complex. Thus having the same morpheme always spelled in the same way, despite differing pronunciations, is helpful to the speaker of English in his understanding in reading. Berry (1977) considers that the English spelling system is an optimal system of representation from this point of view.

In the Netherlands we find a language which is not used in as widespread an area as is English. Geerts et al (1977) state that the international use of a language is an obstacle to spelling reform, in addition to an attitude of respect for tradition: a high level of standardisation of the language (as in French and English); the existence of an authoritative dictionary (such as Johnson's); and an area of political influence (as in England and France). Implicitly they acknowledge that these factors have not been present in the history of spelling reform in the Netherlands.

The first official spelling system in the Netherlands was Siegenbeek's, instituted in 1804. This system was replaced by the De Vries and Te Winkel system in 1865. Between that year and 1945 no fewer than eleven new systems were proposed. In 1945 a committee was formed for the Netherlands and Belgium to plan a new spelling system based on the De Vries and Te Winkel system. Its results came out in 1954. Nevertheless in the sixties and seventies there was still agitation for further spelling reform (Geerts et al 1977).

4.2.2 Written language

Languages which have orthographies and which are regularly used as written languages can be said to have written varieties as well as spoken varieties. This fact was the source of the principle of structural linguistics, especially as practiced in the U.S., which was stated by Bloomfield (1933): that writing is only a way of recording language in visible symbols. Thus speech is primary,

writing secondary. This point of view was perhaps a reaction to the layman's belief that spoken language is somehow a debased form of the more authentic written language.

That there exists such a belief indicates that there are indeed written varieties in addition to spoken varieties, and that written varieties have distinctive characteristics in grammar, vocabulary and even phonological structure. Ferguson (1968) writes that the use of a written variety has far-reaching consequences for a language community. Written records are lasting, allowing a greater flow of information from one generation to the next. The ease of transporting written records also allows communication over a wider area.

Once the written variety spreads, the spoken variety can no longer be described as in a vacuum, because of the process of mutual influence which can cause the spoken language to change in the direction of the written language, due to the more conservative character of the latter. Sibayan (1974) adds that education usually takes place largely through the medium of the written variety (books, papers, examinations), although the spoken language is its basis.

Haugen (1969) and Kloss (1967) give convincing reasons for language development to be concentrated on the written variety. In a community where communication is face-to-face, planned language development is not needed. Mistakes made by language learners are corrected by parents, teachers, or peers. In a larger language community, the most appropriate means of communication are language codes which can supersede differences of time and place. These forms of language are primarily written varieties. Unlike spoken varieties, written varieties cannot be instantly corrected. That is why written varieties need to be corrected in a directed and planned way, and also why written varieties are the primary target of language development, both by official agencies and by individuals.

The level of development of a language may be measured by the purposes for which its written variety is used, according to a classification suggested by Ferguson (1962) and followed by Haugen (1969). The first type includes languages which are not or have not yet been used for ordinary writing purposes such as (1) writing personal letters, (2) use in newspapers and popular magazines, or (3) use in books which are not translations. The second type includes languages which are used for the purposes above. The third type includes languages used for research and publication of scientific writings. The fourth type includes languages which are used in addition for translating scientific works from other languages: this refers to the quality of intertranslatability among developed languages. This classification is based on characteristics which are cumulative.

4.3 DIGLOSSIA AND STANDARD LANGUAGES

To clarify the difference between a standard language and one which is not yet standardised, let us look at the concrete example of the Indonesian language community. Below are described characteristics of diglossia which are relevant to language development activities.

4.3.1 Characteristics of diglossia

The term diglossia refers to the situation in which a single language community uses two major varieties from two different languages side by side for different sociolinguistic functions. The two languages may have other sub-varieties as well. Ferguson (1959) introduced the term 'diglossia' in his article dealing with Arabic, Tamil, Greek, Swiss-German, and Haitian Creole.⁵

The first major variety, considered 'higher' than the other, is used in literature and originates from an earlier period of the history of the language community or even from another language community — as with Malay for Indonesia and Malaysia. The second major variety arises from dialects of the people. The first variety may be called the *high variety* and the second the *low variety*.

Diglossia tends to appear in language communities when one or more of the three following conditions obtain: (1) literacy is limited to a small elite; (2) there is a literature which is considered the embodiment of powerful cultural values (such as a religious, mystical, or royal literature), and (3) a high level of literacy is achieved centuries before the literature reaches the masses (Ferguson 1964:436).

The high variety is used in, for example, formal speeches, sermons, and lectures; radio and television announcing; formal writing; newspaper editorials and articles; and literature, especially poetry. The low variety is used in, for example, informal conversation among family members or friends of the same age; bargaining in the market place; folk art and literature (like *lenong*: Jakartanese folk plays, and *Kebayan* stories); informal writing such as personal letters to close friends; newspaper cartoons or special magazine sections.

Because the high variety is considered to play a highly valued role in the language community, that variety has greater prestige. It is often considered more beautiful, more civilised, and better able to express complex ideas.

In the language acquisition process, the low variety is learned as a mother tongue or from peers. Pre-school children may have opportunities to hear the high variety, but it is primarily acquired through formal education. The low variety is learned without explanation of grammatical rules, while the high variety is learned through study of norms and rules.

In such communities, tradition places a high priority on study of the grammatical rules of the high variety. This is understandable when we remember that the high variety is learned in school. The tradition of writing grammars of Malay, Malaysian, and Indonesian is an example. Kennedy (1945), Teeuw (1961) and Uhlenbeck (1967) provide useful bibliographies for the study of the development of grammar writing in this language.

It is this tradition which serves as a basis for language standardisation. The high variety's norms of spelling, grammar, and vocabulary are codified. The uncoded low variety tends to have alternate spellings (cf. for example Asmah 1979) and wide variety in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. In the case of a language which is geographically widespread, such as Arabic or Indonesian, the low variety may become differentiated into regional varieties, which may eventually be mutually unintelligible.

Speakers of the high variety of Arabic can communicate throughout the Arabic world, but those who understand only the low variety used in Magribu, for example, will experience difficulty in communicating with speakers of low varieties from Egypt, the Sudan, Syria, or Iraq. Similarly speakers of low varieties of Malay-Indonesian in various regions of the Indonesian peninsula

will experience difficulties in intercommunicating, particularly due to the influence of regional languages on the local varieties.

Such settings provide the basis for differentiating three kinds of diglossia. The first type is that found in language communities which can be called monolingual. This is the kind of diglossia described in Ferguson's description of Arabic diglossia (*al-fusba* and *al'ammiyyah*).

Another kind of diglossia occurs in multilingual settings. There are two types of multilingual diglossia. In the simpler case there is a dominant language with various regional dialects, as well as languages used as ethnic group languages or as informal languages of wider communication. The high variety of the dominant language, which is, or is being, standardised, is originally based on the norms of one of the dialects which is considered prestigious. In its later development it may happen that the norms of other dialects are incorporated into the high variety.

Such a situation is found in the Semenanjung language community in Malaysia. Several dialects of Malay are used, among them: Kedah, Terengganu, Kelantan, and Johor. A new high variety, based on the Johor dialect, arose in the capital city, Kuala Lumpur. It came to be called Malaysian. The native speakers of the language are now likely to refer to the variety of language used on Malaysian radio and television in Kuala Lumpur as the standard language. Thus the various dialects now function as low varieties in that language community.

A second type of multilingual diglossia is more complex. In such multilingual communities there is not only interaction between the high variety of the dominant language and its regional dialects, but also between the dominant language and other languages — related or not — on one hand, and between the regional dialects of the dominant language and the regional languages on the other. Thus the level of interference is higher than that in the other types of diglossia described above. As a result the norms of the major high variety can no longer be said to be based on one dominant dialect. The norms of the high variety may include both elements of the norms of regional dialects and elements of norms of other languages — related or not (cf. Fishman 1967).

In the opinion of the writer, Indonesia provides an example of the latter type. Although the following description is somewhat simplified, it depicts the overall evolution of the situation in Indonesia. This description is presented as a hypothesis, to be confirmed by further research. The concept of diglossia may be said to be implicit in the works of Alisjahbana (1933, 1956) and Teeuw (1959).

4.3.2 Diglossia in Indonesia

Referring to Teeuw (1959) for the period of development of Old Malay, this hypothesis takes the Classical Malay period as its starting point. The variety which came to be called Classical Malay, used in old literature, traditionally functioned as a major high variety. This variety was also used as the language of the palace, of correspondence, and of diplomacy. Its low varieties were used by the largely illiterate populace.

Over time — perhaps centuries — the following process took place. First, the original high variety spread to non-Malay-speaking areas where it became a second language. In the process, the high variety became a *koiné* whose

grammatical characteristics were simplified.⁶ The variety used on Java, for example, was no longer identical with the original variety.

At the same time there were other processes taking place. The high Malay variety and certainly also the low one was also spread by traders, fishermen, and travellers. Two things happened: (1) New Malay dialects developed wherever a sufficient number of native speakers settled. In this category are apparently dialects of Sumatra such as Besemah, Serawai, Orang Darat, and Belitung (Voorhoeve 1955) and of Kalimantan, such as Sarawak, Brunei, Iban, Banjar, and Kutai (Cense and Uhlenbeck 1958) as well as the dialect in the area of Jakarta. (2) The varieties were pidginised in port areas and centres of trade. The pidginisation process became creolisation when the pidgin became the mother tongue of later generations. Varieties of 'Pasar Malay' (Pijnappel 1865, Van Eck 1883); Chinese Malay (Lie Kimhok 1884, Nio Joe Lan 1939); Javanese Malay (Kats 1934); Portuguese-Malay (Schuchardt 1890); Ambonese Malay (De Clercq 1876, Joest 1892); Menadonese Malay (De Clercq 1871); Ternate-Malay (Van der Crab 1878); and Timor-Malay (De Clercq 1874), apparently fall into this category.

These situations lasted for such a long period of time because of the low level of literacy in the population. The 1930 census showed that of a population of 61 million, only 6.44% could read and write. Discounting children under the age of ten years, the level of literacy was still only 30.83% (Van der Wal 1961:7).

Because of the multilateral nature of the interaction among these language varieties as they developed, Schrieke could report in 1929 that attempting to use Riau Malay as the language of instruction in the schools of Java was futile, because the language was not used in its pure form anywhere on Java.⁷ However, there was no alternative as the teaching materials were in that language. In addition, in his opinion, studying Riau Malay provided a good foundation for understanding other Malay dialects (Van der Wal 1963:49).

In the same report, a year after the Youth Pledge, Schrieke wrote that during the last decade a type of Malay had been being developed by the *Volkslectuur* (Balai Poestaka) publishing house and native newspapers, and popularised by talented speakers.⁸

The statement above shows that there was indeed diglossia in Indonesia at that time. It would be very interesting to do further research on the variety of Malay the youth of 1928 had in mind as the future language of Indonesia, aside from the fact that school teaching was based on the Riau Malay tradition and on Van Ophuijsen's grammar. The latter includes a number of new forms, the result of standardisation, which do not usually occur in spoken Riau Malay (cf. Winstedt 1913b, Teeuw 1959).

This diglossia is also the explanation of the difference between users of the written variety of Indonesian and the high spoken variety on the one hand, and the ordinary spoken variety on the other. When Indonesian speakers say that Indonesian is an easy language, they are apparently referring to the low variety which they understand; when they say that it is difficult, they are referring to the high variety, which they do not understand as well. The distinction between the two language varieties explains the paradox in Indonesian society that Indonesian is easy but at the same time difficult to learn and use. Descriptive linguistics which attempts to describe the structure of languages often ignores the socio-cultural background which allows variety and 'imperfect' language usage.

Finally diglossia in Indonesian society means that the new standard language variety will be used in the areas in which the major high style was used (see paragraph 1, this section). Kridalaksana (1976) names four situations which require use of the new standard language: (1) formal communication, (2) technical discourse, (3) public speaking, (4) speaking with highly respected figures. If these situations are classified according to two intersecting sociolinguistic variables (Stewart 1962): (a) public behaviour (not personal, representing others), and (b) formal behaviour (according to formal rules) versus informal behaviour (not according to formal rules), the following picture emerges of the situations in which the standard language may be used:

	Formal	Informal
Public	standard language	standard/sub-standard/ non-standard language
Private	standard/ sub-standard/ non-standard language	sub-standard/non-standard language

Bargaining in stores takes place in sub-standard varieties, but a speech in an informal situation allows a choice between standard and sub-standard varieties or the use of standard and sub-standard varieties in turn. Similarly, in private but formal situations, such as at a reception in a conversation with a friend with others present, there is a choice between varieties.

4.4 LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION

With the background of the discussion of diglossia above, the problem of language standardisation in Indonesia gains an added dimension which has often been ignored or considered unimportant to the success of language standardisation. However, such matters as, for example, which norms apply to standard Indonesian, and which native speakers are the models for these norms, should be discussed. Further, it may be questioned whether standard Indonesian should necessarily fulfil all the same sociolinguistic functions as Norwegian and Czech, for example.

In the sociolinguistic literature, standardisation as a process (as described in Chapter I and II above) is often considered synonymous with language planning. We do not adopt this practice in the present study. In the following section, after a discussion of norms and the basis for the choice of norms we will be concerned with the development of language codes (see Chapter II, 2.2.1 and 2.2.2), and then the requirements of completeness and unity of linguistic rules. After a general discussion of standard languages we will deal with aspects of standardisation in the areas of phonology, spelling, pronunciation, and lexicon, and finally some grammatical problems, based on an examination of current school textbooks.

4.4.1 The norms of standard languages

As stated above in section 4.3, in language communities where there is diglossia, the main high variety is usually the basis for standardisation. This was the case in Indonesia. In fact it may be said that there was a tendency to base grammars on the high variety of the written language (cf. for example, Mees 1951, Fokker 1941, 1951). While it was once generally accepted that the norms of the standard language were based on the high variety on Riau Malay (Van Ophuijsen 1915), the development of Indonesian today suggests that the choice of norms is no longer monocentric. Considering the history of the influence of the literature put out by Balai Poestaka, whose editors⁹ were largely Minangkabau; the language of the press¹⁰ and of government correspondence before the war; and the language of the mass media today written by native speakers of a number of Indonesian languages, we may say that the sources of the norms of Indonesian are multiple.

In Haugen's (1968) study of language norms in Scandinavia, he states that single models (based on one dialect) and multiple models (based on several dialects) need not be seen as in opposition. By the time norms are codified and widespread in use, their origins are usually no longer discoverable. Ansre (1971) found this to be the case for standard Syona in Africa, which is based on a number of dialects, as did Byron (1976) for standard Albanian.

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

The competition between the two sets of norms may be illustrated by the competing forms *pengrusak* and *perusak* *disturber, destroyer*. In one school a controversy arose between the teachers, who maintained that the form *perusak* was correct, and the students, who maintained that the form *pengrusak* was correct because it could be found in the newspapers. Another example is the use of nominal classifiers in counting. Through use in the mass media and in literature, it is becoming the norm to limit the use of classifiers to three: *orang, ekor, and buah*. But school grammars include a more complete set of classifiers, adding *bidang, bilah, bentuk, butir, batang, helai, pucuk, sisir utas, etc.* These norms are presently in competition. Sanches (1977) remarks on a similar tendency to limit classifiers in Japanese.

The normative process which is now going on, and is not yet crystallised in orthography, grammar, and vocabulary, apparently originates from the high variety, in particular its written variety, as used by Indonesian speakers in the cities. It seems likely that the high variety developed in Jakarta, the centre of development, will become the model for the national standard. It may be that other cities will contribute to a polycentric norm. But taking into account the tendency to look to Jakarta as the example of modernisation, and the experience of other countries where the language of the capital city has become the model for the standard language, it appears that in a few generations Jakarta's high variety will be the basis of a stable standard Indonesian.

It is not unusual for the high written variety to be the model for the standard language. In Germany the standardisation of language norms was at

first based on the written variety (*Schriftsprache*). The gap between the written variety and the spoken variety was closed by planned selection and interference (Guxman 1968). Such a process is even more likely to take place in Indonesia, with its diglossia. It is the job of the Pusat Bahasa (Language Centre) to formalise grammatical rules which describe the norms of the high variety and unify the two competing sets of norms.

Because the high variety is learned in school, model speakers and writers of Indonesian should not be sought only among the power elite. In fact criticism of the language used by high government officials is often heard from those interested in language development and cultivation. This does not mean that other groups, such as journalists or writers, are necessarily better models. But both of these groups are potentially excellent channels for spreading the acceptance of the norms of the standard language. In this respect, Indonesian may be compared with two other languages whose norms did not spread from the usage of an elite. One is the *Demotika* variety of Greek, declared Greece's national language in 1976 by Prime Minister Karamanlis. Another is *Landsmål* in Norway, since 1929 called *Nynorsk* (New Norwegian) as opposed to *Riksmål* (national language) or *Boksmål* (book language). These two standard languages originated from rural regional dialects or everyday speech in urban areas (Haugen 1966a).

Guxman (1968) points out that the works of writers such as Pushkin, Lermontov, and Gogol were important to the general acceptance of the norms of Russian. Similarly the writings of Lu-Sun and Shinazaki Tosan were important in China and Japan. The works of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller and Heine influenced the standardisation of literary German. The importance of Corneille, Racine, and Molière to French literature may be compared to that of Shakespeare for English. If we may take a lesson from the experience of other countries, we must conclude that language standardisation depends not only on the activities of linguists, but also on those of writers, who should be more aware of their potential influence on language development.

Thus we may say somewhat cautiously that the norms of the high written variety may be found in the papers and articles of professionals, which are published in leading newspapers and magazines, and which are deliberately concerned with language development and cultivation. These modifying phrases are necessary because there is a widespread opinion among journalists that Indonesian must be allowed to develop on its own. In addition to the above, another source of models for the norms of the standard language are the books put out by publishing houses which are concerned to edit the language of their publications.

4.4.2 Standardisation and uniformity

Standardisation assumes uniformity. The standardisation process to a certain extent means achievement of uniformity of norms and rules. This uniformity can of course not be perfect, through time, or in all places. The layman commonly imagines a language that is standardised to be one that is frozen. Ferguson (1968:31) defines standardisation as a "process of one variety of language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supradialectal norm — the 'best' form of the language — rated above regional and social dialects, although these may be felt appropriate in some domains". That is, a standard language is one that is widely accepted by the public and which still allows for minor modifications.

This uniformity is related to another characteristic of a standard language: flexible stability (Havránek 1932, 1938; Garvin 1973). Stability is actually a characteristic of the norms of all languages, even in primary speech communities. Flexible stability is necessary for a standard language for efficiency. The rules cannot be constantly changing. Codification in the form of spelling rules, grammar textbooks, standard dictionaries or terminology dictionaries, help to maintain the stability of the rules and norms of language.

Rubin (1977b) in her article on language standardisation in Indonesia writes that codification is not the only way to achieve unification of norms. Codification is not always part of the standardisation process, as agreement may sometimes be reached without codification. The truth of this statement is reflected in the rules of sentence formation now found in publications in Jakarta, which have never appeared in grammar textbooks. However, it cannot be denied that anything printed has a certain authority to the public, no matter what its intrinsic worth. The stability of a standard language must be flexible enough so that there is room for modifications of the codified rules as the language and culture change.

Language standardisation can be the job of an official government agency or a private organisation. In the United States, for example, publishers put out guides to writing style which are considered standard, so that writers who want to publish their works have to meet their requirements. Indonesian publishers do not have such definite guidelines. Some allow writing styles with adjectives occurring before nouns, others allow the figure 2 for reduplication to appear in texts although this practice is not in accordance with the regulations of the new spelling system. In Indonesia the government agency responsible for codification is the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa (Centre for Language Development and Cultivation), whose name, status, and responsibilities have been changed five times (see notes no.8 through 15, Chapter II). Due to a larger budget and an increase in its activities, this agency, once considered a 'midget', has recently begun to achieve national recognition. Its name, appearing weekly on national television on its language cultivation program, is known throughout Indonesia.

4.4.3 Phonology and standard spelling systems

In the linguistic literature, Indonesian phonology is described as if it were structurally the same everywhere. The different phonetic realisation of certain phonemes is recognised, but sometimes the status of the phonemes /f/, /z/, /s/, and /x/ is considered questionable, or they are considered simply stylistic variants of true phonemes (cf. for example Andreev 1957, quoted by Stokhof 1975) or borrowed phonemes (among others Lapoliwa 1977).

Following is an alternative view which is based on the concept of the diasystem¹¹ which recognises (1) all phonetic variants as representations of the same phoneme in the same position, (2) interference from borrowed elements which have fixed positions and which change the phonotactics of the standard sub-system (cf. Daniel Jones, 1950, Weinreich 1953, Byron 1976).

With the diasystem approach, the opposition between the view that Indonesian has eight vowels (e.g. Samsuri 1960, Dardjowidjojo 1966) and the view that it has six (e.g. Alisjahbana 1950, Kähler, 1956, Andreev 1957, Wolff 1965, Halim 1972, 1974) can be avoided. Since to my knowledge in the two pairs [e] and [ɛ], and [o] and [ɔ], the elements are never in opposition, they can be considered diaphones.¹²

i	u	and	i	u
e	ə		e	ə
ɛ	a		ɛ	a

Similarly the consonantal system may be considered to consist of two major sub-systems. One is the sub-system of the standard variety, the other that of the sub-standard variety. The following tables of consonant inventories show the differences between them.

Table 9: Consonant sub-system of the standard variety					
Voiceless stops	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Voiced stops	b	d	j	g	
Trill		r			
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Voiceless fricatives	f	s	ʃ	z	h
Voiced fricatives		z			
Lateral		l			
Glides	w		y		
	labial	dental alveolar	alveo- palatal	velar	glottal

Table 10: Consonant sub-system of the sub-standard variety					
Voiceless stops	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Voiced stops	b	d	j	g	
Trill		r			
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Voiceless fricatives	-	s	-	-	h
Voiced fricatives		-			
Lateral		l			
Glides	w		y		
	labial	dental alveolar	alveo- palatal	velar	glottal

Table 9 above represents the phonological system of the standard variety, which has a larger number of fricatives: /f/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /x/, and /h/, rather than simply /s/ and /h/. If these two main sub-systems are considered two extremes on a scale, there are a number of other sub-systems which differ from Table 10 above in having three to five fricatives, with /s/ and /h/ always included.

A similar argument may be advanced to account for the diphthongs: /ay/, /aw/ and /oy/. The different phonetic realisations which may occur, for example [aj], [ɛj], [æj] or [au] and [ɔu] (probably dialectal variants) may be considered diaphones (cf. Daniel Jones 1950).

The phonotactics of syllable structure in Indonesian also show two varieties, corresponding to the two consonant sub-systems. Standard Indonesian has the eleven canonic forms below:

- | | | | |
|--------|---------|-----------|-------------|
| 1. V | a(nak) | 6. CCVC | trak(tor) |
| 2. VC | ar(ti) | 7. VCC | eks(kavasi) |
| 3. CV | ra(kit) | 8. CVCC | (kon)teks |
| 4. CVC | pin(tu) | 9. CCVCC | (kom)pleks |
| 5. CCV | pra(ja) | 10. CCCV | stra(tegi) |
| | | 11. CCCVC | struk(tur) |

Standard Indonesian allows various types of consonant clusters in these eleven structural patterns. Other varieties of Indonesian allow from 5 to 10 of these structural patterns, but always including patterns 1 through 4.

The Indonesian spelling system in Latin script was formally standardised for the third time in 1972. Previous systems were the Van Ophuijsen system (1901) and the Soewandi system (1947). Discussion of principles and history of spelling standardisation may be found in Asmah (1967, 1979), Kridalaksana (1968, 1970, 1978), Samsuri (1960), Halim (1972), and Moeliono (1975). All of these include further bibliographic references.

In 1975, the book *Pedoman umum ejaan yang disempurnakan* (Guide to the new spelling system) came out. It included instructions on how to (1) use the letters of the alphabet, (2) write the letters of the alphabet, (3) write words, (4) write borrowed elements, (5) use punctuation marks. A spelling dictionary which included lists of standard works and their syllable divisions was completed in 1973.¹³ The manuscript of this dictionary, which is to take the place of Van Ophuijsen's (1901) *Kitab logat Melajoe*, still awaits publication. In the same year the book *Pedoman umum pembentukan istilah* (General guide to terminology formulation) came out. It gives standard spelling rules for foreign terminology borrowed into Indonesian.

One important field which needs standardisation in terminology as soon as possible is topography. This problem has been too long unsolved. In 1967 the U.N. conference on standardisation of geographical names (United Nations Conference 1968) reached some agreements. In addition at that conference, each member nation reported on its policies, procedures, and agencies for standardising geographical names, problems faced in standardisation, and principles of transliteration and transcription.

4.4.4 Standardisation of pronunciation

The standardisation of the pronunciation of Indonesian is a complex problem because of the multilingual setting of the language. In addition to individual pronunciation differences due to interference from the regional languages which are the speakers' first languages, there is interference in the standard variety from sub-standard varieties.

There are those who feel that there should be freedom in pronunciation as long as it does not interfere with communication between speakers. The various pronunciation of English in Britain, the United States, Australia, Canada, India, and Singapore, for example, does not impede mutual intelligibility. Another point of view is that a standard of correct pronunciation is needed. Those who hold this view point out that in the Dutch period a correct pronunciation was taught (*algemeen beschaafde uitspraak*). Some language teachers

feel that it is incomplete to teach Indonesian without teaching a standard pronunciation.

If we were to attempt to have a standard pronunciation now, whose pronunciation would serve as the model? For the time being, standard pronunciation has been negatively defined: it is pronunciation which does not show regional characteristics (cf. Abercrombie 1956, 1967). This principle is clearly applicable when by regional pronunciation we mean characteristics of pronunciation of regional languages such as Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Toba Batak, Achenese, or Madurese, which are widely recognised. Would pronunciation influenced by the Lampung or Banjar languages, which are not widely known, be considered to have a regional character? It seems that there is a problem of a social stigma attached to certain types of pronunciation in particular.

If we are to have a standard pronunciation, the most important channel for its dissemination will be radio and television announcers. Perhaps what has happened in England with BBC English (Received Pronunciation) and radio and television broadcasters in the United States (network English) will also take place in Indonesia. For this to be achieved, there should be cooperation between the Pusat Bahasa (Language Centre) and the radio and television networks.

4.4.5 Standardisation of lexicon

The compiling of dictionaries is important to the standardisation of lexicon. The role of the dictionaries as a means of standardisation is more important in everyday life than that of grammars (cf. Whittaker 1966 and Abdullah Hassan 1978).

A dictionary includes lexical items (including affixes), definitions, spelling, pronunciation, etymology, information on grammatical categories, such as word classes and transitivity, and correct and accepted usage. The spread of standard forms and usage is facilitated by the availability of dictionaries because people buy dictionaries more often than they buy grammar textbooks, which they feel are only for students.

The most authoritative dictionary in Indonesia at present is Poerwadarminta's (1952) general dictionary, which has repeatedly been revised. The fifth edition came out in 1976. Because this dictionary was designed in part to help users understand words and phrases from Old Malay literature, it cannot be considered an accurate reflection of the current lexicon of Indonesian. However due to this diachronic tendency, the inclusion of many archaic elements, it is useful for increasing the modern vocabulary. This point will be discussed further in section 4.7 on language modernisation.

The Poerwadarminta dictionary could be made more useful by the addition of the following: (1) a list of all the affixes used in Indonesian, including bound forms such as pra-, pasca-, sub-, kontra-, (2) differentiating more clearly between standard forms and sub-standard forms, for example, between the items *mengebut* (st.) *to dust* and *ngebut* (sub-st) *to race*, keeping in mind the possibility of forming *dikebutkan* (sub-st) *to speed up*, (3) replacing the dagger (†) which has too many functions: it symbolises for example that an item is archaic, rare, regional, or of unknown origin, (4) current technical and scientific terminology, (5) information on the grammatical categories of items, and (6) important and standardised abbreviations. For purposes of spelling

standardisation, the system of using the virgule (/) between alternative spellings should be reconsidered. Since many users fail to read the introduction, they may assume that slanted lines mean the form may be used. It would be preferable to place the alternative spelling after the standard spelling.

4.4.6 Standardisation of grammar

Although Indonesian grammar has never been officially standardised, descriptions of the grammar, both adaptations of Dutch works and original works have been widely used in education and have been very influential as means of standardisation. We should first point out here the difference between two concepts which are often confused. Grammar may be defined as: "a set of norms which describe language usage, both its regularities and the deviations from the regularities". Grammatical descriptions are codifications of these norms in written form called rules. Thus grammatical descriptions are collections of grammatical rules whose reliability depends on the accuracy and sophistication of the writer.

Among the grammatical descriptions which are still influential among educators are the works of Van Ophuijsen (1910); Sasrasoeganda (1910), which is an adaptation of Gerth van Wijk (1889); Zain (1942); Lubis (1946); Alisjahbana (1949, 1950); Mees (1951); Fokker (1951); Poedjawijatna and Zoetmulder (1955); Slametmuljana (1956; 1957); and Keraf (1970).

Despite their usefulness as means of standardisation, if we look at each of these books individually from the point of view of reliability, we find that they do not fully describe current usage. The rules described are not in accordance with the reality of speech. Because these rules do not accord with practice, the old certainty is shaken and doubts are raised. Following are some of the causes.

Moeliono (1978) suggests three areas in which problems may lie which may cause grammatical descriptions to be unreliable. They are (1) the linguistic theory, (2) the application of the theory, (3) the results of application of the theory. Because problems in the areas of application and the results of application of linguistic theory are mentioned in Chapter II, section 2.2.1 (Applications) and Chapter III, Section 4.5 (Languages in Education), we will discuss below only some problems of linguistic theory or framework.

Linguistic theory is needed to decide satisfactory norms and standards which are acceptable and applicable (cf. Havránek 1932). Until the fifties, the phonological theory which underlay the description of Indonesian sounds was influenced by Dutch phonology. That is why there has been controversy over word stress, although stress in Indonesian has a different role from stress in Dutch as shown by Halim (1974). The terms dynamic stress, high stress, and duration stress (e.g. Alisjahbana 1949) reflect the views of Dutch writers who were confusing different phonetic characteristics: stress, tone, and duration (of sound) (cf. Moeliono 1967).

Various conceptualisations of Indonesian phonotactics which do not take into account the existence of standard and sub-standard varieties yield contradictory results. For example, in Alisjahbana's most recent articles (1978a, 1978b), he states that simplicity of syllable structure, without consonant clusters, should be retained as long as possible.¹⁴ Other linguists, including the author, feel that such simplicity is inconsistent with language efficiency or modernisation.

In the area of morphology, current Indonesian grammatical descriptions are not explicit enough in differentiating productive versus non-productive rules; obligatory versus optional rules; rules which have wide application and those with narrow application. Following are several examples. Why is *kebanjiran flooded* possible and *ke-air-bah-an flooded by river water* not possible?

What is the difference between the phrases *bunga putih white flower* and *bunga yang putih flower which is white*. Why cannot the form *teruji* which means *tested* (pletative) be interpreted to mean *tested unintentionally* or *suddenly tested*?

Inconsistencies in description of Indonesian are one reason why 'Foreigner's Indonesian', interestingly described by Richards (1978), arises. In his paper, he describes an individual strategy of acquiring a second language in which he recreates for himself the linguistic system of the language. In the acquisition process there is a general tendency toward simplification of linguistic rules. This tendency generalises rules and ignores rules with limited application. In cases of uncertainty, for example, in choosing between *ber-* and *meng-*, the safest strategy is to use neither. Following are some examples given by Richards: *Kami mencerita tentang keadaan ini. Kami pinjam dari orang lain yang sewa untuk enam bulan. Tetapi orang itu melari ... Saya juga masih kenal baik dan juga hubungan baik dengan dia. Saya umur 23 tahun.* (Corrections: *Kami menceritakan tentang keadaan ini. We describe the situation. Kami pinjam dari orang lain yang menyewanya untuk enam bulan. We borrowed it from someone else who rented it for six months. Tetapi orang itu lari ... But the person ran away ... Saya juga kenal baik dan juga punya hubungan baik dengan dia. I also know him well and am also on good terms with him. Saya berumur 23 tahun. I am twenty-three years old.*

In the field of syntax, is it true that the rule *modified – modifier* is a major rule of phrase construction? If the phrases *tiga orang three men*, akan datang *will come*, masih harus menerima *still must accept*, which have the opposite order, must be considered distortions of the structural descriptions allowed in the language, would it not be more consistent to admit that the two patterns are both used? The phrase *sebuah kitab sejarah a history book* has the structure *Modifier – Modified – Modifier*. Here also we see an example of the conflict between an inadequate concept of language simplicity and the understanding that standard Indonesian makes use of some structures which also occur in languages which are generally considered more complex (cf. Moeliono 1967 and furthermore Lehmann 1972).

We may further point out that the very brief phrase types, clause types, and sentence types in grammar textbooks suggest that Indonesian syntax does not allow complex constructions. A confusion between diachronic and synchronic approaches may be seen in the statement that *parataxis* is the original construction type, while *hypotaxis* is the result of the influence of foreign syntax.

Finally we may point out two questions having to do with semantic category which also illustrate inconsistency in linguistic theory. Some linguists consider that reduplication symbolises the category 'plural', but if so, why is the rule applied irregularly? It would probably be agreed that the sentence, *Peraturan ini berlaku untuk badan-badan usaha pemerintah dan perusahaan swasta This rule applies to governmental agencies and private firms* is a grammatical sentence. But why does *perusahaan firm* not need to be reduplicated, and what is the difference between the example above and the following: *Peraturan ini berlaku untuk badan usaha pemerintah dan perusahaan-perusahaan swasta*?

If reduplication is still considered a syntactic device, then at least there must be modifications added to its description to deal with the matters of application and discourse style. Different conceptions of reduplication may be found in, for example, Rosen (1977) and Simatupang (1979).

To achieve stability in language standardisation, grammatical descriptions should include idioms which are relatively stable. Freedom may be considered beautiful from the point of view of stylistics, but it also creates uncertainty about what the rules are. It is time to select between *sampai ke* and *sampai dengan up to, until, through*; between *bergantung (ke)pada* and *tergantung dari depend on*; *terdiri atas* and *terdiri (dari) consist of*; *pandangan atas* and *pandangan terhadap view of*; and *berbicara tentang* and *membicarakan tentang speak of*. It is the opinion of the writer that the Indonesian codifying agency should suggest a preferred form so that stability may be achieved more quickly.

The discussion above brings us to the question of whether normative grammars are needed in an unstable situation. If the normative concept is used in connection with norms which can stabilise linguistic rules, the word normative need not mean 'dogmatic', 'traditional', 'old-fashioned', or 'unscientific'. And determinism or relativism in linguistics is not necessarily 'scientific' simply because of a belief in natural evolution or tolerance. The scientific point of view here would be to recognise that there is a language problem in Indonesia and attempt to find ways to overcome it. Language development and cultivation activities do intervene in the natural evolution of language, and language developers or cultivators can differentiate between tolerance in the area of values which is a benefit, and tolerance which is a constraint on the process of language standardisation.

The concern of language developers and cultivators keeps them working despite those who cry "*Leave your language alone*" (Hall 1950) and those who believe that we are facing "*the failure of modern linguistics in the face of the linguistic problems of the twentieth century*" (Alisjahbana 1965). Research and precise linguistic description can go on at the same time, or in fact are a prerequisite for, normative development and cultivation. The Prague School of linguistics has shown that it can be done (Fried 1972).

Putting aside prejudices against linguistics as being irrelevant, due to failure to differentiate theory and application, or two different approaches to language, the writer supports the goals which Alisjahbana (1976, 1978a, 1978b) has been championing for years. It is his view that the compilation of grammars which depict the norms of the language adequately must take first priority in activities to develop the language code. Then, a number of pedagogic grammars are needed for teaching. The difference between these two types of grammatical descriptions should be emphasised, as they are different in purpose. Ideally, pedagogical grammars, based on adequate learning theory, should be aimed at the ability of the language learners to understand linguistic rules and then use them in correct speech and writing (cf. Saporta 1973). Normative grammars in this sense are not student reference grammars.

4.5 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN STANDARD AND SUB-STANDARD VARIETIES

To complete our discussion of language standardisation (Section 4.4), in this chapter we present a number of differences between standard forms of written Indonesian and sub-standard forms, which in the opinion of the writer, are also differences between the major high variety and the major low variety.

This tabulation is based on the assumption of a certain stability, although the degree of stability must remain unspecified. For similar analysis in connection with language standardisation in India see Pandit (1979) and Krishnamurti (1979).

4.5.1 Phonology

There are at least seven points of phonology which may be noted here:

(1) vowel alternation, (2) consonant alternation, (3) vowel cluster simplification, (4) consonant cluster simplification, (5) number of fricative phonemes, (6) diphthong simplification, and (7) hyper-correct forms. Examples illustrating these seven categories are below:

1. vowel alternation:	Standard variety	Sub-standard variety	Gloss
/i/ ~ /e/	Senin kemarin	Senen kemaren	<i>Monday</i> <i>yesterday</i>
/a/ ~ /ə/	Kamis (ambil)kan	Kemis (ambil)ken	<i>Thursday</i> <i>take</i>
/u/ ~ /o/	belum lubang Rabu	belon lobang Rebo	<i>not yet</i> <i>hole</i> <i>Wednesday</i>
2. consonant alternation:			
/f/ ~ /p/	film	pilem	<i>film</i>
/x/ ~ /k/ ~ /h/	akhir	akir, ahir	<i>end, finish</i>
/ʃ/ ~ /s/	masyarakat	masarakat	<i>public</i>
/z/ ~ /j/	zarah	jarah	<i>particle,</i> <i>crumb, matter</i>
3. vowel cluster simplification:			
/i + e/ ~ /i/	varietas karier	varitas karir	<i>variety</i> <i>career</i>
/o + o/ ~ /o/	koordinasi zologi	kordinasi zologi	<i>coordination</i> <i>zoology</i>
4. consonant cluster simplification:			
/-ps/ ~ /-p/	(eli)ps	(eli)p	<i>ellipse</i>
/-ks/ ~ /-k/	(komple)ks	(komple)k	<i>complex</i>
/-ksk-/ ~ /-sk-/	(e)ksk(avasi)	(e)sk(avasi)	<i>excavation</i>
/str-/ ~ /sətr-/	str(uktur)	setr(uktur)	<i>structure</i>
5. number of fricative phonemes			
	/f/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /x/, /h/	/s/, /h/	
(Compare no.5 with no.2 for phoneme substitution in the sub-standard variety.)			
6. diphthong simplification:			
/ay/ ~ /e/	gulai ramai	gule rame	<i>k.o. soup</i> <i>crowded</i>
/aw/ ~ /o/	pulau	pulo	<i>island</i>

7. hypercorrect forms	Standard variety	Sub-standard variety	Gloss
/s/ ~ /z/	asas	azas	<i>principle</i>
/p/ ~ /f/	pihak	fihak	<i>side, party</i>
	pikir	fikir	<i>think</i>
	paham	faham	<i>understand</i>

(Because in the standard variety there are the forms *memikir(kan)* and *memahami* rather than **memfikir(kan)* and **memfahami*, the base forms are *pikir* and *paham*. Diachronic factors are not taken into account.)

4.5.2 Morphosyntax

In the area of morphosyntax there are differences in the usage of affixes which represent paradigmatic or syntagmatic relationships. These differences are (1) loss of affixes in the sub-standard variety and/or (2) different choices of affixes in the sub-standard variety.

Standard variety	Sub-standard variety	Gloss
1. Ia menulis surat Dono berlari-lari Kita memasuki zaman baru Laporkan kejadian itu!	Ia tulis surat Dono lari-lari Kita masuk zaman baru Lapor kejadian itu!	<i>He wrote a letter</i> <i>Dono ran</i> <i>We entered a new age</i> <i>Report that incident!</i>
2. Kapan ia mengambil buku itu? Kepala kantor sudah dilapori Mereka beromong-omong Mobil itu tertabrak	Kapan ia ngambil buku itu? Kepala kantor sudah dilaporkan Mereka omong-omong Mobil itu ketabrak	<i>When did he take the book?</i> <i>It has been reported to the office head</i> <i>They chatted</i> <i>The car was hit in an accident</i>

4.5.3 Syntax

In general it may be said that the difference between the standard variety and the sub-standard variety in syntax lies in complexity of structure. The standard variety has syntactic categories absent in the sub-standard variety. In addition, there are categories which are realised in the standard variety as morphemes and in the sub-standard variety by paraphrase. The paradigmatic patterns of the sub-standard variety are more symmetrical; this is the situation in the case of usage of prepositions.

Below are a number of sentences in the standard variety and comparable examples in the sub-standard variety.

Standard:	Ia mendatangkan penyanyi yang terkenal itu
Sub-standard:	Dia buat supaya penyanyi terkenal itu datang
Gloss:	<i>He had that well-known singer come</i>
Standard:	Ia mendatangi penyanyi itu
Sub-Standard:	Ia datang ke penyanyi itu
Gloss:	<i>He went to that singer</i>

- Standard: Ia memperbesar gambarnya itu
 Sub-standard: Ia bikin besar gambarnya
 Gloss: *He enlarged the picture*
- Standard: Majikannya menaikkan gajinya
 Sub-standard: Majikannya kasih naik gajinya
 Gloss: *His employer raised his salary*
- Standard: Kemarin ia bertemu dengan wartawan
 Sub-standard: Kemarin ia bertemu wartawan,
 Gloss: *Yesterday he met with the journalists*
- Standard: Buku itu kemarin saya beli
 Sub-standard: Buku itu kemarin dibeli oleh saya (based on the analogy
 dibeli oleh and third person pronoun)
 Gloss: *I bought the book yesterday*
- Standard: Dalam rapat itu diputuskan peraturan baru
 Sub-standard: Dalam rapat itu memutuskan peraturan baru
 Gloss: *At the meeting new regulations were adopted.*

4.5.4 Lexicon

In general, the standard variety shares its lexicon with the sub-standard variety. There is variation in the form of elements (see the phonology section above); there is also overlapping in the use of lexical elements and in their meanings. The standard variety has scientific and technical vocabulary which is absent in the sub-standard variety. Conversely, the sub-standard variety has some lexical elements which are popular, or limited in usage, which do not have exact counterparts in the standard variety.

- Standard: Ia membilang sampai tiga
 Gloss: *He counted to three*
- Sub-standard: Dia bilang dia mau datang
 Gloss: *He said he would come*

We need not provide examples of the scientific terminology of the standard language here. Some examples of lexical elements which occur only in the sub-standard variety are *kok, sih, dong, lo* (cf. also Poedjosoedarmo 1970).

Sub-standard	Gloss
Kok, lama tidak kelihatan	<i>Hey, I haven't seen you for a while</i>
Itu, sih, kemauannya sendiri	<i>That's what he wants</i>
Jangan begitu, dong, kan sakit	<i>Don't do that, it hurts</i>
Lo, kok, hanya empat	<i>What, there are only four</i>

There are also pairs of synonyms which occur in the standard variety, of which only one element appears in the sub-standard variety. Examples are *kini* and *sekarang now*; *lezat* and *enak delicious*; *senantiasa* and *selalu always*; *demikian* and *begitu like that*. The first word in each pair is rarely used in the sub-standard variety.

4.6 THE DEGREE OF STANDARDISATION OF INDONESIAN

With the idea in mind that Redfield's (1941) distinction between urban culture and rural culture could be applied to language, Garvin and Mathiot (1968) described the standard and folkspeech varieties of Guarany in Paraguay. Using a set of criteria outlined by Prague School linguists such as Havránek and Mathesius, they considered that the standard language was the linguistic correlate of urban culture (assuming that there is an urban culture in the language community which uses, or attempts to use the standard language).

Their formulation is very interesting. The writer also feels that the standardisation of Indonesian is a characteristic of urban culture, especially if standardisation is thought of in connection with Ferguson and Dil's fourth and eighth principles (see section 4.1). Thus in the opinion of the writer the criteria used by Garvin and Mathiot can serve as a basis for comparison, to measure the level of standardisation of urban Indonesian. The application of these criteria, in addition, can also measure the extent of the spread of the standard language among various segments of the language community (cf. Fishman 1975, especially the chapter on The Urban Condition).

Three sets of criteria for standard languages are suggested, having to do with (1) intrinsic character, (2) functions in the culture of the language community, (3) the attitude of the public toward the standard language. In the following sections standard Indonesia is discussed in relation to these criteria. Data were obtained through observation and interviews with various groups in Jakarta while the writer was first employed at the Pusat Bahasa (Language Centre).

4.6.1 The intrinsic characteristics of a standard language

Two intrinsic factors of standard languages have been suggested: (a) intellectualisation, suggested by Havránek (1932). Because in the opinion of the writer the characteristic of intellectualisation ought rather to be considered a sign of language modernisation (Alisjahbana 1970), this second characteristic will be replaced here by the characteristic of optimal uniformity of rules and forms (cf. Section 4.4.2). The degree to which languages possess these characteristics is relative, so that we may compare languages or aspects of languages, in terms of these characteristics. For example we can say that the rules of spelling in Indonesian are more stable and uniform than the rules for foreign elements.

As to overall rule stability and uniformity, the discussion in Section 4.4.2 illustrates that standard Indonesian has not yet achieved a sufficient degree of either characteristic. Considering Indonesia's diglossia, low level of literacy, and limited use of the written language by the majority, we may conclude that the development of standardisation still depends on development of non-linguistic aspects of the society.

4.6.2 The functions of a standard language

Garvin and Mathiot differentiate four functions of standard languages. Three of them are symbolic, and one objective. They are the functions of (1) unification, (2) separation, (3) providing prestige, (4) providing a frame of reference.

The standard language is the means of communication between speakers of different dialects of the language. The standard language unifies them into one language community and helps them to learn to identify with their community. In Indonesia this function is carried out by the written variety of Indonesian in publications originating in Jakarta, the centre of development. There are even those who are not aware that there are regional dialects of Indonesian, and who imagine an utopian situation with only one variety of Indonesian from Sabang to Merauke.

The second function of a standard language is to differentiate that language from other languages. The standard language strengthens the feeling of national identity of the language community. The writer is not sure whether in Indonesia this feeling attaches to Indonesian as a standard language or as a national language. It is clear that the public feels that Indonesian is not the same as Malaysian, or Malay in Singapore or Brunei. Indonesian is even considered quite different from the Riau-Johor Malay which was its source.

Having a standard language has a certain authority or prestige. It has to do with the desire to be equal to other admired cultures in having a standard language. Linguists and the public in general in Indonesia feel that the development of Indonesian can be a model for other nations in South-East Asia (and perhaps in Africa) which also need a modern language. We must note here that at this point in time prestige attaches more to Indonesian as a national language than as a standard language. It may also be said that authority may be attached not only to a language already standardised but even to a language which has the potential to become a standard language (cf. for example Alisjahbana 1978b). However, the writer has observed that already speakers who control 'good and correct' Indonesian have authority in the eyes of others.

A standard language also functions as a frame of reference for language users in having definite norms and (codified) rules. These norms and rules provide a standard of measure for the correct or incorrect language usage of individuals or groups. Thus, deviation from the norms and rules can be evaluated. The standard language also provides a frame of reference for the esthetic function of language, which is not limited to literature, but also applies to every kind of language usage which is interesting because of its special form (Mukařovský 1964), as, for example, in puns, advertisements, and satire.¹⁵ Standard Indonesian does not yet fulfil this function well. However the importance of this function has been stressed repeatedly at the three Indonesian Language Congresses, at seminars, symposiums, and teachers' training sessions. Alisjahbana tirelessly calls for the writing of normative grammars (e.g. 1954, 1962, 1971, 1974, 1978a) or constructive grammars (1978b) which can serve as reference grammars for teachers and students.¹⁶

The functioning of standard Indonesian as an esthetic frame of reference for literature needs further study. Contemporary Indonesian literature is patterned after various types of Western European and American literature in its outer form, but its themes are often drawn from the Indonesian setting. There seem to be two streams within contemporary Indonesian literature. In one, plot is all-important, and the language used is secondary. The other attempts to achieve harmony between content and esthetic form, in the sense above.

4.6.3 Attitudes toward the standard language

The three criteria which measure the public's attitudes toward the standard language are related to the four functions above. The function of unification and the function of separation give rise to (1) the attitude of language loyalty. The prestige function gives (2) the attitude of language pride, and the function of providing a frame of reference results in (3) an attitude of awareness of the norms and rules of the standard language.

Language loyalty means that people prefer to use their own language and resist too much influence from foreign languages. This attitude may be considered the linguistic correlate of the speakers' level of identification with the national identity and their feelings of nationalism, as described by Fishman (see Chapter III, 3.2). In this regard, the Indonesian language community is divided. On the one hand there are those who try to speak Indonesian and avoid code mixing and the use of foreign lexical items in their speech and writing, and on the other hand there are those who show the opposite tendency. There is even a practice of putting an English text before the Indonesian in publication, or of putting a name, title, or theme in English over the Indonesian. This tendency may be seen in name plaques, private and official letterheads, and at international conferences attended by government officials.

Closely related to language loyalty is language pride, which is in turn related to personal emotional commitment to the standard language. A language which is developed and which allows the expression of complex concepts and is at the same time accurate and concise creates a feeling of pride in those who can use it. Such pride has yet to flower in the Indonesian language community. There is a very small group who believe that Indonesian can express any concept. But there is a larger group who feel that Indonesian has not yet reached this stage. Statements like, 'Indonesian is still developing'; 'Regional languages are a source of enrichment for Indonesian'; 'Indonesian cannot express our innermost feelings in the way regional languages can' are an indication that language pride is in general still rare.

There are two important aspects of this attitude which may be mentioned here. The first is the desire to speak foreign languages when the speech event does not require it. In the opinion of the writer, such language behaviour is an attempt to identify with the more advanced and modern culture in which the language is spoken. This especially applies at present to the use of Dutch, and, to some extent, English (cf. also Tanner 1967).

The second is the level of personal emotional commitment towards the language. Why is there a difference in behaviour toward use of Indonesian and use of regional languages (or foreign languages)? If mistakes are made in the use of a regional (or foreign) language, there are social sanctions: correction, ridicule, or negative evaluation. These sanctions rarely arise when mistakes are made in Indonesian. One reason for the lack of sanctions seems to be the low level of emotional commitment to Indonesian. Another reason is discussed below.

Awareness of norms and rules, created by the standard language in its function as a frame of reference, applies to the standard language because it has (codified) standards. The norms which become rules are considered correct and necessary. In the opinion of the writer, this attitude in the Indonesian language community is generally expressed as a desire for stability of language rules. It must be concluded that such an attitude is still rarely found. That Indonesian has norms is shown by the fact that the users of the language do not experience difficulties in communication.

Expressions like "Just so it's understandable." show that awareness of the difference between the standard language and the sub-standard language is not well developed. This low level of awareness of the norms of standard Indonesian may be another reason why there are few social sanctions when mistakes are made in Indonesian.

This low level of awareness spares government officials embarrassment when they express their messages or instructions in sentences which are not in accordance with the linguistic norms. The writer has observed that speeches of government officials are almost never evaluated in terms of the quality of their language, unless a strong regional pronunciation is evident.

It appears that in our comparison above of standard Indonesian with an ideal standard language we do not obtain the same results by every criterion. If we may recapitulate (perhaps impressionistically), for the time being we may say that standard Indonesian is not yet stable and the rules have not yet achieved a satisfactory level of uniformity. It functions more successfully as a unifying force and to differentiate the speakers from speakers of other languages than it does as a carrier of prestige or as a frame of reference. Language loyalty and pride are stronger than awareness of norms and rules. But further investigation would be required for a more precise measurement of these characteristics.

4.7 LANGUAGE MODERNISATION

Language modernisation here means developing the language to a level of functional equality with other languages which may be called fully developed languages. Modernisation may also be considered a process of becoming a member of the world family of languages which are intertranslatable into various discourse varieties. Modernisation can mean in addition the development of a language so that it meets today's communication needs in such fields as industry, trades, technology, and higher communication. English has been undergoing this process since the 15th century (Ferguson 1968:32) and Japanese during the last century (Neustupný 1980).

Language modernisation, which in this work is considered synonymous with intellectualisation, involves two aspects: (1) the development of vocabulary, and (2) the development of a range of registers and discourse forms.

4.7.1 Language intellectualisation

The characteristics of language intellectualisation, which are fully present in scientific language, were described in Chapter III, section 3.6. Considering the importance of the role of science and technology today, the writer feels that efforts to modernise Indonesian must not ignore this aspect of development. Alisjahbana for years (1970a, 1970b, 1970c, 1971, 1974, 1976, 1978a, 1978b) has urged 'engineering' through standardisation and terminology development.

The measurement of the level of intellectualisation of Indonesian needs further study. The need for intellectualisation is still questioned by many because it is considered an aspect of intellectualism which is still anathema in the world of Indonesian education. There is also prejudice that

intellectualisation will become more important than the expression of emotion in Indonesian so that the language will become totally 'dry'. From a psychological point of view it is interesting that there is this ranking of cognitive and emotional values. And yet, we often hear that Indonesian does not have adequate terminology to describe concepts which can be expressed, for example, in English.¹⁶ Because the work of the Pusat Bahasa (Language Centre) and the *Panitia Kerja Sama Kebahasaan Indonesia-Malaysia* (Indonesian-Malaysian Language Cooperation Committee) is not yet well known, we cannot yet conclude that the thousands of terms which they have approved are a living part of the modern language.

4.7.2 The development of vocabulary

The development of vocabulary is necessary to make possible the expression of the concepts and ideas of modern life (cf. also Laycock 1975, Dutton 1976a, and Mühlhäusler 1979 for Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu). The expanding cultural horizon which extends beyond the limits of a closed society creates a need for new words, terms, and expressions. There are two problems to be solved in vocabulary development. The first is the problem of the source for new lexical elements. The second is how to form these new elements and fit them in with the existing vocabulary.

The first source for vocabulary is of course the language itself. Because the number of concepts which can be imagined by human beings always exceeds the number of lexical symbols available, cultivation can involve selecting words from the language and giving them new meanings, by extending or restricting the original meanings. Examples of extension are: (hari) jatuh *maturity date*, garis (bapak) (*paternal*) *line*, garam (kimia) (*chemical*) *salt*. Example of restriction of meaning are: kendala *constraint*, (momen) gaya *force*, and tenaga (listrik) (*electrical*) *energy*.

A second way in which vocabulary may be expanded from the source of the language itself is by reviving old lexical elements, either in their original meaning, or with new meanings through extension or restriction. This method is especially applicable in multilingual societies in which the national language is not the first language of the majority. This is true for Indonesian, which is based on Malay. In general it may be said that old Malay words which have never been used by modern speakers cannot truly be placed in the category of outmoded words. In the experience of the writer as a developer of language, such words are seldom recognised as old words unlike for example such words as bahari *sea*, hulubalang *commander*, *district head* (Aceh), or biti biti/perwara *female palace servant*. Many old Malay words not currently in use are unknown to laymen. Such words should be considered new words for modern speakers.

If such vocabulary is recorded in a dictionary which is partly historical in character, like the Poerwadarminta dictionary, there is an additional advantage to consider in this source for new words. The lexical items selected to add to the lexicon are already present in a dictionary so that language users can find their meanings in that publication, or compare the old meanings with the new ones so that they are aware of the changes. We may offer some examples here: pemerhati *audience*, tolok *standard*, pelanggan *customer*, kenyang *endurance*, and tapak *site*. Heyd (1954), Gallagher (1971) and Fellman (1974) describe the use of the same strategy (for) Turkish and Hebrew.

What considerations influence speakers in adopting elements of other languages? The first choice of borrowed elements is made by bilinguals who can choose from sources outside their own language. The elements which become popular in their speech are adopted by monolinguals. There are at least six considerations which encourage the use of borrowed elements: (1) the principle of economy; (2) rarity of a form in the borrowing language, (3) desire for synonyms, (4) absence of sufficient semantic differentiation in the lexicon of the borrowing language, (5) prestige of the foreign language, (6) speaker's lack of proficiency in the borrowing language.

Speakers sometimes borrow forms in order to be more economical in their language usage. Using a foreign word already available is more economical than describing the concept in one's own language, especially if it would require a long whole phrase. Examples in Indonesian of loanwords which are used for economy are *politik*, *ekonomi*, *demokrasi*.

Lexical elements which are rarely used are not part of the active vocabulary of most speakers. The Indonesian *dursila*, for example, means *immoral*. But because its frequency of use is very low, the form *asusila* has been coined on the analogy of *amoral*.

Stylistic considerations may encourage speakers to find synonyms, for esthetic variation in their speech and writing. Knowledge of other languages allows borrowing from their vocabularies, whether these elements are necessary or not, that is, whether adequate synonyms are available in the borrowing language or not. For example, Indonesian has *assimilasi* as well as *pembauran*, *penyerapan*; *kontrol* and *pengawasan*, *pengendalian*, *penilikan*; *spesial* and *khusus*; *fasilitas* and *kemudahan*.

Sometimes speakers feel that their language does not have means to differentiate precisely among related concepts.¹⁷ Whether or not they are correct in this assumption, they feel it necessary to use foreign terms in their language for sets of words in paradigms. Examples in Indonesian are *politik* *politics* and *politikus* *politician*; *universitas* *university* (n.) and *universiter* *university* (adj.); *norma* *norm* and *normatif* *normative*.

Knowledge of foreign languages is sometimes felt by speakers to raise their social status in others' eyes, especially when the languages are associated with prestigious cultures. Thus the terms *evaluasi* *evaluation* *bilateral* *bilateral*, *multiplikasi* *multiplication* and *kalibrasi* *calibration* are used although there are perfectly adequate terms available in Indonesian: *penilaian*, *dwipihak*, *pelipatan*, and *peneraan*.

Among the elite in Indonesia, there are not a few speakers who are more fluent in foreign languages than in Indonesian, and who know the grammatical rules of foreign languages better than those of Indonesian. Thus when they express their ideas in Indonesian, interference from foreign language structures is evident. In some varieties, for example, we find such translation borrowings as *dalam mana*, *atas mana*, *untuk mana*, *kepada siapa*, *dengan siapa*, used as conjunctions. Such borrowed constructions are patterned after *waarin/ in which*, *waarop/on which*, *waarvoor/for which*, *aan wie/to whom*, *met wie/with whom*. Such constructions can actually be easily avoided, if the structure of Indonesian is well understood. Compare for example the following examples:

- 1a. Kota Jakarta di mana penduduknya bertambah terus menjadi kota yang terpadat.
- 1b. Kota Jakarta yang penduduknya bertambah terus menjadi kota yang terpadat. *Jakarta, where the population grew steadily, became a crowded city.*

- 2a. Rumah di depan mana terdapat kios kecil kemarin terbakar.
 b. Rumah yang di depannya terdapat kios kecil kemarin terbakar.
The house in front of which the stand was located burnt down yesterday.
- 3a. Pak Warno kepada siapa peristiwa itu harus dilaporkan tidak dapat dihubungi.
 b. Pak Warno yang harus dilaporai peristiwa itu tidak dapat dihubungi.
Pak Warno to whom it should have been reported was unavailable.

Several of the considerations discussed above may influence speakers at once. Borrowing is also related to speakers' attitudes toward language purity, which will be discussed further in Chapter 6 concerning language cultivation. Bibliography on borrowing in Indonesian is found in the references mentioned in the section above and in Slametmulyana (1964), Moeliono (1968), and Panitia Pengembangan (1975a, 1975b).

4.7.3 Development of language registers

The second aspect of language modernisation, the development of linguistic registers, related to rhetoric, has not yet been much discussed in the literature of language planning. Annamalai and Rubin (1980) offer a list of problems having to do with development of registers in various fields, for further investigation. Ferguson (1968) points out that the new discourse forms which have to be developed in the modernising language communities are not more specialised than the various literary forms, oral and written, already found in those communities. This is certainly true of the various poetic structures such as pantun, syair, Javanese pariken (cf. Hendrato 1978). They involve rhyme, assonance, allusion, and rhythm, which are quite specialised and very difficult to translate.¹⁸ Non-literary written styles, on the other hand, tend to have a natural similarity of structure which makes them more easily translatable. Western conventions of paragraph organisation, exposition, description, narration, and argumentation, spread and serve as points of reference for the development of language registers not previously felt necessary. Keraf (1971) is an attempt to encourage this development.

The following discussion of language registers, based on Halliday et al (1964), Quirk et al (1973) and Halliday (1973), has many implications for the development of registers in Indonesian.

The concept of the 'language register' refers to language style from the point of view of appropriateness in various situations of language use. Language registers which are called dialects have the characteristic that they depend on special qualities of the speaker: place of origin, education, place of residence, age. The choice of elements from the wrong register or a mixing of elements of two different registers is a mistake in language behaviour often made by non-native speakers. In Indonesia foreigners who attempt to use registers acquired at their universities to bargain in the markets are surprised that Indonesians do not seem to understand their own language!

Language registers differ in grammatical characteristics and vocabulary. Sometimes collocation is an indication of a particular register. The word mata *eye* in mata anggaran *budget* comes from the register of finance, while in sakit mata *eye disease* it is from the register of medicine. Grammatical differences between registers are illustrated in the following sentences: Presiden undang Ratu Belanda *President invites Queen of Netherlands* and

Ku berdiri seorang diri hampa cinta *I stand alone empty of love*. The first sentence is a newspaper headline, while the second is from the lyrics of a pop song.

Language registers may be classified according to three dimensions which refer to aspects of situations which influence register choice. They are: (1) field or subject area, (2) channel and (3) relations among participants in the speech event (cf. also Moeliono 1960).¹⁹

The primary language varieties which are differentiated in a situation of diglossia cross-classify with language registers. In both the high and low varieties there are various registers. The difference is only in the amount of specialisation. Further investigation is still needed in this field before a complete picture is available, but in general we may say that the high variety has a greater number of registers. The table below shows relationships between high and low varieties and various registers.

Register	High variety	Low variety
Field	A,B,C,D,E...n	A,B,...(n-x)
Channel	Oral, Written	Oral, (Written)
Relationship among participants	P,Q,R,S,...m	P.Q.R.S...(m-y)

(1) Every speaker lives and moves in a number of social circles which may have different social customs. These differences also appear in language use. A speaker who wants to participate in a certain field or to speak of matters having to do with that field must select a register which he controls and which is appropriate to the field or problem. The number of registers which a speaker controls is limited by his social interaction, education, profession, interests and experience. Examples of such fields are religion, politics, science, technology, mechanics and crafts, business and trade, art and literature, sports, law, and defence. A change of register is often used by the choice of a word or phrase used in a particular field. Examples are *akidah injunction*, akad nikah *marriage contract*, biara *convent*, pedanda *priest* (religion); kuorum *quorum*, pemilihan umum *election*, partai *party* (politics); atom *atom*, inflasi *inflation*, pembelahan inti *nuclear fission*, fonem *phoneme*, fosil *fossil* (science); penyulingan *distillation*, beton pratekan *pre-stressed concrete* (technology); baut *bolt*, dongkrak *jack* (mechanics); pialang *broker*; konsumen *consumer*; cek *check* (business); ikon *ikon*, stupa *stupa*, naturalism *naturalism* (art); sajak *poem*, alur *plot*, sorot balik *flash back*, rima *rhyme* (literature); gelandang *back (soccer)*, sundulan *hit with the head*, gaya kupu-kupu *butterfly stroke* (sports); pidana *criminal*, perdata *civil*, mahkamah *court* (law); panglima *commander*, saptamarga *Seven Articles (to be followed by members of the Armed Forces)*, satuan tugas *task force*, kapal selam *submarine* (defence).

Language registers also differ in grammatical structure. Typically different sentence structures are found in these kinds of discourse: recipes, scientific articles, business letters, legal documents, interviews, prayers, advertisements, and telegrams. In scientific articles, for example, the writer

avoids using the word *I*. Instead he uses *we* or *the writer*. Or, reference to the writer is avoided and passive constructions are used.

Rules of form in literature, which give literary registers, are among the most strict. Sentences placed in rows do not necessarily constitute poems, and compositions of less than ten thousand words may not be short stories. Use of the register of a particular field may require use of a particular variety. For example, sentences having to do with economics or management call for language varieties used by those with a certain degree of formal education.

(2) Language registers may be classified as spoken varieties or written varieties. Every speech community has a spoken variety, while a written variety appears later. Thus what must be considered here is how people express their speech in written form. In Indonesia Malay has long been considered a lingua franca. This common language has become for most of the population a spoken language for rather limited purposes. And it is still, for the thousands who are illiterate, only a spoken language.

What differences do we find between spoken and written varieties? There are two important points to be noted. The first has to do with the setting of the event. When we use written language, we assume that those addressed are not present. Our language must be clear because it cannot be accompanied by signs, glances, nods or emphasis by the speaker or indications of understanding by the listener. Sentences in the written variety must be more precise in character. Grammatical functions such as subject, predicate, and object, as well as relationships between the various functions must be more explicit.

In spoken varieties, because the interlocutors are face-to-face, the subject of a sentence, for example, can be left out. In Indonesian one may say, *Jika belum memiliki buku ini, silahkan mengambil satu. If (you) don't have this book, please take one copy.* without using a term of address. In written language there would be a tendency to make the statement more explicit with the use of a term of address or reference. The final form of a written sentence is often the result of several revisions, to make it more complete, easier to understand, or more expressive.

Another difference between written and spoken language is that there are special features of speech, such as pitch, duration, and intonation, which are absent in writing. The writer must often revise his sentences in order to convey the same meaning completely or express his feelings as well. For example, the spoken sentence *Darto tidak mengambil uangmu Darto didn't take your money* with special stress on *tidak didn't*, in written language might be *Bukan Darto yang mengambil uangmu It wasn't Darto who took your money* to give the same degree of emphasis. The written variety however also has its special advantages. We can use devices such as capital letters, italics, quotation marks and paragraphs, which lack equally explicit equivalents in speech.

Every speaker has the ability to use both varieties, whatever his background. But we cannot expect those with poor educational backgrounds to use the written variety with as much skill as the educated. The focus of most language teaching in school is to improve skill and fluency in the two varieties. Choice of written or spoken variety is also constrained by another factor. That is, some subjects are more easily discussed in one register than another. For example, a financial report with tables of figures and graphs or an article on chemistry with special symbols and formulae is easier to organise and read in written form. On the other hand, an eyewitness report of a sports event may be enjoyable in the spoken register but difficult to understand in written form.

(3) Language registers also differ on the basis of relationships among participants in speech events. These registers, which may be called *styles*, include a number of features which are basically available to all speakers. The choice of style depends on the speaker's attitude toward the addressee or reader. Attitudes are influenced by, among other things, age and position of addressee, subject, and the purpose of conveying the information. In choosing a style, we convey our formal, polite, cold, neutral, friendly, or relaxed attitudes. The difference between styles is reflected in vocabulary and grammar. Note, for example, our language styles when we report to a superior, scold someone, persuade a child, write a letter to a sweetheart, chat with a close friend.

Basically every adult has the ability to use various styles. But skill in using them is achieved by practice and experience. Achieving stylistic skills requires qualities such as maturity, sensitivity, and intelligence. Speakers learn these skills by observing and copying which styles are considered appropriate in which situations. The use of the same style in all situations — like a small child who has only one style, which is used with the family — can give the impression of a lack of intelligence. The use of only one language style in a community (for example, the style appropriate for public speaking or instructions) can give the impression that the people cannot interact in a warm and friendly way.

Jakobson (1960), developing Bühler's (1934) theory, and Smith (1973) remind us that language is not only a system of reference, but also functions as a system which unifies groups, expresses individuality, and conveys information which can be expressed in various registers and varieties.

CHAPTER V

CULTIVATION OF LANGUAGE USE

Cultivation of language use as defined in Chapter I, section 1.3, of this study, concerns efforts to improve language use. Its target is not inconsistencies in language codes, but those which occur in the linguistic behaviour of individuals or groups in the society.

Sociolinguistic research during the past two decades has deepened our understanding of concepts of language and linguistic roles in patterns of communication and interaction among native speakers. Language is no longer considered something monolithic, but a system with various aspects. Language descriptions in this tradition do not rely on ideal speakers in a homogenous speech community who have access to their linguistic intuitions (cf. Chomsky 1965). Not only the individual's knowledge of the structure of linguistic rules, or linguistic competence, is taken into account, but also his knowledge of appropriate use of various language styles in various situations. The purpose of language cultivation is to raise the level of communicative competence of speakers of the language (cf. Hymes 1962; Gumperz and Hymes 1964; Hymes 1970; Susanto 1978).

Language cultivation activities cannot be held back until language development activities are completed. They must go on together. We cannot wait for perfect standardisation of grammar or terminology, for example, and then begin to attempt improvement of speaking and writing, because the demands of our time do not allow it. However, there are a number of problems which perhaps act as obstacles to cultivation activities.

Among them are: multilingualism accompanied by a high level of illiteracy; the lack of model speakers and a literature which may serve as a model; the presence of foreign languages with high social status in the society; and a lack of motivation to reach a higher level of competence.¹

To complete the discussions of Chapter II section 2.2.2., and 2.2.3; Chapter III, 3.5.1; and Chapter IV, 4.2.1, respectively dealing with problems of language cultivation in the context of language planning; national language teaching; and literacy, in this chapter cultivation of language use will be examined from the points of view of: (1) raising the level of literacy in connection with spreading the national language, (2) promoting the results of codification, and (3) language cultivation.

5.1 RAISING THE LEVEL OF FUNCTIONAL LITERACY

Illiteracy is a critical problem in every developing nation. It is especially so in multilingual societies. The progress of processes of development which are truly based on political participation of all levels of society often depends upon the level of literacy in the population. Mobilisation for development will not succeed if development plans cannot be read and understood by the majority. Conveying information by oral channels only leads to slogans and symbols, which are repeated over and over again, in the place of real achievement.

The World Conference of Ministers of Education on the problem of illiteracy in Teheran in 1965, sponsored by UNESCO, came to the conclusion that the level of literacy which must be achieved is not only reading and writing ability, but functional literacy. Literacy must be considered the first step in preparing a person to improve his social and economic position and standard of living. Ability to read and write is basic to obtaining a means of making a living, raising productivity, taking part in civil life, and understanding the world better (UNESCO 1965).

The connection between problems of literacy and language cultivation comes in the choice of the language in which literacy is to be achieved. Bowers (1968) points out that the government of a multilingual society may choose from among three types of policies: (1) teaching the orthography used for the national language or the official language of the country; (2) teaching the orthographies used for the regional languages to their respective native speakers; or (3) teaching the orthographies used for the most important regional languages only.

The constraints faced by policy-makers are of various kinds. The number of regional languages in an area may be so great that the training of teachers and preparation of reading materials is prohibitively expensive. If there is much migration or flow of population into new urban areas, the population in some areas may be so heterogeneous that the choice of the mother tongue of the majority of the population could discourage literacy efforts on the part of those for whom it is not the mother tongue. Or, many of the regional languages may be still unwritten, so that analysis and description of their sound systems is needed. Gudschinsky (1973) examines such problems from various points of view and her recommendations should be taken into account by anyone concerned with literacy programs.

The choice of the national language as the target language for literacy programs is supported by the following considerations. If the language of instruction in the school system is the national language and not the mother tongue of the non-literate parents, it is advantageous for both the parents and children to achieve literacy in the same language. Thus, one generational difference is overcome and eventually more parents will be able to prepare their children to enter school at the appropriate age. In Indonesia there are still many parents who just leave their children's education totally up to the school system because they themselves are illiterate.

The national language, which fulfils a number of important sociolinguistic functions (see Chapter III, 3.1), is also the logical choice from a political point of view, if literacy programs are designed to strengthen the ties among various groups in the society (cf. Rubin 1976). Finally, the national language is the natural choice for literacy programs if facility in the language is the key to wider job opportunities.

Literacy programs in the mother tongues of illiterates may be considered if the constraints above are minimal. Such programs may be considered the first step in a process, eventually leading to literacy in the national language.

Literacy is an urgent problem in Indonesia. The 1971 census showed that out of 80 million people above ten years of age, 39% or 31.5 million were illiterate (Biro Pusat Statistik 1975). The total population at that time was 118.3 million (Biro Pusat Statistik 1975). The between-census population survey of 1976 showed the number of illiterates still at 32.1% or 28.2 million out of 88 million people above ten years of age. Anyone who is concerned about equal opportunity will be bothered by these figures, for equal opportunity can only be realised where opportunities are attainable. And many of the new opportunities created by development are only open to those who are literate.

There appears to be no alternative for the responsible government bodies, such as the Directorate General of Informal Education, Youth, and Sports, other than to engage in greater cooperation with various concerned parties to attempt to deal with this serious problem. Literacy is not an easily obtainable goal, as shown by the results of an experimental program in Algiers. French, the working language there, was needed by Arab workers in the oil fields. Although they were highly disciplined and strongly motivated, it took 135 half-days of teaching to reach the 750-word vocabulary level (Bowers 1968). And this was with classes of twelve to fifteen members, taught by teachers who had had three months of training, and complete text materials. Teaching Indonesian to illiterates who are learning it as a second language may be equally difficult.

One possible way to accelerate the achievement of a higher level of literacy in Indonesian would be to put to use the abilities of university students, perhaps in connection with practical training courses, to teach literacy courses. Such a public service would be in keeping with their position as pioneers of modernisation. And unlike digging wells or irrigation ditches for villages, the teaching of literacy would be helping the people to help themselves.

The degree of literacy in a society is related to language development. It influences the rate of language change. Literacy is the basis for the growth of a written style. The higher the degree of literacy, the slower the rate of language change, because of the rigidity of the written style. Disregarding language change which is planned by language developers, there seems to be a correlation between the degree of literacy in the population and the rate of spontaneous language change. This may constitute an obstacle to standardisation. The very fast rate of change of the Indonesian language at present — which some see as a sign of progress — should in the opinion of the writer be re-evaluated as a function of the lack of the influence of a written style on language behaviour. Speakers who do not have access to a written style as a model are likely to innovate when they do not know correct usage.

As well as the number of illiterates, the 1971 census also recorded the number of speakers of Indonesian at that time. Out of 118.3 million only 40.78% or 48.2 million reported that they could speak Indonesian. These figures make it clear that it is not yet true that all Indonesians can speak Indonesian. Although the figures need not be regarded as precise, the number who have yet to become Indonesian speakers is still great.

It appears that the Government is about to undertake measures to deal with the problem of spreading Indonesian outside the schools. The Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan (Agency for Research and Development) of the Department of

Education and Culture is designing a program for teaching Indonesian by television. As the spread of the use of the national language is an aspect of language cultivation, the government agency which is specifically charged with language cultivation should be involved in this effort. Its participation would ensure that contradictory messages are not sent out in spreading the results of codification. Such problems can arise all too easily because of the still incomplete state of development of Indonesian. In addition such a teaching program should have a connection with the literacy program.

Linguistic research in contrastive analysis and second-language teaching is an important part of teaching the national language to non-native speakers. The argument that effective language teaching can be done without attention to the learners' language backgrounds usually reflects a lack of sufficient funds for the purpose. Jackson (1967) shows that contrastive analysis has useful applications in analysis of language mistakes, writing of textbooks, and translation (cf. also Alatis 1968; Di Pietro 1971; Nickel 1971; and Poldauf 1972). In this area both short-term and long-term planning are necessary to determine the best ways of dealing with both immediate and future problems.

5.2 PROMOTING THE PRODUCTS OF CODIFICATION

Of the areas of concern of the Indonesian agency for language development and cultivation, including research, language cultivation and development, research in language teaching, and the study of the results of their activities (Sumantri et al 1978), the most striking results in the last five years have been in language research, spelling and standardisation, improvement in the education of linguists, and public information. Two aspects of cultivation activities which perhaps could be improved upon will be discussed in this section. Both have to do with the promotion of the products of codification by the agency.

Promotion of the products of codification by the agency for language development and cultivation which are in the form of spelling guides, grammar books, lists or dictionaries of terminology or guides to style and usage, sometimes fall within the scope of the agency's responsibilities and sometimes do not. In Malaysia, for example, the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka is responsible for the publication and marketing of its own products: in Indonesia such responsibilities are very limited and as a result the number of such publications in circulation is also very limited. The success of cultivation of language usage depends to a large part on the readiness to hand of a correct model. Speakers of the language must be able to acquire them easily in the bookstores. Policy makers should be aware not only of problems of production but of promoting their products to target groups which will use them.

The production of terminology, for example, unaccompanied by facilities for publication, is like buried treasure. If scientists are to use standard terminology consistently, adequate channels of communication to guarantee feedback must be established, as described in Chapter III on the processes of development and cultivation. If teachers and university students are to be familiar with standard terminology, it must be used in their textbooks. It cannot be denied that what is most important in developing the use of terminology is its application in scientific papers, textbooks and professional discussions. For purposes of promoting terminology, new strategies for publication and communication with the mass media are needed.

5.2.1 Publication and distribution

From the time the Terminology Commission (see Chapter II, note 7) began to be active, there were complaints about its membership, way of working, and promoting of its products. Although a number of lists were published, its limited editions and ineffective marketing meant that the terminology which they created rarely reached target groups. While the creation of three hundred thousand terms is a quantitative achievement, the qualitative achievement is still doubtful until the terms are in use.

Fortunately the members of the Indonesian Language Development Committee (Panitia Pengembangan Bahasa Indonesia), which took over the work of the Terminology Commission in 1979, have asked for the participation of leaders in scientific fields who are active in creating terminology so that their doubts about the authority of the committee have been overcome. Another improvement in the organisation of the committee is that they operate on the principle that to develop technical terminology it must be classified in terms of scientific fields.

In the opinion of the writer, it is important to publish and market lists and dictionaries of terminology directed toward various target groups now. The first step in the strategy would be to determine the scope of the lists or dictionaries of standard terminology. This should be based on the needs of the target groups: for example, general public, elementary schools, high schools, higher educational institutions, professionals, businessmen (cf. Sibayan 1978). Obtaining information on the needs of these groups is not an easy task. Even more difficult is predicting their needs for the future. However, if newly created terminology is not to experience the same fate as in the past, these steps must be taken.

The second step is the collection of terminology which is accepted as standardised by some groups. This collection should be organised in terms of systems of classification such as the Universal Decimal Classification (UDC), *Nomina Anatomica*, or those put out by professional bodies like the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry (IUPAC). It should be supplemented by surveys of reference books and textbooks used by the relevant target groups. This work will result in lists of terms which may be used in dictionaries or lists of standard terminology. The size of a terminology dictionary depends on whether or not it includes concepts at different levels of specificity. In any case, a list or dictionary should be comprehensive, which does not always mean the same as complete.

The idea that language planners should concentrate first on collecting general terminology, and only later turn to more specialised terminology, can only be defended if it can be shown that there is a target population which needs lists of general terminology. If not, there will be no end to the collection of general terminology: the language planners will never know when they have been comprehensive enough and the lists are ready to be published.

Terms should then be evaluated on the basis of their usefulness for target groups from the vantage points of: (1) frequency of use, (2) appropriateness, especially if there is a competing synonym, and (3) relationship to other terms in the system. The frequency of use of the term will determine whether it will be part of lists for particular levels; for example, lists for use at the university level are not the same as those for the secondary school level. Language planners with appropriate areas of expertise can select the terms to be promoted and those considered alternatives. The relationships among the

terms will be clear if the list is structured according to a system of classification as below (see Table 12). Classification of this kind will bring out any overlapping terms which perhaps need further differentiation.

Table 12: Classification of types of fibres	
I.	Natural fibres
1.	Vegetable fibres
a.	Seed fibres (kapok, cotton)
b.	Skin fibres (jute)
c.	Leaf fibres
d.	Fruit fibres
2.	Mineral fibres (asbestos)
3.	Animal fibres
a.	Silk
b.	Wool (Merino)
c.	Hair (Alpaca)
d.	Intestine
II.	Artificial fibres
1.	Non-organic fibres
2.	Natural polymer fibres
a.	Regenerational cellulose fibres (rayon)
b.	Regenerational protein fibres (casein)
c.	Regenerational fibres (except a and b)
d.	Celulose ester (acetate)
3.	Synthetic fibres
a.	Polyurates (lycra)
b.	Polyester (dacron)
c.	Polyamide (nylon 6)
d.	Polyetrafluorethylene (teflon)
e.	Synthetic rubber (butediem)
f.	Olefene (polyethylene)
g.	Polyvinyl derivates
1)	Acrylic (orlon, acrylon)
2)	Modacrylic
3)	Polyalcohol
4)	Others

(Source: M.I.T. *Thesaurus of textile engineering terms* 1966)

The third step is alphabetising the terminology, and putting out terminology dictionaries with definitions *always* derived from terminology lists based on classification systems in the field in question. Moeliono (1978a) provides a brief adaptation of suggestions of the *International Organisation for Standardisation* (1968, 1969) on preparation of dictionaries and glossaries. In cases of urgent need, the terminology lists should have priority. However, language cultivation efforts which aim at effective language development have as their eventual goal the circulation of dictionaries to specific target groups.

Dictionaries are more useful than lists of terminology because the concepts symbolised by the terms are also given a standard meaning so that they are less likely to be used wrongly. An example of such misuse is the understanding of the term real estate in Indonesia. Many people believe that real has a connection with the word real meaning *true, original, factual*. In fact real in this term is an adjectival derivation of *res thing, object*. Others, based on their experience in Indonesia, believe the term means *a private company which buys and sells land and constructs housing*. In English law real estate means simply *fixed assets*, including land and buildings. The general idea in Indonesia that companies which operate in this field must construct roads and put in water and electricity is not a part of the meaning of real estate according to the standard definition.

Standard dictionaries, further, are a source of valuable information for textbook writers who need terminology. The lack of dictionaries forces them to create their own terms – which would be praiseworthy except that it leads to the development of conflicting terms. Finally there is a psychological factor which attaches to terminology creation. A writer who for some reason creates an inferior term may not easily be persuaded to change his term for a better one. Usually the reason given is that the term has reached a certain audience and is already in use.

The fourth step is publication and marketing of terminology lists and dictionaries so that they reach the target groups which really need them.² If the language development and cultivation agency has no expertise in marketing, that aspect can be turned over to the publishing industry. Publications should not be distributed on a 'send on request' basis.

The above also applies to other products of codification by the language development and cultivation agency. The table below may be used as a check list for distribution of the products of codification.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	n
Grammar							
Dictionary							
Thesaurus							
Spelling guide							
Terminology guide							
Style guide							
Reference book							
Encyclopedia							

- Key:
1. General public
 2. Elementary education
 3. Secondary education
 4. Higher education
 5. Professionals
 6. Specialised fields such as industry, communications, mass media, business

Finally, it is suggested that publication not be regarded simply as a matter of handing over written results of development projects to the publisher, but as an activity in the area of public relations. And as well as publications in the national language, English language versions are valuable for recording the country's experience in language development and cultivation for the rest of the world.³

5.2.2 Institutional relations

As described in previous chapters, publishing and the mass media are two of the most important channels of communication for dissemination of the products of codification. To keep these channels open, institutional relations between the two public sectors and the language agency should be well developed so that mutual influence is guaranteed.

The Swedish Language Commission has thirty members, including representatives of the five Swedish universities, the Royal Academy of Science, the Swedish Writers' Union, the Journalists' Association, the Association for Adult Education, and the Marketing Association. The Commission studies the development of the Swedish language, both spoken and written, and is active in language planning and cultivation. The Commission is supported by the government. Its funding comes from the Royal Academy, and it also receives income from the sales of its publications (Molde 1975). Molde also reports that, although the Commission is advisory, the Swedish public increasingly tends to consider it as the natural authority on correct usage. A criticism that the Commission often receives is that its recommendations are not strong enough. People do not want to be faced with two or three possible choices in language usage.

The writer has had similar experiences as a language cultivator. Unlike the Swedish Commission, the Indonesian Language Centre has not yet formalised institutional relations with agencies and groups which could contribute to language cultivation. That an absence of good communications is widely felt was shown by the resolution of the Third Indonesian Language Congress (1978), which stated that a national language cultivation and development board should be formed. Such a board, representing various groups among the public, would assist the Language Centre. The members would participate at all levels of society in putting language policies into practice. Let us hope that this resolution may be realised without running into the obstacle of the bureaucratic point of view that government bodies do not need outside advice.

Better institutional relations are a prerequisite to performing the function of guiding language development and cultivation, the task of the Language Centre. One area in which better institutional relations are needed is the area of language teaching. In 1964 the Regional and Indonesian Language Teaching Section of the Department of Language and Culture became part of the Language and Literature Agency. That section, led by Amin Singgih for ten years (1953-1963) had carried out school inspections and offered advice on language teaching. The revival of channels of communication with the Department of Education and Culture in accordance with its present structure would be helpful in promoting the products of research in language teaching fields such as curriculum development, teaching methodology, and compiling of text materials. We should note here that staff members of the Language Centre are often involved in the development activities mentioned above. However they may not always convey the formal policies and recommend the products of language development of their organisation to other groups.

The Indonesian language teaching problem has recently attracted attention again because many people feel that there is a decline in the standard of language usage. Some blame teachers or textbooks which do not follow the curriculum. Others blame society in general, because students, who are only in school five or six hours a day, are also influenced by their environment.⁴ It is interesting that in this dispute, of the four variables mentioned above, it is the textbooks and the environment which are considered to be in need of improvement. The 1975 curriculum is not questioned and the language teachers are considered powerless against the negative influence of the environment.

To tackle this difficult problem, policy makers might start with research on the number of truly qualified language teachers. It is an open secret that the teaching of Indonesian is often entrusted to anyone who speaks Indonesian. Other subjects are not left to anyone who shows an interest. English, for example, is not handed over to teachers who have only six years of English instruction in secondary school. A language teacher should have studied linguistics, although he need not teach linguistics to his students, for his job is to improve their skills in the oral and written varieties of the language.

A language teacher can evaluate his qualifications by asking himself how often his colleagues ask his advice in matters of language usage. The number of questions that are directed to a teacher reflects his authority in language matters. Finally, in regard to the negative effect of the environment, consider the following: H.I.S. students who were taught in Dutch were, in the writer's experience, in general able to learn to speak Dutch well, without interference from other languages, although they lived in an environment in which the language was almost never used.

5.3 LANGUAGE CULTIVATION

Language cultivation is perhaps the most visible of language planning activities, because of its direct connection with those who evaluate it and receive its benefits. In general, language cultivation has two dimensions which are interdependent. The first has to do with changing language attitudes, the second with conveying information through (1) the channels of the mass media, (2) target groups and (3) direct written and oral communication with the public. These points will be discussed below.

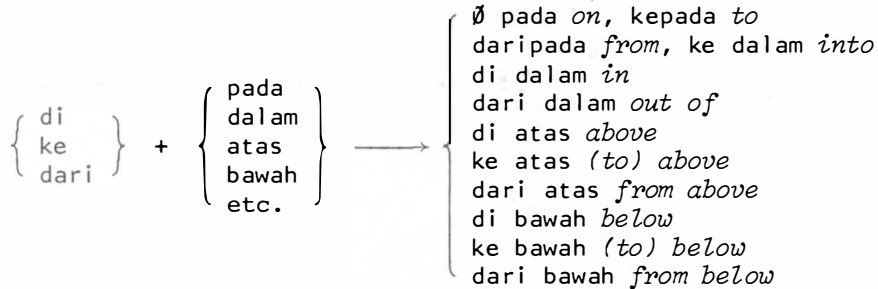
5.3.1 Changing language attitudes

Research on language attitudes, opinions, and evaluations has recently attracted the attention of psychologists, anthropologists, and linguists. Shuy and Fasold (1973) present the results of research with these approaches. It is important to language cultivation because of its interpretation of the relationship between opinions, evaluations and attitudes. Smith (1973), for example, writes that a set of views about the world of experience is translated into values about what life 'should' be. These values are then expressed as a set of attitudes which in behaviour become statements of judgment.

Speakers of a language unconsciously evaluate the language behaviour or usage of other speakers. Judgments that a form is better or more appropriate sometimes lead to language change (Ferguson 1977). The most obvious changes

are those in spelling and lexicon. Incidental changes take place, such as in the form *iaitu* (*ia + itu*) which came to be spelled *yaitu*, while on the other hand the form *ialah* has not officially changed in spelling. In 1945, during the Indonesian revolutions, people began to replace the grapheme <oe> with <u>, as a way of separating themselves from the Dutch pattern.

A change in meaning occurred in a number of nominals which in Malay were classed as place nominals (Van Ophuijsen 1915, Moeliono 1964, Dardjowidjojo 1966). The forms *pada* *on*, *at*, *dalam* *inside*, *atas* *above*, *bawah* *below*, etc., which syntagmatically could be preceded by the prepositions *di* *at*, *ke* *to*, and *dari* *from*, formed the following paradigm:



The prepositional phrases above now function as compound prepositions. In fact in the forms *didalam* and *diatas* it seems that we are beginning to see a process of loss of *di* before *dalam* and *atas*, similar to the process by which it was lost before *pada*, creating a new preposition.

We also see changes in pronunciation. Take, for example, the change in pronunciation of the word *bela* *defend* from /bela/ to /bela/ and the word *peka* *precise* from /peka/ to /paka/.

In Indonesian journalistic styles, changes in sentence structure take place as a result of literal translation. Recently in the journalistic varieties we have seen sentences such as those below. The English sentences which appear to be their sources are also given:

- a. Syah Iran dikutip sebagai mengatakan bahwa ia akan berobat.
The Shah of Iran was quoted as saying that he would seek medical treatment.
- b. Berbicara di muka anggota partainya, Indira Gandhi memberi jaminan untuk suatu pemerintah yang lebih baik.
Speaking before her party members, Indira Gandhi pledged for a better government.
- c. Terletak di dekat pelabuhan, tempat itu sering dikunjungi pelaut-pelaut.
Located near the harbour, the place was frequently visited by sailors.

The judgments of speakers influenced by language attitudes must be differentiated from judgments by language planners (see Chapter II, 2.3) whose job it is to take into account various attitudes which might help or hinder their work.

Lambert (1967) in his research on bilingualism and speakers' attitudes toward second language learning differentiated between two types of attitudes: attitudes towards language learning as *integrative* of individuals with other speakers, and attitudes towards language learning as *instrumental* to the speakers' advancement. Although Macnamara (1973) considers that the integrative attitude is not a prerequisite to success in second language learning

(because school children, for example, have to understand the language of instruction), the integrative attitude is very important in the national language movement in a multilingual society. Integrative attitudes are also related to the *participatory function* of the national language and of the language of wider communication, discussed by Garvin (1973). (See Chapter III, 3.2 and 3.3; and Chapter IV, 4.6.)

If we look again at the functions of standard languages and the language attitudes involved in these functions, we conclude that we should concentrate our efforts on fostering attitudes of language loyalty, language pride, and consciousness of language norms. (See Chapter IV, 4.6, paragraphs 2 and 3.)

Our efforts to change language attitudes should not be limited to attitudes toward standard languages. Cultivation of consciousness about language should also include efforts to make people aware of the nature of language. Speakers should be aware, for example, that language is a form of social behaviour which can be planned. They should be aware that problems of language modernisation are not matters of purity or foreign influence, but of consistency of the system.

In regard to borrowing, whether or not there are foreign elements, like the word *modern*, is not an important issue. The problem is whether we allow the use of words like *memodernisir modernise*; *mempolitisir politicise* beside *memperpolitikkan politicise*; *komoditi commodity* beside *kualitas quality*; *pengindonesiaan Indonesianisation* beside *indonesianisasi Indonesianisation* (cf. Moeliono 1967; Del Rosario 1968; and Moeliono 1973).

Speakers should also be aware of the functions of languages in special situations. In Indonesia, for example, the diglossia situation explains the great difference between the standard language and other varieties. However, the development of the functions of a language will give rise to a greater number of language styles. We should attempt to raise speakers' sensitivity to the appropriate use of different styles. (See Chapter IV, 4.7, 3, paragraph 3).

Perhaps it would be useful to repeat here some points from Moeliono (1980) concerning correct Indonesian versus using Indonesian well.

If a language has a standard variety, either formally proclaimed by a government decree or generally accepted on the basis of common agreement which is used in language teaching to the public, then it is easier to differentiate language which is correct from that which is not. The use of language which follows standard rules is correct language. If there are still differences of opinion as to whether a form is correct or not, it reflects a lack of uniform standards, or standards which are not yet firm. Language may be fully standardised, or partly standardised, or wholly unstandardised.

People who are able to use their language so that they can express what they mean to say, whatever that may be, are effective speakers. Language creates effects or results when it is appropriate to the event or situation it is dealing with. People who deal with a number of social environments must select the one variety which is appropriate to the situation. The use of a right and appropriate style, according to the group of speakers and type of language use is what we call good language use. Language which achieves

its purpose need not always be a standard variety. In bargaining in the marketplace, for example, the use of the standard variety would sound funny, surprising or suspicious. So it is possible to use the right language (variety) but use it incorrectly. And, on the other hand we may use correct language, but an inappropriate variety for the situation. Thus, when we urge people to speak Indonesian well and correctly, we mean to use an appropriate variety and also one which is in accordance with rules of correctness. The phrase 'good and correct Indonesian' means a variety which is both effective and in accordance with grammatical rules.

Finally we should remember that not all speakers of a language need to control all its varieties and styles. On this point we may refer to Vikor (1978) on acceptability. Vikor differentiates four types of acceptance on the part of the speakers of a language.

There is a group which consists of speakers who accept the recommendations of language planners and apply them actively. Members of the group identify with the language and support language development. A second group consists of speakers who support language planning but do not feel able to apply its results because their level of education is insufficient, or because they feel its results are too perfect, for them to use. A third group consists of those speakers who accept the results of development because they feel they have no choice. Members of this group, who generally have a strongly vertical orientation, accept rules because they are told to do so. Another group is speakers who accept language development without linguistic or cultural awareness, and therefore have no choice. Language planners aware of these different levels of acceptance will not be discouraged by unexpected reactions.

5.3.2 Language information

One aspect of providing language information is dissemination of the results of codification through oral and written channels. Another is providing information about language problems which have not yet been, or which will not be, published in codified form, and information about general problems of planning which should be known to the general public. In terms of target groups, language information may be directed toward a) the general public, b) special groups, and c) individuals.

5.3.2.1 Information for the general public

Information for the general public is usually conveyed through the mass media. Newspapers and magazines can be requested to set aside special sections. Readers and subscribers can then be invited to send in questions about their language problems or express their views. A columnist, who may not be a media person, has as his job to discuss the language problems or analyse the issues raised. My own experience as a columnist for three years (1967-1970) convinced me that success in influencing the general public on language issues depends on the same kinds of factors that apply in advertising. The 'Santun Bahasa' column in *Kompas* newspaper came out every Wednesday on the same page. As in an advertisement, only one theme was discussed each time. Sometimes the tactic of

continuing the discussion from one week to the next was used to arouse the readers' curiosity about the final conclusion.

The same principle applies to information dissemination through other mass media channels such as radio and television. The way the information is conveyed must be appropriate to the medium. If we wish to convey our message by radio, for example, we must use a broadcaster who has the right vocal capabilities. Language planners who appear on television should be aware that they are being seen as well as heard. Just as packaging is important to the selling of industrial goods, the appearance of the language planner is important to the audience's reaction to the program.

In language communities in which the level of literacy is still low, the impact of radio and television will be greater than that of the written media. This is especially true in countries where the radio and television stations are government-controlled. Then the broadcasts automatically have an official character. Because the programs we broadcast over radio and television need not be designed as ordinary language lessons, in these programs we can concentrate on such matters as language attitudes and current usage problems.

5.3.2.1 Information for special groups

A special target group for language information is white-collar workers in government and private institutions. The type of information which can be offered to this group differs in two ways from information for the general public. First, the information offered to them should be well organised on the basis of their common interests so that it is specifically useful to them. Second, the information presented should be limited in terms of subject matter and in the time required to assimilate it.

There are those, for example, who need information on spelling and terminology, or who wish to improve their skills in correspondence. Such language information may be conveyed in a workshop or training course of a week to three months' duration. In communicating language information to a special group, we should offer prepared materials at the outset, so that the recipients do not have to guess as to what we are going to convey to them. A questionnaire or evaluation sheet at the close of the session will elicit useful feedback for purposes of improving the quality of our information and the way we communicate it.

5.3.2.1 Information for individuals

Language development and cultivation agencies which have special sections to deal with individual requests for information have an excellent opportunity to keep up good public relations. Language planners in Sweden (Molde 1975; Jernudd 1977) and Indonesia (Halim 1976a) report that this service is highly appreciated. Requests may come by telephone, visits to the agency, or by mail.

In the writer's opinion, an additional benefit of this type of information service is that it is instrumental in teaching the use of good language style to the public. When an individual telephones the Language Centre, he will hear an example of the correct way to answer a telephone call. The example provided has an influence on usage of the caller, who may not yet be familiar with rules

of politeness in this relatively new area of cultural behaviour. If an individual writes a letter to the Language Centre, requesting information on a language problem, he will receive a reply in the new standard format. Because that form is still in competition with the older format usually taught in school — since the results of codification have not been well disseminated to educators — the new format, in the writer's experience, may not be very influential. This is shown by return letters from the same individuals. But explicit recommendation of the new format has been more successful through the medium of television. After a television program promoting the new format, it was accepted by a number of private institutions (usually more open to new suggestions than government institutions).

Finally we may add that the policy of always answering individual requests, no matter how small, with care and promptness, will create an atmosphere of goodwill amongst the public toward the activity of disseminating language information.

Notes to chapter I

1. Haugen in his paper on language planning in modern Norway (1972a) writes "... planning implies an attempt to guide the development of a language in a direction desired by the planners. It means not only predicting the future on the basis of available knowledge concerning the past, but a deliberate effort to influence it". He states further that language planning includes "preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community".
2. Haugen appeals to us not to abandon normative or prescriptive linguistics, pointing out the many notable figures involved in the history of the study of languages. He mentions Panini; the Greek and Latin grammar writers; Ramus Rask on Danish spelling (1826); Jakob Grimm and August Schleicher on correct German usage; Hermann Paul on standard languages (1886); Adolf Noreen on problems of correctness in language (1892); Henry Sweet who was active in the spelling reform movement, Antoine Meillet also on problems of standardisation (1928); Otto Jespersen on standards of correctness (1925); Bloomfield on "literate and illiterate speech" (1927) and standard languages (1933).
3. Jernudd and Das Gupta attempt to create a language planning theory to solve problems of: (1) language style, (2) discourse, (3) pronunciation, (4) spelling systems, and (5) morphology, in one process.

Notes to chapter II

1. The *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* (Language and Literature Board) was part of the Ministry of Education in 1956. It became an autonomous body in 1959 (Asmah 1978).
2. This agency was named the *National Language Institute* when it was founded. Its official English translation is now the *Institute of National Language* (Pineda 1978).

3. The chairman at that time was Hazeu, later replaced by Rinkes.
4. Results of the commission in Medan are not available. The chairman of the Commission in Jakarta was Mori (Head of the Education Office). The writers were Soewandi and T. Alisjahbana, and members were Abas St. Pamoentjak, Amir Sjarifoedin, Armyn Pane, Aulia; St. P. Boestami, H. Djajadiningrat, M. Hatta, S. Mangoensarkoro, Minami, K. St. Pamoentjak, Poerbatjaraka, P. Prawiradinata, Prijono, Agus Salim, Sanoesi Pane, S. Tjokronolo, Soedjono, Soekarno, Soemanang, Soetardjo, and Oehara (Teeuw 1961, Alisjahbana 1978).
5. The chairman of the Working Committee was Alisjahbana. The secretary was Amin Singgih Tjitroso. Members were Adinegoro, Poerwadarminta, K. Sutan Pamoentjak, and Satjadibrata.
6. Advisers to the Balai Bahasa included Poerbatjaraka, Prijana, Priohutomo, Soemadi, Ki Hadjar Dewantara, and Ki Mangunsarkoro. Members were P.F. Dahler, I.P. Simandjuntak, Sutan Moh. Zain, Tardjan Hadidjaja, Iskak Adiwidjaja, and Surowidjojo. The chairman was first Dahler, then Amin Singgih, and finally Prijana. According to Ali Sastroamidjojo, the Minister of Education and Culture at the time, the Balai Bahasa was meant to be an autonomous national body. There was a branch of the Balai Bahasa in Bukittinggi.
7. The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of the United States of Indonesia (Republic Indonesia Serikat) founded the Terminology Commission on July 19, 1950. The Minister of Education and Culture of the United Republic of Indonesia (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia) made the Terminology Commission part of the Balai Bahasa on June 1, 1951. Chairmen of the Terminology Commission were Prijana (1951-1957), Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1957-1960), Lukijati Gandasubrata (1960-1962), Moliar Achmad (1962-1966), and S.W. Rujati Mulyadi (1966-1975).

The Commission had sixteen sections: (1) linguistics; (2) literature, journalism, and art; (3) education and art; (4) women's activities; (5) law; (6) social sciences; (7) finance and administration, (8) medicine; (9) agriculture, forestry and fisheries; (10) stock raising; (11) chemistry and pharmaceutical; (12) technology; (13) mathematics and natural science; (14) military; (15) navigation; (16) aviation.

Four terminology evaluation boards were also formed. The members were the chairmen of the various sections. They coordinated work of related sections. DPI-A coordinated the work of sections (1), (2), (3), and (4); DPI-B coordinated sections (5), (6), and (7); DPI-C coordinated sections (8), (9), (10), and DPI-D coordinated sections (12), (13), (14), (15), and (16).

The heads of the four evaluation boards made up the Small Committee of the Terminology Commission which coordinated the work of the Terminology Commission as a whole.

From 1955-1966 the Terminology Commission was made in interdepartmental committee, so that it was financed by the prime minister's cabinet. It underwent a number of structural revisions and in 1966, its final year of operation, it consisted of 19 sections. They were (1) linguistics and literature; (2) education; (3) art; (4) psychology; (5) family welfare; (6) religion; (7) law; (8) administration; (9) economics; (10) sociology; (11) history, civics and politics; (12) medicine; (13) agriculture, forestry, and fisheries; (14) stock raising; (15) chemistry and

pharmaceutical; (16) geography; (17) mathematics and natural science; (18) technical; and (19) navigation.

8. This institute was founded by the Dutch in Indonesia in 1947 under the name of *Instituut voor Taal en Cultuur-Onderzoek* (ITCO) as part of the *Faculteit der Letteren en Wijsbegeerte, Universiteit van Indonesië*. G.J. Held, a professor of anthropology on that faculty, was head of the institute, which had three sections (1) culture, (2) linguistics and literature, and (3) dictionaries (Sumantri 1978).
9. The heads in 1952-1959 were Prijana and Hoesein Djajadiningrat. The agency's activities covered (1) research on the national language, regional languages and Indonesian culture; (2) preparing a grammar; (3) preparing Indonesian and regional language dictionaries; (4) formulation of scientific terminology; (5) translation of scientific works; (6) dissemination of the results of their research. It also put out a quarterly magazine called *Bahasa dan Budaya* (Language and Culture) from 1952 to 1959 (Sumantri 1978).
10. From 1959-1966 the heads were successively Hoesein Djajadiningrat, Lukijati Gandasubrata, and Moliar Achmad.

Its activities covered: (1) cultivation and development of Indonesian and regional languages in the fields of grammar, terminology, dictionaries, literature, dialectology, translation, and libraries; (2) research on Indonesian and regional language and literature; (3) cooperation with other institutions outside of the Ministry of Education and Culture; (4) holding language conferences; (5) language information for the public; and (6) publications (Sumantri 1978).

The responsibilities of the LBK were wider than those of the LBB. The LBK had the additional tasks of coordinating with other agencies in the same field and communicating with the public through meetings, information and publishing.

11. The heads from 1966-1969 were successively Chusaeri and S.W. Rujati Mulyadi.

The responsibilities of the DBK were as follows: (1) cultivation and development of Indonesian and regional language in the fields of grammar, terminology, dictionaries, literature, dialectology, translation, and libraries; (2) research on language and holding conferences in cooperation with other agencies in the Department of Education and Culture as well as other domestic and foreign agencies; (3) improving foreign language teaching and translation from foreign languages and into foreign languages; (4) language information for all parties needing such information either domestically or abroad; and (5) publication of research results for cultural and educational purposes (Sumantri 1978).

The responsibilities of the DBK were again greater than those of the LBK. The DBK had additional tasks in the field of foreign language teaching.

12. The head from 1969-1975 was S.W. Rujati Mulyadi. The areas of responsibility of the LBN were (1) cultivation and development of the national language and of regional languages in the fields of grammar, terminology, dictionaries, literature, dialectology, and libraries; (2) language research and conferences in cooperation with other parties in the Department of Education and Culture as well as other domestic or foreign agencies;

(3) language information to all parties needing it domestically or abroad; (4) publication and dissemination of the results of their research for educational and cultural purposes; (5) implementing the administration of evaluation for the Director General of Culture (Sumantri 1978).

The scope of the responsibilities of the LBN differed from that of the DBK in that it no longer covered the area of foreign language teaching and translation. On the other hand its hierarchical relationship with the Director General of Culture was clarified.

In 1970 the branch offices in Singaraja, Bali, Yogyakarta, and Makassar, which had been amalgamated into LBK since 1959, were reestablished.

13. The first head of the Pusat Bahasa was Amran Halim, who had been a member in 1970-1971, with Harsja W. Bachtiar and Anton M. Moeliono, of the small committee which prepared the formation of a language agency on the national level, to be called the Pusat Nasional Pengembangan Bahasa (National Centre for Language Development). The English translation of that name is now used by the Pusat Bahasa when it is necessary to refer to it in English.

The branches of the LBN in Yogyakarta, Singaraja, and Ujung Pandang which have become administrative branches of the Pusat Bahasa in the regions, are now called the Balai Penelitian Bahasa (Language Research Offices).

14. The histories of many countries which have experienced colonialism show that religious organisations serve to raise the level of literacy of the native populations. Among the members of such organisations have been important figures in linguistics who have developed linguistic theory, such as Nida (1949, 1950, 1964, 1975a, 1975b, 1975c, 1969), Pike (1943, 1945, 1947, 1952, 1954-1955-1960, 1970, 1972, 1976, 1977), and Longacre (1964, 1968-1969, 1972). In Indonesia and Malaysia language research by members of religious organisations has produced such works as grammars, dictionaries, spelling systems, and anthologies. We may mention here Leydekker (1835), Klinkert (1882, 1885, 1893), Van der Tuuk (1861, 1897-1912), Shellabear (1899, 1901, 1906, 1913, 1916, 1917), Adriani (1928), Gericke (1901).
15. Some style manuals well known in Indonesia are M. Saleh Saad, *Pedoman menjusun skripsi*, Jakarta, Djambatan, 1964; third edition 1972; and Komaruddin, *Metode penulisan skripsi dan tesis*, Bandung, Angkasa, 1974.
16. Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*, 2 volumes. London, 1755. Noah Webster, *An American dictionary*, 1828 (Haugen 1972:183).
17. In formulating his spelling system, Van Ophuijsen was assisted by two Indonesians: Engkoe Nawawi Soetan Makmoer and Moehammad Taib Soetan Ibrahim.
18. Poerwadarminta's criterion for inclusion of an item in his dictionary was the occurrence of the word or phrase at least five times in different texts (personal communication).
19. Personal communication.
20. The compiler of the dictionary was Teuku Iskandar.
21. *Poedjangga baroe* was published from 1933-1941 and with a spelling change it was published as *Pudjangga baru* from 1948-1953. *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia* was published between 1948 and 1957.

22. The continuation of this work was undertaken by the Himpunan Pembina Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian Language Cultivation Association) in 1980. The Chief Editor is Anton M. Moeliono.
23. In 1978, the revised 42nd edition of the first volume was issued. The second volume is in its 29th edition.
24. In Ireland this movement was unsuccessful because the competition of English was too strong. In Israel the revival of Hebrew was successful because this language had continued to be used in its written form. Thus it was actually the spoken language which was revived.
25. It is interesting that most people feel that writers play an important role in language standardisation. In Indonesia most writers are reluctant to discuss the need for a standard language.
26. The Australian Government continued the German policy of using New Guinea Pidgin, which had been a lingua franca in the area of Rabaul, New Britain for more than 100 years and in other coastal mainland areas as the language of government administration. Tok Pisin (its new name) is the most important lingua franca now especially in the northern part of Papua New Guinea. About 75 percent of its vocabulary originates from English, 15 percent from the language of the Tolai in Rabaul, and 10 percent from other languages, especially German. Its structure is similar to that of Melanesian languages of the south-west Pacific. The language is used by over one million people and the generation of native speakers already exists. Thus the language is now undergoing the process of creolisation. Tok Pisin has now become the language of most local government agencies and of the parliament, in addition to English, which is also still an official language.

In the south (until 1906 controlled by Great Britain and until 1975 under Australian protection as the Territory of Papua) Police Motu, a pidgin based on Motu in the area of Port Moresby, was the most important lingua franca for government administration. Its name come from its use by the local police force. It is now called Hiri Motu.

Tok Pisin is used for intercommunication between Papua and New Guinea (Wurm 1973, 1974).

27. The Commonwealth Act, no. 184, enacted by the Philippine Provisional Congress, set up from Nov. 15, 1935 until full independence was achieved on July 4, 1946 (Sibayan 1974).
28. Schram notes that it is almost impossible to separate the mass media from education and literacy movements, especially in developing countries. See also Bowers (1968).

Notes to chapter III

- 1a. The language conferences in Indonesia which resulted in a number of important policy decisions were initiated by leaders of the *Poedjanga Baroe* (New Writers) who helped to bring about the First Language Congress in Surakarta in 1938. The Second Language Congress was held by the Language Centre in Jakarta in 1954.

Most of the decisions taken in the three congresses had to do with language policy in the areas of language development and cultivation. From the outline below it will be clear that the basic problems discussed have not changed, an indication that the policy decisions were not followed by well-planned implementation so that subsequent congresses found it necessary to reiterate the same policies. Decisions calling for the founding of agencies or special committees for language development and culture were seldom followed up.

The impression arises that such conferences also serve as channels to sublimate the desires and/or frustrations voiced there. We see that the fact that decisions are not carried out does not seem to cause any controversy.

First Language Congress 1938

- a. Position of the language
 - Indonesian is the official language.
 - Indonesian is the language of government and law.
- b. Language development
 - The present spelling is maintained, but spelling reform should be considered.
 - International spelling should be taught in schools.
 - Adequate grammars should be written.
 - Lexicon should be developed.
- c. Language cultivation
 - The language of the newspapers should be improved.
 - An Indonesian Language Institute should be developed.
 - The founding of a school of Letters and Science should be considered (Taalcongres 1938).

Decisions of the Second Language Congress (1954)

- a. Position of the language
 - Language policy should deal with the position and relationships of Indonesian, regional languages, and foreign languages.
 - Language policy should build a love for the language and a feeling of self-worth.
 - The Indonesian language is based on the Malay language but it may be adjusted to the needs of the society.
- b. Language development
 - Indonesian pronunciation books should be written.
 - The spelling system of Indonesian should be improved, based on phonetic principles and formalised by law.
 - Normative grammars of Indonesian for elementary school and secondary school should be written immediately.
 - Complete descriptive grammars should be written and formalised by law.
 - Terminology should be created based on colloquial language, international languages, and regional languages.
 - Administrative and legal language varieties, scientific varieties, colloquial varieties, and varieties for mass media as well as literacy varieties should be improved.
- c. Language cultivation
 - There should be a forum for lectures in Indonesian, regional languages, languages of neighbouring countries, Arabic, Chinese, and Sanskrit.
 - A national translation service should be founded.
 - A body should be formed to compile an etymological dictionary.

- An agency for the development and cultivation of the Indonesian language should be founded.
- There should be an agency for translating literature of the world, of the regional languages, of India, Persia, and Arab countries.
- Public libraries and school libraries should be developed.
- The writing of technical books should be encouraged with appropriate compensation.
- Cultivation of the development of Indonesian and the promotion of Indonesian as the mother tongue of Indonesia should be encouraged. (Congress 1955a, 1955b; *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia* VII no.1; *Medan Bahasa* IV no. 7, 8, 9, 11, and 12; V no.1 and 2.).

Decisions of the Third Language Congress (1978)

a. General

- Ability in Indonesian should be a requirement for government employees and professionals.
- A National Cultural Congress which will outline cultural policies in various fields should be organised.

b. Language development

- Standard spelling guides should be compiled.
- Spelling and pronunciation rules should be better controlled.
- Composition of grammars describing the norms of good language should have top priority.
- A standard dictionary of Indonesian should be published quickly.
- Language modernisation including terminology creation and development of language varieties should be supported.
- The current Anglo-Saxon and French pronunciation systems should be the basis for the new Indonesian system.

c. Language cultivation

- A National Language Development and Cultivation Agency should be formed to encourage the participation of all levels of society in the implementation of language policy.
- A national translation agency should be formed to do translations for the education of the public.
- The writing of original textbooks of good quality should be accelerated. They should take the varied cultural backgrounds of the students into account.
- The training of language teachers and development of language teaching, including teaching of foreign languages, should be improved.
- Writing ability should be emphasised.
- The cultivation of regional languages should receive an adequate place in the school curriculum.

- 1b. As well as the language congresses discussed above there have also been other national conferences which dealt with language development and cultivation. They mainly emphasised language standardisation. In chronological order we may note the following (1) The Language and Literature Symposium (1966) which dealt with spelling, grammar, literature, and language teaching; (2) The Indonesian Language Seminar (1968) which discussed standardisation, linguistic analysis, and language usage; (3) the Indonesian Language Seminar (1972) which prepared the way for the official acceptance of the new spelling rules; (4) the Terminology Symposium (1972) which discussed language modernisation by means of terminology formulation; (5) the National Language Policy Pre-Seminar

(1974) which dealt with language policy in its context of culture, national security, education, literature, and the press, and (6) the National Language Policy Seminar (1975) which discussed the position and function of languages in Indonesia, the standard language and standardisation, Indonesian language teaching, regional languages and foreign languages. Reports of the meetings are available in (1) Ali and Ikram (1967), (2) Kridalaksana and Djokokentjono (1971), (3) Supra and Lake (1974), (4) Moeliono (forthcoming), (5) and (6) Halim (1976c, 1976d).

Similar conferences have been held on the Malay Peninsula. The first Language Congress was held in Singapore in 1952. The second in Seremban in 1954 accepted the Latin alphabet as the official writing system. In 1956 the third Malay Language and Literature Congress in Singapore and Johore Baru, which resulted in the new spelling system, was called the Spelling Congress (Congress 1956; Asmah 1978, 1979).

2. "... the term *nation* refers to any independent political territorial unit which is increasing under the control of a particular nationality" (Fishman 1973:5).
3. The United States of Indonesia was proclaimed by Soekarno on July 4, 1927 in Bandung.
4. The Dutch East Indies Teachers Association was founded in 1921 and joined the Assistant Teachers Association, *HKS-bond*, *Kweekschoolbond* and *Normaalschool* Association in the federation of the Indonesian Teachers Association in 1927. At the Indonesian Youth Congress in Bandung in 1927 the representatives of the various regional groups such as Sumatran Youth, Minahasan Youth, and Javanese Youth, still spoke Dutch. It is interesting that the third oath of the congress was formulated as 'to respect the language of unification: Indonesian', not 'to admit one language, Indonesian' as many people think. Perhaps we can no longer prove exactly what Yamin meant at that time, but two considerations may be taken into account. First, no one ever meant that Indonesia had only one language. Second, the word unification was selected to avoid a situation of conflict which might result from the reaction of the other participants. Reksodipuro and Subagio (1974) hint that the meeting was not without its tensions.
6. The use of the term Bahasa Indonesia and not *de Indonesische taal* in the proclamation in Dutch gave rise to a habit among the Dutch in the colonies of referring to Indonesian in the context of Dutch sentences as *de bahasa*. From a psychological point of view it is understandable that the Dutch, facing the 'stubborn' republicans, were reluctant to admit that their political enemies possessed a natural language. Indonesian has also been considered an artificial language or pidgin by Western linguists (Hall 1962, Hymes 1971). This ambivalent attitude is obvious when we compare the names of other Indonesian languages in Dutch: *Maleis*, *Sundaas*, *Javaans*, *Madurees*.
7. Khubchandani (1974) considers Hindi and Urdu two varieties of the same linguistic family: "Hindi and Urdu ... are actually two styles of the same linguistic code, conceived of as diametrically opposite due to religious differences."
8. Tamil is a member of the Dravidian language family.
9. Other important languages are Bikol (7.8%), Waray (5.5%), Pampango (3.2%), and Pangasinan (2.5%).

10. The population of Singapore consists of the following ethnic groups: Chinese (76%), Malay (15%), Indian (7%), and other ethnic groups (2%). Chinese languages used are Guo-yu (Mandarin), Hokkien (by the largest group of speakers) Tiocu (Teochew), Cantonese, and Hainan. The use of Malay as a national language reflects Singapore's political history and geographical position as part of the Malaysian Federation 1963-1965 (Kuo 1980).
11. Between 1957, the year of the declaration of independence of the Malaysian Federation, and 1967, Malay and English were both official languages.
12. Putonghua 'the common language' has been the national language of mainland China since 1955. In Taiwan the term *Guo-yü* (national language) is used. Putonghua is based on the languages of Northern China and its pronunciation on that of the city of Beijing (DeFrancis 1977).
13. The concept of diglossia was first proposed by Ferguson (1964). At first diglossia meant a situation in which there is a 'high' language, that is, a variety which is used for written language and formal functions, and a 'low' variety of the same language, used for everyday conversation and informal functions. The concept was later extended to include situations in which two different languages fulfilled the 'high' and 'low' functions.
14. The term *patois* comes from French linguistics and refers to spoken varieties which are not used for formal or literary functions. Provençal may be considered a dialect of French, but all regional variations which have spoken varieties are called *patois*.
15. Languages of wider communication are often considered as a *lingua franca*. UNESCO (1953) defined a *lingua franca* as "A language which is used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication between them." The following may serve to clarify the use of these terms.

If a natural or artificial language is adopted as a second language by speakers of a language community, the language becomes a *lingua franca* for that group of speakers. In the process of becoming a *lingua franca* in many areas, the language loses some of its original vocabulary—because it is not used by the new speakers — and/or its phonology and grammar are simplified. This variety is called a *koiné*, after the Greek.

If the structure of the language undergoes major changes due to contact with other languages, the language is said to have undergone pidginisation and to have become a pidgin. If the pidgin, which is not a natural language, becomes the mother tongue for a new generation, the new variety is called a creole (cf. Hall 1962).

The Malay/Indonesian language which is often called the *lingua franca* of the archipelago has undergone all the characteristics of the language varieties mentioned above. The Malay pidgin of the ports spread inland to become creolised in varieties such as Chinese Malay, Javanese Malay, Menado Malay. A *koiné* was apparently used in communication between the Dutch colonials and their native civil service. School Malay was closest to the Riau-Johor dialect.

Indonesian as a language of wider communication on the national level does not include pidgin and creole varieties. The idea that Indonesian was based on a pidginised language or a pidgin-like *lingua franca* (Alisjahbana 1962; Kahin 1970; Hall 1972) is not correct. The variety

chosen as the national language had a grammatical structure based on the Riau-Johor dialect, that is, the school Malay variety, and perhaps also the koiné. Samarin (1968) gives a more complete account of the role of lingua franca as well as a bibliography.

16. *Esperanto* was created by L.L. Zamenhof; *Ido* by Louis de Beaufront, *Interlingua* by Giuseppe Peano; *Occidental* by Edgar de Wahl; and *Novial* by Otto Jespersen (see also McQuown 1964).
17. a. *Public Elementary Education* (Brugmans 1935, 1938; Wal 1963).
 - 1848 Native schools (*inlandse school*) 3 years with Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese as languages of instruction; instruction in reading and writing regional languages with Javanese and Latin alphabets.
 - 1893 Division of native schools into two types:
 - 1) First-class schools (*openbare lagere inlandse school der eerste klasse*) 5 years with regional languages as language of instruction, instruction in reading and writing regional languages, arithmetic, geography, history, science, drawing, and surveying. 1907 became 6-year schools; Dutch taught in 3, 4, and 5th years; Dutch as language of instruction in 6th year. 1911 became 7-year schools; Dutch as language of instruction from 2nd year. 1912 Dutch as language of instruction from 1st year.
 - 2) Second-class schools (*openbare lagere inlandse school der tweede klasse*) 3-year; instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. 1895 became 4-year schools; regional languages or Malay as language of instruction. 1902 became 5-year schools. 1907 Second-class schools were designated for urban children and for training teachers for the new village schools. 1908 *openbare inlandse meisjesschool* in Karanganyar at the same level as the second-class schools. 1908 Second-class schools were re-named '*standaardschool*'. 1911 *Standaardschool* opened in Sumatra.
 - 1907 3-year village schools (*volkschool* or *inlandse gemeente school*) provided instruction in reading and writing regional languages (in Javanese and Latin alphabets) and arithmetic; regional languages as language of instruction.
 - 1908 *Hollands-Chinese School* (HIS) 7-year; replaced First-class schools; Dutch as language of instruction. 1930 Malay no longer a required subject in Java. 1932 Malay no longer a required subject in all HIS. 1932 Regional languages as language of instruction in 1st and 2nd years and if necessary in 3rd year. (cf. also the 1950 and 1954 Republic of Indonesia Education Laws).
 - 1915 *Vervolgschool* 2 years for secondary education of graduates of village schools; regional languages as language of instruction; graduation from *vervolgschool* considered equivalent to graduation from *standaardschool*. 1929 *Standaardschool* second-class schools become *vervolgschool*.
 - 1921 *Schakelschool* 5 years for graduate of village school or of the 3rd year of *standaardschool*; graduation from *schakelschool* considered equivalent to graduation from HIS.

b. *Teacher training*. (Brugmans 1931, 1938; Wal 1963)

- 1852 Native teacher school (*inlandse kweekschool*) 3 years in Surakarta; Javanese as language of instruction and Malay taught as a subject; moved to Magelang in 1875 and closed in 1885.
1856 Teachers training school at Fort de Kock (Bukittinggi).
1865 Teachers training school at Tanah Batu (Tapanuli); closed in 1874.
- 1865 Dutch as language of instruction.
1866 teachers training school in Bandung.
- 1871 Regional languages or Malay as the language of instruction.
- 1871 *Normaalcursus* 2 years for assistant teacher training.
1873 teachers school in Tondano; closed in 1885.
1874 teachers school in Amboina.
1875 teachers school in Probolinggo.
1875 teachers school in Banjarmasin; closed in 1893.
1875 teachers school in Makassar; closed in 1895.
1879 teachers school in Padang Sidempuan; closed in 1891.
- 1886 Dutch no longer a subject of instruction.
- 1904 Dutch as language of instruction in the highest classes of the teachers school at Fort de Kock.
- 1907 Dutch as language of instruction again; extended to 6 years; teachers schools accepted graduates of first-class schools.
- 1914 *Hogere Kweekschool voor Inlandse Onderwijzers* (HKS) 3 years in Purworejo with Dutch as language of instruction; HIS teachers training association; accepted HIS graduates.
- 1915 *Normaalschool* 4-year; replaced *normaalcursus*.
1918 *Meisjes normaalschool* in Yogya and Padang Panjang.
1918 Women's teacher training school in Salatiga.
- 1917 *Hollands-Chinese Kweekschool* (HIK) 6 years as a combination of teachers school and HKS; open to graduates of HIS.

c. *Public Secondary Education* (Brugmans 1938; Wal 1963)

- 1867 *Hogere Burgerschool* (HBS) 5 years for graduates of ELS and HCS
1960 first HBS, called '*gymnasium*', founded in Jakarta.
- 1901 *Hogere Burgerschool* (HBS) 3 years for graduates of ELS and HCS.
- 1914 *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* (Mulo) 3 years for graduates of ELS and HCS; graduates of HIS and *Schakelschool* accepted after a preparatory class (*voorklas*).
- 1919 *Algemene Middelbare School* (AMS) 3 years for graduates of Mulo; graduation considered equivalent to graduation from HBS.
- 1824 *Lyceum*, combination of the HBS (5 years) and the *gymnasium* (6 years with first two classes combined).

d. *Civil Service Education* (Brugmans 1930, 1938; Wal 1963)

- 1878 *Hoofdenschool* 5 years for native candidates for government employment with Dutch as language of instruction.
1893 Dutch replaced by Malay or regional language as language of instruction.
1899 Dutch as language of instruction again.
- 1900 *Opleidingschool voor Inlandse Ambtenaren* (Osvia) 5 years for education in law and civil service.
- 1927 *Middelbare Opleiding voor Inlandse Ambtenaren* (Mosvia) 3 years for Mulo graduates.

1938 *Bestuursacademie* 3 years for HBS and AMS graduates.

e. *Law Schools* (Brugmans 1938; Wal 1963)

1909 *Rechtsschool* 3 years to prepare for a position on the *landraad*;
Dutch as language of instruction; Dutch elementary school required.

1924 *Rechthogeschool* 5 years; opened in Jakarta for graduates of Dutch
secondary schools.

f. *Medical Schools* (Brugmans 1938; Wal 1963)

1851 *School voor Inlandse Geneeskundigen* 2 years; graduates called
'Javanese doctors'.

1864 4 years with Malay as language of instruction.

1875 5 or 6 years with Dutch as language of instruction; graduates
called 'inlands geneeskundige'.

1902 *School tot Opleiding van Inlandse Artsen* (Stovia) replacing
'Javanese doctors' school.

1913 The name 'Inlands' changed to 'Indisch'.

1836 Stovia closed.

1913 *Nederlands-Indische Artsenschool* (Nias) 7 years in Surabaya for
graduates of Mulo.

1927 *Geneeskundige Hogeschool* (GH) 7 years in Jakarta for graduates of
HBS, AMS, Lyceum.

1928 *School tot Opleiding van Indische Tandartsen* (Stovia) 5 years in
Surabaya.

18. See Education Law 1950, no 4; 1954, no 12; and Higher Education Law 1961,
no 22.

19. Noss (1967) and Latief (1979) differ in their accounts of the number of
languages of instruction. Noss lists Indonesian, Javanese, Sundanese,
Madurese, Batak, Balinese, and Makassarese as languages of instruction.
Latief names eleven languages as languages of instruction: Indonesian,
Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Buginese/Makassarese, Minangkabau, Batak,
Balinese, Acehnese and Sasak. Further investigation is needed for a more
realistic language policy.

Another interesting point in the two reports is the different rankings
given to Indonesian and regional languages according to number of speakers.
Noss bases his rankings on projections of the 1930 census figures on
estimated numbers of numbers of ethnolinguistic groups. Assuming that the
rate of population growth is the same for all groups, he arrives at the
following list for one hundred million inhabitants in 1967; Javanese, 45
million; Sundanese, 15 million; Madurese, 8 million; Malay-Indonesian,
7.5 million; Minangkabau, 3.5 million; Balinese, 2.5 million; Batak,
2.5 million; Makassarese, 2 million; Buginese and Acehnese, each over
1 million. Latief offers the following data which he obviously Indonesian
based on an estimation of the number of inhabitants per province:
Indonesian, 20-60 million; Javanese, 47.3 million; Sundanese, 21.5 million;
Malay dialect, 13.7 million; Madurese, 7.5 million; Buginese/Makassarese
(?), 3.9 million; Minangkabau, 3.3 million; Batak, 2.5 million; Balines,
2.1 million; Acehnese, 1.7 million; Sasak, 1.6 million.

20. Today there are 49 stations belonging to the national government (RRI),
86 radio-stations belonging to the local government, and approximately
500 private radio-stations.

21. It was proved by Gonzales (1978) that speakers of the national language in Philippines when they take domicile in an area where the national language is not used, continue to speak the national language. Speakers from areas where the national language is not used, tend to continue to speak their own language, when moving to a national language area. However, eventually they shift to the national language. They learn the national language, because it facilitates their life and work. The second generation usually does not speak the language of their parents at all.
22. Out of a population of 118.3 million, or about 40.78%. The Central Bureau of Statistics (1975) predicts that in the 1981 census, speakers of Indonesian will make up 49.66% or about 68 million out of a population of 140 million.
23. The attitude of the '*Gelanggang*' ('Arena')/writers who reject the use of a language full of proverbs and clichés also implies a rejection of a traditional cultural attitude, as suggested by the double meaning of the title of the collection of poetry, *Tiga menguak takdir*: either 'Three against fate' or 'Three against takdir' (S. Takdir Alisjahbana, a writer of the older generation).

Notes to Chapter IV

1. The tendency of Indonesian technocrats to sprinkle foreign expressions through their writings and speeches on development is an obstacle to communication with the public. See also Ziad Salim (1977) on the 'anglo-saxonisation' of Indonesia.
2. These tendencies are evident in Indonesia. When in the 1950s the philosophy of emphasising the Indonesian identity was developed there also appeared a tendency to use Sanskrit, Arabic, and Old Javanese as sources of terminology and new Symbolism. Indonesia seemed to want to show the world that it had a heritage.
3. Consonant Inventory.
The symbols for the phonemes of Putunghua are based on the pinyin transcription, as follows:

Consonant	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives						
unaspirated	b	d		j	g	
aspirated	p	t		q	k	
Affricates						
unaspirated		z	zh			
aspirated		c	ch			
Flap		r				
Nasals	m	n				
Fricatives	f	s	sh	x		h
Lateral		l				
Semivowels	w			y		

Vowel = a, e, i, o, u, ü
 Tones = má, mǎ, mà
 Juncture = pí'ǎo
 (source: DeFrancis 1977).

4. In 1966 it was New Order policy to end the confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia. The new spelling took six years as a result of the political situation and the socio-cultural atmosphere which was not adequately taken into account by Indonesian planners.
5. Ferguson's original formulation is as follows, "... a relatively stable language situation, in which in addition to the primary dialects of the language, which may include a standard or regional standards, there is a very divergent, highly codified, often grammatically more complex, superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, heir of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation." ('Diglossia', *Word* 15 (1959):336).
6. Hymes is of the opinion that a koiné should be distinguished from a pidgin although both have been subject to simplification. Koiné never detaches itself from the language it originates from; it absorbs many elements from regional and/or other languages due to contacts with speakers of different languages.
7. "Oppervlakkig gezien is men geneigd te zeggen, dat voor Java onderwijs in het Riouw-Maleisch geen zin heeft omdat dit zuivere Maleisch daar nergens gebruikt wordt." (Van der Wal 1973:491).
8. "... in de laatste decennia bezig is een Maleische verkeerstaal te ontwikkelen, die door de Volkslectuur en sommige Inlandse bladen wordt gecultiveerd en door enkele begaafde sprekers op vergaderingen wordt gepropageerd."
9. Some of these were Nur Sutan Iskandar, Mohammad Kasim, Abdoel Moeis, and K. St. Pamuntjak.
10. Well-known journalists of the period include A. Rivai, H. Agus Salim, M. Amir, Parada Harahap, Adinegoro, Tjindarbumi, M. Yamin and Soemanang.
11. The concept of the diasystem was suggested by Weinreich (1953). This approach is very useful in a diglossia situation.
12. Daniel Jones (1950) in his well-known work on phonemes introduced the concept of the diaphone which included all the alternative ways the same phoneme could be realised in various idiolects.
13. The spelling dictionary was compiled by members of the Dictionary and Terminology Section, Language Centre, under the coordination of Harimurti Kridalaksana.
14. The writer feels that the avoidance of consonant clusters can *only* be considered initial position. The advantage of inserting the shwa between the first and second consonant is a higher degree of regularity in the morphophonemic process of complex word formation with the prefixes meng- and peng- (meng- and peng- are considered the basic forms as they have the wider distribution than alternate forms). For example trap > terap *arranging*, menerapkan *apply*, penerapan *application*; Prancis > Perancis

French, memeranciskan *to make French*, pemerancisan *making (something) French*, klakson > kelakson *horn*, mengelakson *blow the horn*, pengelaksonan *horn blowing*.

15. Mukařovský differentiates two types of esthetics in language: structured and unstructured. The first involves the general evaluation of various discourse types which are basic to the standard language. The second involves evaluation of individual language use.
16. The difference of opinion between Alisjahbana and Prijana (*Medan Bahasa* IV 7/8 and V/1) derives from a failure to define clearly what types of grammar books or language lesson books are needed by particular groups.
17. The assumption on which this view is based should be exposed. The misconception which underlies it is the speaker's conclusion that a word does not exist in Indonesian if he does not have it in his own vocabulary. In other words, what he does not know can not exist in Indonesian.
18. Compare also Saad and Moeliono (forthcoming) which presents a dictionary of literary terminology for secondary school students and general use.
19. Moeliono (1980) presents a somewhat different grouping because the language varieties considered also include dialectical varieties, educated varieties and varieties which involve mixing.
20. Compare Kridalaksana (1976) which discusses the subject of terms of address from a different point of view. In this writer's opinion, terms of address depend only on the addressee (second person). The term of address may be (1) a second person pronoun and/or (2) a reference term. By reference term we mean a set of nominals which refer to others who have a family or functional relationship to the speaker. Examples are *saudara brother, friend*; *bapak father, older man*; *ibu mother, older woman*; *paman uncle*; *suster nurse*; *kaptan captain*. Unlike terms of address, terms of reference can refer to the speaker or a third person as well.

Notes to Chapter V

1. It seems unfair to criticise speakers who cannot use a language correctly and well if there is no system of rewards to motivate them to improve. What benefits can they expect if they do speak well? In Indonesia, fluency in Dutch in the period of Dutch colonisation and fluency in Japanese during the Japanese occupation, offered opportunities for better positions. Today policymakers should note the many job advertisements which offer excellent salaries to candidates who speak English well. As a result young people seeking work enroll in English courses on their own initiative.
2. The publication of lists of terminology which are not comprehensive, no matter how limited in scope, in newspapers and magazines, is almost useless. Readers will not look the terminology up again when they need to use it because it is not available in a complete collection.
3. For example Indonesia's experience in language development and cultivation, which could enrich the theory of language planning, is almost unknown outside of Indonesia because it has only been published in Indonesian.

4. Recently in Indonesia there has been an interesting tendency when things go wrong to deal with the situation by taking one of two positions: either 1) we need not attempt to affix the blame (responsibility) to any one person, or 2) everyone is to blame.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABAS, Husen

- 1978 Bahasa Indonesia as a unifying language of wider communication: a historical and sociolinguistic perspective. Ph.D. thesis, Ateneo de Manila - Philippine Normal College Consortium, Manila. To be published by *Pacific Linguistics*.

ABDULAZIZ, M.H.

- 1975 Methodology of sociolinguistic surveys: problems of interpretation and implementation. Paper presented to the International Conference on the Methodology of Sociolinguistic Surveys, Montreal, 1975. Mimeo.

ABDULLAH HASSAN

See HASSAN, Abdullah.

ABENDANON, J.H.

- 1913 *Het onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië, meer in bijzonder dat bestemd voor de meisjes.*

ABERCROMBIE, David

- 1956 *Problems and principles: studies in the teaching of English as a second language.* London: Longmans, Green.
- 1967 *Elements of general phonetics.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

ADRIANI, Nicolaus

- 1928 *Bare'e-Nederlandsch woordenboek met Nederlandsch-Bare'e register.* Leiden: Boekhandel en Drukkerij.

ALATIS, James., ed.

- 1968 *Contrastive linguistics and its pedagogical implications.* Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- 1970 *Report of the Twenty-first Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies.* Washington: Georgetown University Press.

ALI, Lukman and Achadiati IKRAM

- 1967 *Bahasa dan kesusastaan sebagai tjermin manusia Indonesia Baru.* Jakarta: Gunung Agung.

ALISJAHBANA, S. Takdir

- 1933a Bahasa Indonesia. In *Poedjangga Baroe* 1:129-178.

ALISJAHBANA, S. Takdir

- 1933b *Poedjangga Baroe*. Djakarta.
- 1946-
1947 *Kamus istilah I-II*. Djakarta: Pustaka Rakjat.
- 1948 *Pembina Bahasa Indonesia*. Djakarta: Pustaka Rakjat.
- 1949-
1950 *Tatabahasa baru Bahasa Indonesia*. 2 vols. Djakarta: Pustaka Rakjat. (42nd edition, 1978).
- 1950 *Puisi lama - puisi baru*. 2 vols. Djakarta: Pustaka Rakjat.
- 1954 *Kongres Bahasa Indonesia*. *Medan Bahasa* 4/7, 5/1.
- 1956 *Sedjarah Bahasa Indonesia*. Djakarta: Pustaka Rakjat.
- 1961 Language engineering molds Indonesian language. *Linguistic Reporter* 3/3:1.
- 1972 *Indonesian language and literature: two essays*. Cultural report no.11. New Haven: Yale University: Southeast Asia Studies.
- 1965 *The failure of modern linguistics in the face of linguistic problems of the twentieth century*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya.
- 1970a The modernization of languages in Asia in historical and socio-cultural perspective. In Alisjahbana, ed. 1970:6-23.
- 1970b The writing of normative grammar for Indonesian language. In Alisjahbana, ed. 1970:246-254.
- 1970c The modernization of the Indonesian-Malay language in the 19th and 20th century. In Alisjahbana, ed. 1970:181-210.
- 1971a Some planning processes in the development of the Indonesian-Malay language. In Rubin and Jernudd, eds *Can language be planned?* 1971:179-187.
- 1971b Language policy, language engineering and literacy in Indonesia and Malaysia. In Sebeok, ed. 1971:1087-1109. (Also in Fishman, ed. 1974:391-416.)
- 1974 Language policy, language engineering and literacy in Indonesia and Malaysia. In Fishman, ed. 1974:391-416.
- 1976 *Language planning for modernization: the case of Indonesian and Malaysian*. The Hague: Mouton.
- 1978a The concept of language standardization and its application to the Indonesian language. In Perez et al, eds 1978:19-41.
- 1978b Tujuan dan sejarah pembinaan dan pengembangan bahasa Indonesia. In Sumantri, ed. 1978:1-11.

ALISJAHBANA, S. Takdir, ed.

- 1970 *The modernization of language in Asia*. Kuala Lumpur: The Malaysian Society of Asian Studies.

ALLEN, J.P.B. and S. PITCORDER, eds

- 1973 *Readings for applied linguistics*, vol.1. London: Oxford University Press.

ALLEN, Harold B., ed.

- 1964 *Readings in applied English linguistics*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. (1st edition, 1958).

ANDREEV, N.D.

- 1957 Some problems of Bahasa Indonesia phonology. *Studia Linguistica* 1. Lund.

ANNAMALAI, E. and Joan RUBIN

- 1980 Planning for language code & language use: some considerations in policy-formation & implementation. *Language Planning Newsletter* 6/3:1-4.

ANONYMOUS

- 1967 Survey of language use and language teaching in eastern Africa. *Linguistic Reporter* 9/5:8.

ANSRE, Gilbert

- 1974 Language standardization in sub-Saharan Africa. In Fishman, ed. 1974:369-389.

ANWAR, Khaidir

- 1976 Indonesian: problems of development and use of a national language. Ph.D. thesis, University of London.

ASMAH HAJI OMAR

- 1967 Towards the unification of Bahasa Malaya and Bahasa Indonesia: an account of efforts to standardize the spelling system of Malay in Malaysia and Indonesia. *Tenggara* 1:112-115.
- 1974 *Essays on Malaysian linguistics*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- 1978 *Perancangan bahasa dengan rujukan khusus kepada perancangan Bahasa Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- 1979a Implementation of language status planning: procedures, problems and evaluation. In Asmah, 1979b:32-48.
- 1979b *Language planning for unity and efficiency: a study of the language status and corpus planning of Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya.

ASPILLERA, Paraluman S.

- 1970 Filling a gap in the modernization of Pilipino. In Alisjahbana, ed. 1970:91-111.

BADAN PENELITIAN DAN PENGEMBANGAN

- 1978 *Dari jaman ke jaman*. Jakarta: Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

BARNES, Miller Dayle

- 1973 Language planning in mainland China: standardization. In Rubin and Shuy, eds 1973:34-54. (Also in Fishman, ed. 1974.)

BEAUFRONT, Louis de

- 1901 Writing on Ido. See Hymes, ed. 1964, p. 559.

BERRY, Jack

- 1968 The making of alphabets. In Fishman, ed. 1968:737-753.
(1st edition, 1958).
- 1977 The making of alphabets revisited. In Fishman, ed. 1977:3-16.

BIRO PUSAT STATISTIK

- 1974 *Sensus penduduk 1971, Seri E.* (26 vols)
- 1975a *Sensus penduduk 1971, Seri D.*
- 1975b *Proyeksi penduduk Indonesia 1971-1981, Seri K-1.*
- 1976 *Survey penduduk antar-sensus, Seri Tabulasi 3.*

BLOOMFIELD, Leonard

1927. Literate and illiterate speech. *American Speech* 2:432-439.
(Also in Hymes, ed. 1964:391-396.)
- 1933 *Language.* New York: Henry Holt.

BLOUNT, Ben and Mary SANCHES, eds

- 1977 *Sociocultural dimensions of language change.* New York: Academic Press.

BODENSTEDT, Adolf Andreas

- 1967 *Sprache und Politik in Indonesian: Entwicklung und Funktionen einer neuen Nationalsprache.* Heidelberg: Sudasien-Institut der Universität Heidelberg.

BOWERS, John

- 1968 Language problems and literacy. In Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, eds 1968:381-401.

BRIGHT, William, ed.

- 1966 *Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the UCLA sociolinguistics conference, 1964.* The Hague: Mouton. (2nd edition, 1971.)

BROWN, Roger and Albert GILMAN

- 1968 The pronouns of power and solidarity. In Fishman, ed. 1968:252-275.
(Also in Sebeok, ed. 1960:253-276.)

BRUGMANS, I.J.

- 1930 Hollandsch-inlandsch onderwijs. *Djawa* 10:122-134.
- 1938 *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië.* Groningen: J.B. Wolters.
- 1961 Onderwijspolitiek. In H. Brandt and I.J. Brugmans, eds *Balans van een beleid.* Assen.

BÜHLER, Karl

- 1934 *Sprachtheorie: die Darstellungsfunktion der Sprache.* Jena: Fischer.

BULL, William E.

- 1964 The use of vernacular languages in education. In Hymes, ed. 1964: 527-533. (1st edition, 1955, *IJAL* 21.)

BURHAN, Jazir

- 1976 Politik bahasa nasional dan pengajaran bahasa. In Halim, ed. 1976, 1:65-82.

BURNS, Donald

- 1953 Social and political implications in the choice of an orthography. *Fundamental and Adult Education* (Paris) 5/2:80-85.

BYRON, Janet L.

- 1976 *Selection among alternates in language standardization: the case of Albanian*. The Hague: Mouton.

CENSE, A.A. and E.M. UHLENBECK

- 1958 *Critical survey of studies on the languages of Borneo*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

CHIJS, J.A. van der

- 1964 Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Inlandsch onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indie, aan officiële bronnen ontleend. *TBG* 14:212-323.

CHOMSKY, Noam

- 1965 *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

CHOMSKY, Noam and Morris HALLE

- 1968 *The sound pattern of English*. New York: Harper and Row.

CLERCQ, F.S.A. de

- 1971 Eene bijdrage tot de kennis van het Maleisch der Minahasa. *TNI* 3/5(2):403-423.
- 1974 Korte bijdrage over het Maleisch van Timor. *BijdrTLV* 3/9:283-290.
- 1876 *Het Maleisch der Molukken ...* Batavia.

COCHRAN, Anne

- 1977 Alphabet design for Papua New Guinea languages. M.A. thesis, UPNG. 194 pp.

CRAB, P. van der

- 1978 Geschiedenis van Ternate, in Ternataanschen en Maleischen tekst beschreven door den Ternataan Naidah, met vertaling en aantekeningen. *BijdrTLV* 4/2:381-493.

CREUTZBERG, K.F.

- 1923 Enkele greepen uit de Indische onderwijspolitiek. *Verslagen Indische Genootschap*.

CREWE, W.

- 1977 *The English language in Singapore*. Singapore: Eastern Universities Press.

DAKIN, Julian

- 1968 The arguments for the mother tongue: the medium of instruction in schools. In J. Dakin, B. Tiffen and H.D. Widdowson, eds *Language in education*, 20-40. London: Oxford University Press.

DARDJOWIDJOJO, Soenjono

- 1967 Indonesian syntax. Ph.D. thesis, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.
- 1975 The impact of colonialism in national language development. Paper presented at ASANAL, Jakarta 1975.
- 1980 Kesan kolonialisme dalam perkembangan bahasa-bahasa nasional. *Dewan Bahasa* 29/7:43-53.

DAS GUPTA, Jyotirindra

- 1977a Language planning in India: authority and organization. In Rubin, Jernudd, et al, eds 1977:57-78.
- 1977b Language associations in India. In Rubin, Jernudd, et al, eds 1977:3-7.

DAVIS, Frederick B.

- 1967 *Philippine language-teaching experiments*. Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix.

DeFRANCIS, John F.

- 1950 *Nationalism and language reform in China*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1977 Language and script reform in China. In Fishman, ed. 1977:121-148. (1st edition, 1967 *CTL* 2.)

DEL ROSARIO, Gonsalo

- 1968 A modernization-standardization plan for the Austronesian-derived national languages of Southeast Asia. *Asian Studies* 6/1:1-18.

DIFFELEN, R. van

- 1936 Het onderwijs voor Chinezen. *Koloniale Studiën*.

DIL, Anwar S., comp.

See Haugen 1972.

DI PIETRO, Robert J.

- 1971 *Language structures in contrast*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

DJAJADININGRAT, Loekman

- 1942 *From illiteracy to university: educational development in the Netherlands Indies ...* Quebec: Institute of Pacific Relations.

DJOKOKENTJONO

- 1967 Penjempurnaan edjaan Bahasa Indonesia. In Ali and Ikram, ed. 1967.

DREWES, G.W.J.

- 1955 *Een 16^{de} eeuwse maleise vertaling van de Burda van AL-BŪṢĪRĪ (Arabisch lofdicht op Mohammad)*. VKI 18.

DUTTON, Thomas E.

- 1973 *Conversational New Guinea Pidgin*. PL, D-12.
- 1976a *Language and national development - long wanem rot?* Inaugural lecture. Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea.
- 1976b Standardization and modernization of Hiri Motu: issues and problems. *Kivung* 9/2:99-125.

ECK, R. van

- 1883 De talen van Indië. *De Indische Gids* 5/1:146-170.

ENGLE, Patricia Lee

- 1975 *The use of vernacular languages in education*. Arlington, Va.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

ESPIRITU-REID, Precy

- 1982 'Filipino' as a union language for the Philippines. In Amran Halim, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, 3:227-246. PL, C-76.

FELLMAN, Jack

- 1974 The role of Eliezer Ben Yehuda in the revival of the Hebrew language: an assessment. In Fishman, ed. 1974:427-455.
- 1977a The Hebrew Academy: orientation and operation. In Rubin, Jernudd, et al, eds 1977:97-109.
- 1977b Hebrew language planning and the public. In Rubin, Jernudd, et al, eds 1977:151-156.

FERGUSON, Charles A.

- 1959 Diglossia. *Word* 1959, 325-340; also in Hymes, ed. 1964:429-439.
- 1962 The language factors in natural development. In Frank A. Rice, ed. *Study of the role of second languages in Asia, Africa, and Latin America*, 8-14. Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- 1966a On sociolinguistically oriented language surveys. *Linguistic Reporter* 8/4:1-3.
- 1966b National sociolinguistic profile formulas. In William Bright, ed. *Sociolinguistics*, 309-324.
- 1968 Language development. In Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, eds 1968:27-35.
- 1977 Sociolinguistic settings of language planning. In Rubin, et al, eds 1977:9-29.

FERGUSON, Charles A. and Anwar S. DIL

- 1979 Universals of language planning in national development. In McCormack and Wurm, eds 1978:693-701.

FISHMAN, Joshua A.

- 1967 Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23/2:29-38.

FISHMAN, Joshua A.

- 1968a Sociolinguistics and the language problems of developing countries. In Fishman, ed. 1968:3-16.
- 1968b Nationality-nationalism and nation-nationism. In Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, eds 1968:39-51.
- 1968c Some contrasts between linguistically homogeneous and linguistically heterogeneous polities. In Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, eds 1968:53-58.
- 1975a *Language and nationalism: two integrative essays*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
- 1975b The urban condition. In Fishman 1975a.

FISHMAN, Joshua A., ed.

- 1968 *Readings in the sociology of language*. The Hague: Mouton.
- 1972 *Advances in the sociology of language*. The Hague: Mouton.
- 1974 *Advances in language planning*. The Hague: Mouton.
- 1977 *Advances in the creation and revision of writing systems*. The Hague: Mouton.

FISHMAN, Joshua A. and J. COBARRUBIAS, eds

- 1983 *Progress in language planning: international perspectives*. (Contributions to the Sociology of Language) Berlin: Mouton.

FISHMAN, Joshua A., Jyotirindra DAS GUPTA, Björn H. JERNUDD and Joan RUBIN

- 1971 Research outline for comparative studies. In Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971:293-305.

FISHMAN, Joshua A., C.A. FERGUSON and J. DAS GUPTA, eds

- 1968 *Language problems in developing nations*. New York: Wiley.

FLASDIECK, Hermann M.

- 1928 *Der Gedanke einer englischen Sprachakademie in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. Jena: Jenaer Germanistische Forschungen.

FOKKER, A.A., Sr.

- 1902 Het Portugeesche element in't Maleisch. *De Indische Gids* 24/2:1732-1735.
- 1909 Arabic and Malay. *Le Monde Oriental* 3:178-236.

FOKKER, A.A.

- 1941 *Beknopte grammatica van de Bahasa Indonesia*. Groningen-Djakarta: J.B. Wolters. (4th edition, 1950.)
- 1951 *Inleiding tot de studie van de Indonesische syntaxis*. Groningen: Wolters. (Translated into Indonesian: *Pengantar ke sintaksis Indonesia* by Djonhar.)

FRIED, V., ed.

- 1972 *The Prague School of linguistics and language teaching*. London: Oxford University Press.

FURNIVALL, John S.

- 1943 *Educational progress in Southeast Asia ...* New York: Institute of Pacific Relations.

GALLAGHER, Charles F.

- 1971 Language reform and social modernization in Turkey. In Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971:159-178.

GARVIN, Paul L.

- 1954 Literacy as a problem in language and culture. In Hugo J. Mueller, ed. *Report of the Fifth Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies*, 117-129. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- 1973 Some comments on language planning. In Rubin and Shuy, eds 1973: 24-33.

GARVIN, Paul L., ed.

- 1955 *A Prague School reader on esthetics, literary structure, and style*. Washington: Washington Linguistics Club. (Also in 1964 by Georgetown University Press.)
- 1959 The standard language problem: concepts and methods. In Hymes 1964: 521-526.

GARVIN, Paul L. and Madeleine MATHIOT

- 1968 The urbanization of the Guarani language: a problem in language and culture. In Fishman, ed. 1968:365-374.

GEERTS, G., J. van den BROECK and A. VERDOODT

- 1977 Successes and failures in Dutch spelling reform. In Fishman, ed. 1977:179-245.

GERICKE, J.F.G. and T. ROORDA

- 1901 *Javaansch-Nederlandsch handwoordenboek*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: Müller.

GOLD, David L.

- 1977 Successes and failures in the standardization and implementation of Yiddish spelling and Romanization. In Fishman, ed. 1977:307-369.

GONDA, J.

- 1952 *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. Nagpur, India: International Academy of Indian Culture. (2nd edition, 1973).

GONZALES, Andrew B.

- 1974 The 1973 Constitution and the bilingual education policy of the Department of Education and Culture. *Philippine Studies* 22:325-337.
- 1978 The social context of the dissemination of Pilipino: a first step towards standardization. In Perez, et al, eds 1978:131-166.

GORMAN, T.P.

- 1973 Language allocation and language planning in a developing nation. In Rubin and Shuy, eds 1973:72-82.

- GREENBERG, J.H., ed.
- 1966 *Universals of language*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. (1st edition, 1963.)
- 1978 *Universals of human language, vol.1: Method & theory*. Stanford University Press.
- GUDSCHINSKY, Sarah C.
- 1973 *A manual of literacy for preliterate peoples*. Ukarumpa, P.N.G.: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- GUÉRARD, Albert Léon
- 1922 *A short history of the international language movement*. New York: Boni and Liveright.
- GUITARTE, Guillermo L. and Rafael Torres QUINTERO
- 1974 Linguistic correctness and the role of the academies in Latin America. In Fishman, ed. 1974:315-368.
- GUMPERZ, John J. and Dell HYMES, ed.
- 1964 *The ethnography of communication*. *American Anthropologist* 66/6(2) (Special publication).
- GUXMAN, M.M.
- 1968 Some general regularities in the formation and development of national languages. In Fishman, ed. 1968:766-779.
- HABBEMA, J.
- 1900 Een pleidooi voor het Inlandsch Onderwijs. *Indische Gids*.
- HALIM, AMRAN
- 1974a Edjaan jang disempurnakan dan perkembangan ilmu bahasa. In Supra and Lake, eds 1974.
- 1974b *Intonation in relation to syntax in bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Djembatan. Also published as *Intonation in relation to syntax in Indonesian*. PL, D-36.
- 1976a Fungsi dan kedudukan bahasa Indonesia. In Halim, ed. 1976, 2:17-26.
- 1976b Fungsi politik bahasa nasional. In Halim, ed. 1976, 1:13-25.
- HALIM, AMRAN, ed.
- 1976 *Politik bahasa nasional*. 2 vols. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa.
- HALIM, AMRAN and A. LATIEF
- 1973 Some sociolinguistic problems of Indonesia. *Bahasa dan Kesusastraan* 3:1-15.
- HALL, Robert A., Jr.
- 1950 *Leave your language alone!* Ithaca, N.Y.: Linguistica.
- 1951 American linguistics 1925-1950. *Archivum Linguisticum* 4/1:1-16.
- 1962 The life cycle of pidgin languages. *Lingua* 11:151-156.

HALL, Robert A., Jr.

- 1950 *Pidgin and creole languages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
 1972 Pidgins and creoles as standard language. In Pride and Holmes, eds 1972:142-153.

HALLIDAY, M.A.K.

- 1973 *Explorations in the functions of language*. London: Arnold.

HALLIDAY, M.A.K., et al.

- 1964 The users and uses of language. In M.A.K. Halliday, Angus McIntosh and Peter Strevens, eds *The linguistic sciences and language teaching*. London: Longmans, 1964. (Also in Fishman, ed. 1968:139-169.)

HAMILTON, A.W.

- 1924 Chinese loan-words in Malay. *JMBRAS* 2:48-56.

HARRISON, William, Clifford PRATOR and G. Richard TUCKER, eds

- 1975 *English-language policy survey of Jordan: a case study in language planning*. Washington.

HASSAN, Abdullah

- 1978 Dictionary making and the standardization of Malay (Bahasa Malaysia). In Perez, et al. eds 1978:43-72.

HAUGEN, Einar

- 1959 Planning for a standard language in modern Norway. *Anthropological Linguistics* 1/3:8-21.
 1966a Linguistics and language planning. In Bright, ed. 1966:50-71.
 1966b Dialect, language, nation. *American Anthropologist* 68/4:922-935. (Also in Haugen 1972:237-254.)
 1968 The Scandinavian languages as cultural artifacts. In Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, eds 1968:267-284.
 1969 Language planning, theory and practice. In A. Graus, et al, eds *Actes du X^e congres international de linguistes* 1:701-711. Bucharest: Academie. (Also in Haugen 1972:287-298.)
 1971 Instrumentalism in language planning. In Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971:281-289.
 1972a Language planning in modern Norway. In Haugen 1972:133-147.
 1972b *The ecology of language*. (comp. Anwar S. Dil) Stanford: Stanford University Press.
 1972 See also Dil, Anwar S., comp.

HAVRÁNEK, Bohuslav

- 1932 Úkoly spisovného jazyka a jeho kultura. In Havránek and Weingart, eds 1932:32-84. (See Havránek 1964.)
 1938 Zum problem der norm in der heutigen Sprachwissenschaft und sprachkultur. *Actes du Quatrième Congres Internationale de Linguistes* (Also in Vachek 1964:413-420.)

- HAVRÁNEK, Bohuslav
- 1964 The functional differentiation of the standard language. In Garvin, ed. 1964:3-16.
- HAVRÁNEK, Bohuslav and Miloš WEINGART, eds
- 1932 *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura*. [Standard Czech and the cultivation of good language.] Prague: Melantrich.
- HEALEY, Alan and Andrew J. TAYLOR
- 1977 Writing New Guinea languages: alphabets and orthographies. In Wurm, ed. 1977:311-336.
- HEEKEREN, E.A.A. van
- 1918 De taalkwestie in den Volksraad. *De Indische Gids* 40/2:781-783.
- HENDRATO-DARMOSUGITO, Astuti
- 1978 Development of regional languages with the framework of the development of the Indonesian language. In Perez, et al, eds 1978:167-177.
- HERMAN, Simon R.
- 1968 Explorations in the social psychology of language choice. In Fishman, ed. 1968:492-511.
- HEYD, Uriel
- 1954 *Language reform in modern Turkey*. Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society.
- HOCKETT, Charles F.
- 1955 *A manual of phonology*. Baltimore: Waverley Press.
- 1958 *A course in modern linguistics*. New York: Macmillan.
- HOLLANDSCH-INLANDSCH ONDERWIJS COMMISSIE
- 1931 *Publicaties 1-10B van HIOC*. Batavia: G. Kolff.
- HYMES, Dell
- 1962 The ethnography of speaking. In T. Gladwin and W.C. Sturtevant, eds *Anthropology and human behavior*, 13-53. Washington, D.C.: Anthropological Society of Washington. (Also in Fishman, ed. 1968: 99-138.)
- 1970 *On communicative competence*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- 1971 *Pidginization and creolization of languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HYMES, Dell, ed.
- 1964 *Language in culture and society: a reader in linguistics and anthropology*. New York: Harper and Row.
- IBRAHIM, Mohammad H.
- 1979 The Arabic language academy of Jordan. *Language Planning Newsletter* 5/4:1-3.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION FOR STANDARDIZATION (180)

- 1968 *Naming principles.* (150/R 704-1968).
 1969 *Guide for the preparation of classified vocabularies (example of method).* (150/R 919-1969).

ISKANDAR, Teuku, ed.

- 1959 *Kamus dewan.* Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

JACKSON, Howard

- 1976 *Contrastive linguistics - what is it? ITL, a review of Applied Linguistics, 32:1-32.*

JAKOBSON; Roman

- 1960 *Linguistics and poetics.* In Sebeok, ed. 1960:350-377.

JERNUDD, Björn H.

- 1971 *Notes on economic analysis for solving language problems.* In Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971:263-276.
 1973 *Language planning as a type of language treatment.* In Rubin and Shuy, eds 1973:11-23.
 1977a *Prerequisites for a model of language treatment.* In Rubin, et al, eds 1977:41-54.
 1977b *Agency man.* In Rubin, et al, eds 1977:131-139.
 1977c *Three language planning agencies and three Swedish newspapers.* In Rubin, et al, eds 1977:143-149.
 1977d *Linguistic sources for terminological innovation: policy and opinion.* In Rubin, et al, eds 1977:215-236.

JERNUDD, Björn and Jyotirindra DAS GUPTA

- 1971 *Towards a theory of language planning.* In Rubin and Jernudd, ed. 1971:195-215.

JESPERSEN, Otto

- 1925 *Mankind, nation and individual from a linguistic point of view.* (New edition 1964).
 1928 *An international language.* [Novial.] London: Allen & Unwin.

JOEST, W.

- 1892 *Malayische Lieder und Tänze aus Ambon und den Uliase (Molukken).* *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 5:1-34.

JONES, Daniel

- 1950 *The phoneme: its nature and use.* Cambridge: Heffer.

JONES, Richard Foster

- 1953 *The triumph of the English language.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. (Also in 1966.)

JONES, Russell

- 1978 *Arabic loan-words in Indonesian: a check-list of words of Arabic and Persian origins in Bahasa Indonesian and traditional Malay in the reformed spelling.* Jakarta: The Indonesian Ethnological Project.

JONKMAN, Jan Anne

- 1918 *Indonesisch-nationale grondslag van het onderwijs ten dienste der Indlandsche bevolking.* Utrecht: Boer.

JOOS, M.

- 1960 Review of Axel Wyk *Regularized English.* *Language* 36:250-262.

KÄHLER, Hans

- 1956 *Grammatik der Bahasa Indonésia.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

KAHIN, George McTurnan

- 1952 *Nationalism and revolution in Indonesia.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. (new edition 1970).

KARAM, Francis X.

- 1974 Toward a definition of language planning. In Fishman, ed. 1974: 103-124.

KARTONO, Giri

- 1976 Kedudukan dan fungsi bahasa asing di Indonesia. In Halim, ed. 1976, 2:117-125.

KATS, J.

- 1915 *Oversicht van het onderwijs in Nederlandsch Indië.* Batavia.
1934 *Warna sari Melajoe*, 6th edition. Batavia, Bandung: Visser.

KAWULUSAN, H.E.

- 1980 Banyak sarjana tak bisa merumuskan pikirannya dalam bahasa Indonesia. *Kompas*, 2 October 1980, p.4.

KELMAN, Herbert C.

- 1971 Language as an aid and barrier to involvement in the national system. In Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971:21-51.

KEMP, R.H. van der

- 1891 Nota Directeur van onderwijs en Eredienst. In Wal 1963:16.

KENNEDY, Raymond

- 1945 *Bibliography of Indonesian peoples and cultures.* New Haven: Yale University. (2nd edition, 1955, 1962.)

KENYON, John S.

- 1964 Cultural levels and functional varieties of English. In Allen, ed. 1964:294-301.

KERAF, Gorys

- 1970 *Tatabahasa Indonesia untuk sekolah landjutan atas*. Ende: Nusa Indah.
- 1971 *Komposisi bahasa dalam gagasan dan perwujudan ...* Ende, Flores: Nusa Indah.

KERN, Hendrik

- 1890 In hoeverre is bevordering van meerdere kennis der Nederlandsche taal onder de inlandsche bevolking wenschelijk. *Verslaagen Indisch Genootschap*, 205-233.

KLINKERT, H.C.

- 1882 *Spraakleer van het maleisch*. Leiden: Brill. (2nd edition.)
- 1885 *Nieuw Nederlandsch-Maleisch woordenboek*. Leiden. (3rd edition.)
- 1893 *Nieuw Maleisch-Nederlandsch woordenboek met arabisch karakter ...* Leiden: Brill.

KHUBCHANDANI, Lachman M.

- 1974 Fluidity in mother tongue identity. In Verdoodt, ed. 1974:81-102.

KLIMA, Edward S.

- 1972 How alphabets might reflect language. In J.F. Kavanaugh and I.G. Mattingly, eds *Language by ear and eye*, 57-80. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

KLOSS, Heinz

- 1952 *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen von 1800 bis 1950*. Munich: Pohl.
- 1967 'Abstand' languages and 'Ausbau' languages. *Anthropological Linguistics* 9/7:29-41.
- 1968 Notes concerning a language-nation typology. In Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, 1968:69-85.
- 1969 *Research possibilities on group bilingualism: a report*. Quebec: International Center for Research on Bilingualism.

KOENTJARANINGRAT

- 1974 *Kebudayaan, mentalitet dan pembangunan*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- 1976 Pengembangan bahasa nasional sebagai unsur kebudayaan nasional. In Halim ed. 1976, 1:55-63.

KONDRASHKINA, Elena Alekseevna

- 1978 Sociolinguvisticheskie aspekty razvitija indoneziyskogo jazyka v period nezavisimost (1945-1967gg). Ph.D. thesis, Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow. [Sociolinguistic aspects of the development of the Indonesian language during the independence period.]

KONGRES

- 1955a *Kongres Bahasa Indonesia di Kota Medan*. Djakarta.
- 1955b *Kongres Bahasa Indonesia di Medan: peristiwa yang tiada bandingnya*. Medan Bahasa 4/7-8, 9, 11-12; 5/1-2.

KONGRES

- 1956 *Kongres bahasa dan p̄suratan Malaya*. Singapore: University of Malaya.

KRIDALAKSANA, Harimurti

- 1968 The new spelling for Bahasa Indonesia. *Indonesian Journal of Cultural Studies* 3:200-225.
- 1970 Towards a standardization of phonologic and morphologic borrowed elements in Bahasa Indonesia. In Alisjahbana, ed. 1970:211-232.
- 1976 Tata cara standardisasi dan pengembangan Bahasa Nasional. In Halim, ed. 1976, 2:35-44.
- 1978 Spelling reform 1972: a stage in the process of standardisation of Bahasa Indonesia. In Perez, et al, eds 1978:305-317.

KRIDALAKSANA, Harimurti and DJOKOKENTJONO, eds

- 1971 *Seminar Bahasa Indonesia 1968*. Ende, Flores: Nusa Indah.

KRIDALAKSANA, Harimurti et al.

- 1975 *Kamus ejaan bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa.

KRISHNAMURTI, Bh.

- 1979 Problems of language standardization in India. In McCormack and Wurm, eds 1979:673-692.

KUO, Eddie C.Y.

- 1977 The status of English in Singapore - a sociolinguistic analysis. In Crewe, ed. 1977:10-33.
- 1980 Language planning in Singapore. *Language Planning Newsletter* 6/2:1-5.

LAMBERT, Wallace E.

- 1967 A social psychology of bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23:91-109.

LAPOLIWA, H.

- 1981 *A generative approach to the phonology of Bahasa Indonesia*. PL, D-34.

LATIEF, A.

- 1979 *Survey of sociocultural aspects of foreign language teaching in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa.

LAYCOCK, Donald C.

- 1975 Pidgineering. In McElhanon, ed. 1975:43-50.

LEKKERKERKER, C.

- 1929 Onderwijs in Nederlandsch Indië. *Wetenschappelijke Bladen*.

LEMBAGA

- 1972 *Bahasa dan kesusastraan*. Special volume no.9. Jakarta: Lembaga Bahasa Nasional.

LEO, Philip

- 1974 *Chinese loanwords spoken by the inhabitants of the City of Jakarta*. Jakarta: LIPI. (2nd edition, 1975.)

LEYDEKKER, M.

- 1835 *Maleisch en nederduitsch woordenboek*. Batavia.

LIE KIMHOK

- 1884 *Malajoe Batawi ... Batawi*.

LIEBERSON, Stanley

- 1966 Language questions in censuses. In S. Lieberman, ed. *Explorations in sociolinguistics*, 134-151. Bloomington: Indiana University Research Center on Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics.

LITTERAL, Robert

- 1978 Language planning activity in Papua New Guinea. *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Linguistics* 24:5-14. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

LONGACRE, Robert E.

- 1964 *Grammar discovery procedures: a field manual*. The Hague: Mouton.
- 1968- *Discourse paragraph and sentence structure in selected Philippine languages*. 3 vols. Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 21. Santa Ana, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- 1972 *Hierarchy and universality of discourse constituents in New Guinea languages*, vol.1: *Discussion*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

LUBIS, Madong

- 1946 *Paramasastera landjut*. Amsterdam. (4th edition, 1952.)

LYONS, John

- 1976 *Semantics*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MCCORMACK, William C. and Stephen A. WURM, eds

- 1979 *Language and society: anthropological issues*. The Hague: Mouton.

MCDONALD, Bob, ed.

- 1976 *Language and national development: the public debate, 1976*. DLOP 11. 120 pp.

McELHANON, Kenneth A., ed.

- 1975 *Tok Pisin i go we?* Proceedings of a conference held at the University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, 1973. *Kivung* special publication no.1. Port Moresby: Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea.

MACNAMARA, John

- 1966 *Bilingualism and primary education: a study of the Irish experience*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

MACNAMARA, John

- 1971 Successes and failures in the movement for the restoration of Irish. In Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971:65-94.
- 1973 Attitudes and learning a second language. In Shuy and Fasold, eds 1973, 36-40.

McQUOWN, Norman A.

- 1964 A planned auxiliary language. In Hymes, ed. 1964:555-563.

MALEISCH

- 1938 Het Maleisch in de volksraad. *De Indische Gids* 60/2:958-960.

MATHESIUS, Vilém

- 1932 O požadavku stability ve spisovném jazyce. In Havránek and Weingart, eds 1932:14-31.

MAYHEW, Arthur I.

- 1926 *The education of India: a study of British educational policy in India 1835-1920 ...* London: Faber and Gwyer.

MEES, C.A.

- 1951 *Tatabahasa Indonesia*. Bandung: Visser.

MEULEN, J.W.F. van der

- 1929 Het onderwijsstelsel in Nederlandsch-Indië. *Wetenschappelijke Bladen*.

MEILLET, Antoine

- 1918 *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle*. Paris: Payot.

MILLER, George A.

- 1950 Language engineering. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 22/6:720-725.

MOELIONO, Anton M.

- 1964 On grammatical categories in Indonesian. M.A. thesis, Cornell University.
- 1967 Suatu reorientasi dalam tatabahasa Indonesia. In Ali and Ikram 1967.
- 1968 Masalah asli dan asing dalam bahasa Indonesia. *Kompas* 26-27 June, 1968.
- 1973 Terms and terminological language. *The Indonesian Quarterly* 2/1:90-104.
- 1975 A recent history of spelling reforms in Indonesia. In Verhaar, ed. 1975:1-5.
- 1978a Dua pedoman pelengkap pembentukan istilah. In Sumantri, ed. 1978:72-89.
- 1978b Beberapa segi standardisasi bahasa. Makalah Kongres Bahasa Indonesia III.

MOELIONO, Anton M.

- 1980 Bahasa Indonesia dan ragam-ragamnya. *Majalah pembinaan bahasa Indonesia* 1/1:15-33.
- 1985 *Pengembangan dan pembinaan bahasa: ancangan alternatif di dalam perencanaan bahasa*. Jakarta: Djambatan.

MOELIONO, Anton M., ed.

- 1981 *Simposium peristilahan 1972*. Jakarta.

MOLDE, Bertil

- 1975 Language planning in Sweden. *Language Planning Newsletter* (Honolulu) 1/3:1, 3-4.

MORIGUCHI, Kenji

- 1970 The modernization of the Japanese language from the 19th to the 20th century. In Alisjahbana, ed. 1970:47-56.

MUKAŘOVSKÝ, Jan

- 1964 The esthetics of language. In Garvin, ed. 1964:31-70.

MÜHLHÄUSLER, Peter

- 1979a *Growth and structure of the lexicon of New Guinea Pidgin*. PL, C-52.
- 1979b New Guinea Pidgin and the language problem in Papua New Guinea. *Technische Universität Berlin Arbeitspapiere zur Linguistik* 4:84-90.

MÜHLHÄUSLER, Peter, S.A. WURM and T.E. DUTTON

- 1979 Language planning and New Guinea Pidgin. In Wurm, ed. 1979:263-276.

NASOETION, Andi Hakim

- 1970 Bahasa Indonesia untuk ilmu kuantitatif tak semudah dibayangkan. *Kompas* 13 October 1970.
- 1974 Penggunaan bahasa dalam ilmu pengetahuan. In Supra and Lake, eds 1974.

NEUSTUPNÝ, Jiri V.

- 1968 Some general aspects of 'language' problems and 'language' policy in developing societies. In Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, eds 1968:285-294.
- 1970 Basic types of treatment of language problems. *Linguistic Communications* 1:77-100. (Also in Fishman, ed. 1974:37-48).
- 1976 Language correction in contemporary Japan. *Language Planning Newsletter* (Honolulu) 2/3:1,3.
- 1980 Language reforms in Japan. In *Encyclopedia of Japan*. Tokyo: Kodansha.

NEYS, Karel

- 1945 *Westere acculturisatie en Oosters volksonderwijs*. Leiden: "Luctor et Emergo".

NICKEL, Gerhard, ed.

- 1971 *Papers in contrastive linguistics*. Cambridge: University Press.

NIDA, Eugene A.

- 1949 *Morphology: the descriptive analysis of words.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- 1950 *Learning a foreign language: a handbook for missionaries.* New York: Foreign Missions Conference of North America.
- 1954 Practical limitations to a phonemic orthography. *Bible Translator* 5/1:35-39, 5/2:58-62. (Also in Smalley 1964:22-30, as Practical limitations to a phonemic alphabet.)
- 1964 *Toward a science of translating with special reference to principles and procedures involved in Bible translating.* Leiden: Brill.
- 1975a *Componential analysis of meaning: an introduction to semantic structures.* The Hague: Mouton.
- 1975b *Exploring semantic structures.* Munich: Fink.
- 1975c *Language structure and translation essays.* (A.S. Dil ed.) Stanford: Stanford University Press.

NIDA, Eugene A. and Charles R. TABER

- 1969 *The theory of practice of translation.* Leiden: Brill, for the United Bible Societies.

NIEUWENHUIS, G.J.

- 1922 *Grondslagen van een Indisch onderwijsstelsel.*
- 1930 *Het Nederlandsch in Indië ...* Groningen: Wolters.

NIO JOE LAN

- 1939 Het Chineesch-, Hollandsch- en Engelsch-Maleisch. *De Indische Gids* 61/1:408-419.

NOREEN, Adolf

- 1892 Über Sprachrichtigkeit. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1:95-157. (1st edition, 1888 in Swedish.)

NOSS, Richard

- 1967 *Language policy and higher education. Higher education and development in South-east Asia 3/2.* Paris: UNESCO.
- 1971 Politics and language policy in southeast Asia. *Language Sciences* 16:25-32.

O'BARR, William M. and Jean F. O'BARR, eds

- 1976 *Language and politics.* The Hague: Mouton.

OHANNESSIAN, Sirarpi

- 1975 On sociolinguistically oriented language surveys. *Linguistic Reporter* 13/4:7.

OKA, I GUSTI NGURAH

- 1976 Pembinaan pengajaran bahasa Indonesia. In Halim, ed. 1976, 2:45-60.

OPHUIJSEN, C.A. van

- 1882 *Gronden der spelling van het Maleisch met Arabische karakters.* Semarang.
- 1901 *Kitab logat melajoe: woordenlijst voor de spelling der maleische taal.* Batavia.
- 1902 *Handleiding bij de beoefening van het Maleische letterschrift.* Leiden: Brill.
- 1910 *Maleische spraakkunst.* Leiden: Brill. (2nd edition, 1915.)

ÖSTERBERG, Tore

- 1961 *Bilingualism and the first school language ... Inaugural dissertation, Umeå.*

OTANES, Fe T. and Bonifacio P. SIBAYAN

- 1969 *Language policy survey of the Philippines.* Manila: Philippine Normal College, Language Study Center. (new edition 1972.)

PANDIT, P.B.

- 1979 *Perspectives on sociolinguistics in India.* In McCormack and Wurm, eds 1979:171-182.

PANITIA KONGRES

- 1978 *Keputusan Kongres Bahasa Indonesia ke-3.* Mimeo.

PANITIA PENGEMBANGAN

- 1975a *Pedoman umum ejaan yang disempurnakan.* Jakarta: Panitia Pengembangan Bahasa Indonesia.
- 1975b *Pedoman umum pembentukan istilah.* Jakarta: Panitia Pengembangan Bahasa Indonesia.

PAUL, Hermann

- 1886 *Principien der Sprachgeschichte.* Halle: Niemeyer.

PEREZ, Alejandrino Q., Alfonso O. SANTIAGO and NGUYEN DANG LIEM, eds

- 1978 *Papers from the Conference on the Standardisation of Asian Languages, Manila, Philippines, December 16-21, 1974.* PL, C-47.

PERNIS, H.D. van

- 1952 *Taman Bahasa Indonesia.* Djakarta: Pustaka Antara.

PIJNAPPEL, Gz.J.

- 1865 *Laag-Maleisch! De Indische Gids* 29/4:148-159.

PIKE, Kenneth L.

- 1943 *Phonetics: a critical analysis of phonetic theory and a technic for the practical description of sounds.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. (10th edition 1972.)
- 1945 *The intonation of American English.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- 1947a *The formation of practical alphabets.* In *Phonemics ...*

PIKE, Kenneth L.

- 1947b *Phonemics: a technique for reducing language to writing*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- 1948 *Tone languages: a technique for determining the number and type of pitch contrasts in a language, with studies in tonemic substitution and fusion*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. (2nd edition 1957.)
- 1954-55-60 *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior*. Glendale, Cal.: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 3 vols. (2nd edition 1967.)
- 1959 Language as particle, wave and field. *The Texas Quarterly* 2/2:37-54.
- 1970 *Tagmemic and matrix linguistics applied to selected African languages*. Norman, Okla.: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- 1972 *Selected writings ...*, ed. Ruth M. Brend. The Hague: Mouton.

PIKE, Kenneth L. and Evelyn G. PIKE

- 1977 *Grammatical analysis*. Huntington Beach, Ca.: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

PINEDA, Ponciano B.P.

- 1974 The national language policy of the Philippines. In Al Q. Perez and A.O. Santiago, eds *Language policy and language development of Asian countries*, 1-10. Manila: Pambansang Samahan sa Linggwistikang Pilipino, Ink.
- 1978 A dictionary in the making: standardisation of Pilipino/Filipino and the law. In Perez et al, eds 1978:11-18.

POEDJAWIJATNA, I.R. and P.J. ZOETMULDER

- 1955 *Tatabahasa Indonesia untuk Sekolah Lanjutan Atas*. 2 vols. Djakarta: Obor.

POEDJOSOEDARMO, Soepomo

- 1982 *Javanese influence on Indonesian*. PL, D-38.

POEDJOSOEDARMO, Soepomo, ed.

- 1977 *Miscellaneous studies in Indonesian and languages in Indonesia 3*. Jakarta: NUSA.

POERWADARMINTA, W.J.S.

- 1952 *Kamus umum Bahasa Indonesia*. Djakarta: Balai Pustaka. (2nd edition 1966, 5th edition 1967 ...)
- 1967a *ABC karang-mengarang*. Jogjakarta: U.P. Indonesia.
- 1967b *Bahasa Indonesia untuk karang-mengarang*. Jogjakarta: U.P. Indonesia.

POLDAUF, Ivan

- 1972 Language awareness. In Fried, ed. 1972:62-76.

POLOMÉ, Edgar C.

- 1963 Cultural languages and contact vernaculars in the Republic of the Congo. *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 4:499-511.

POST, P.

1938 *The educational system in the Netherlands Indies*. Amsterdam.

PRATOR, Clifford H.

1950 *Language teaching in the Philippines: a report*. Manila: United States Educational Foundation.

PRIDE, J.B. and Janet HOLMES, eds

1972 *Sociolinguistics: selected readings*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

PULGRAM, Ernst

1951 Phoneme and grapheme: a parallel. *Word* 7/1:15-20.

1965 Graphic and phonic systems: figurae and signs. *Word* 21:208-224.

QUIRK, Randolph, Sidney GREENBAUM, Geoffrey LEACH, and Jan SVARTVIK

1972 *A grammar of contemporary English*. Harlow: Longman. (2nd edition 1973.)

RASK, R.K.

1826 *Forsøg til en videnskabelig dansk retskrivningslaere, med hensyn til stamspreget og nabosproget*. Copenhagen.

RAY, Punya Sloka

1961 Language planning. *Quest* 3:32-39.

1963 *Language standardization: studies in prescriptive linguistics*. The Hague: Mouton.

REDFIELD, Robert

1941 *The folk cultures of Yucatan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

REKSODIPURO, Subagio and H. SOEBAGIJO, I.N. eds

1974 *45 tahun sumpah pemuda*. Jakarta: Gunung Agung.

RETMONO

1976 Pengajaran bahasa asing dalam rangka politik bahasa nasional. In Halim, ed. 1976, 2:127-137.

RICE, Frank A., ed.

1962 *Study of the role of second languages in Asia, Africa, and Latin America*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

RICHARDS, Jack C.

1978 Simplification: a strategy in the adult acquisition of a foreign language: an example from Indonesian Malay. In Perez et al, eds 1978:275-286.

ROBERTSON, D. Maclaren

1910 *A history of the French Academy, 1635-1910...* New York: Dillingham.

ROSEN, Joan M.

1977 Reduplication and negation in Indonesian. In Poedjosoedarmo, ed. 1977:1-4.

ROSIDI, Ajip

- 1976 Pengembangan bahasa daerah. In Halim, ed. 1976, 2:101-116.

RONKEL, Ph.S. van

- 1899 Over invloed der Arabische syntaxis op de Maleische. *TBG* 41:498-528.

RUBIN, Joan

- 1968 Language and education in Paraguay. In Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, ed. 1968:477-488.
- 1971 Evaluation and language planning. In Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971:217-252. (Also in Fishman, ed. 1972:476-510.)
- 1973 Language planning: discussion of some current issues. In Rubin and Shuy, ed. 1973:1-10.
- 1976 Language and politics from a sociolinguistic point of view. In O'Barr and O'Barr, eds 1976:389-404.
- 1977a Indonesian language planning and education. In Rubin, Jernudd et al, eds 1977:111-129.
- 1977b Language standardization in Indonesia. In Rubin, Jernudd et al, eds 1977:157-179.
- 1977c Textbook writers and language planning. In Rubin, Jernudd et al, ed. 1977:237-252.

RUBIN, Joan and Björn H. JERNUDD

- 1971 Introduction: language planning as an element in modernization. In Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971:xiii-xxiv.
- 1977 *References for students of language planning*. Honolulu: Culture Learning Institute, East-West Center.

RUBIN, Joan and Björn H. JERNUDD, eds

- 1971 *Can language be planned?* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

RUBIN, Joan, Björn H. JERNUDD, Jyotirindra DAS GUPTA, Joshua A FISHMAN, and Charles A. FERGUSON, eds

- 1977 *Language planning processes*. The Hague: Mouton.

RUBIN, Joan and Roger SHUY, eds

- 1973 *Language planning: current issues and research*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

SAAD, M. Saleh and Anton M. MOELIONO, eds

- forth-coming Buku acuan kesusastraan Indonesia.

SALIM, Ziad

- 1977 The growth of the Indonesian language: the trend towards Indo-Saxonization. *Indonesian Quarterly* 2:74-93.

SAMARIN, William J.

- 1968 The lingua francas of the world. (In Fishman, ed. 1968:660-672. Also in Rice, ed. 1962:54-64.)

SAMSURI

- 1960 Sistim fonem Indonesia dan suatu penjusunan edjaan baru. *Medan Ilmu Pengetahuan* 1/4:323-341.
- 1978 Pembinaan dan pengembangan bahasa Indonesia dalam ilmu pengetahuan dan teknologi. In Sumantri et al, eds 1978:28-37.

SANCHES, Mary

- 1977 Language acquisition and language change: Japanese numeral classifiers. In Blount and Sanches, eds 1977:51-62.

SANTA MARIA, Luigi

- 1967 *I prestiti portughesi nel malese-indonesiano*. Napoli: Instituto Orientale.

SAPIR, Edward

- 1931 The function of an international auxiliary language. In H. Shenton, E. Sapir and O. Jespersen, eds *International communication*, 65-94. London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner.

SAPORTA, Sol

- 1973 Scientific grammars and pedagogical grammars. In Allen and Corder, eds 1973.

SASRASOEGANDA, K.

- 1910 *Kitab jang menjatakan djalan bahasa melajoe, terkoetip dari kitab bahasa belanda*. Djakarta.

SCHRAMM, Wilbur Lang

- 1964 *Mass media and national development: the role of information in the developing countries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

SCHRIEKE, B.J.O.

- 1929 Nota Schrieke 14 September 1929, no B 50/4/16. In Wal 1963.

SCHUCHARDT, Hugo

- 1890 Über das Malaioportugiesische von Batavia und Tugu. *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. classe der Kaiserl. Akad. der Wiss. Wien* 122:1-256.

SCHUIT, A

- 1933 *Het volksonderwijs in Nederlandsch Indië*. Groningen.

SEBEOK, Thomas A., ed.

- 1960 *Style in language*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- 1971 *Current trends in linguistics, vol.8: Linguistics in Oceania*. The Hague: Mouton.

SERRUYS, Paul L.M.

- 1962 *Survey of the Chinese language reforms and the anti-illiteracy movement in communist China*. Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, University of California.

SHELLABEAR, William G.

- 1899 *A practical Malay grammar*. Singapore.
- 1901 The evolution of Malay spelling. *JSBRAS* 36:75-135.
- 1906 *Kitab kiliran budi ...* Singapore.
- 1913 *Baba Malay: an introduction to the language of the Straits-born Chinese*. *JSBRAS* 65:49-63.
- 1916 *An English-Malay dictionary*. Singapore: Methodist Publishing House.
- 1917 *Hikayat Sri Rama: introduction to the text of the MS in the Bodleian library at Oxford*. *JSBRAS* 90:181-207.

SHENTON, Herbert N.

- 1933 *Cosmopolitan conversation: the language problems of international conferences*. New York: Columbia University Press.

SHENTON, Herbert N., Edward SAPIR, and Otto JESPERSEN

- 1931 *International communication: a symposium on the language problem*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner.

SHUY, Roger W. and Ralph W. FASOLD, eds

- 1973 *Language attitudes: current trends and prospects*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

SIBAYAN, Bonifacio P.

- 1971 Language policy, language engineering and literacy in the Philippines. In Sebeok, ed. 1971:1038-1062. (Also in Fishman, ed. 1974:221-254.)
- 1978 Language standardisation as a component of language planning: a suggested typology. In Perez et al, eds 1978:251-266.

SIEGENBEEK, M.

- 1804 *Verhandeling over de Nederduitse spelling ter bevordering van eenparigheid in dezelve*. Dordrecht.

SIMATUPANG, Maurits D.S.

- 1979 Reduplikasi morfemis bahasa Indonesia. Doctoral dissertation, University of Indonesia. Jakarta: Djambatan.

SJOBERG, Andrée F.

- 1966 Sociocultural and linguistic factors in the development of writing systems for preliterate peoples. In Bright, ed. 1966:260-276.

SLAMETMULJANA

- 1956- *Kaidah bahasa Indonesia*. 2 vols. Djakarta: Djambatan.
1957
- 1959 *Politik bahasa nasional ...* Djakarta: Djambatan.
- 1964 *Semantik*. Djakarta: Djambatan.

SMALLEY, William A.

- 1963a Writing systems and their characteristics. In Smalley et al, 1963:1-17.

- SMALLEY, William A.
 1963b The use of non-Roman script for new languages. In Smalley et al, eds 1963:71-107.
- SMALLEY, William A. et al.
 1963 *Orthography studies: articles on new writing systems*. London: United Bible Societies.
- SMITH, David M.
 1973 Language, speech, and ideology. In Shuy and Fasold, eds 1973:97-112.
- SOARES, Anthony Xavier
 1936 *Portuguese vocables in Asiatic languages*. Baroda: Oriental Institute.
- SOETOMO
 1936 Onderwijsvraagstukken in Indonesië. *Indisch Genootschap*.
- SPRINGER, George P.
 1956 *Early Soviet theories in communication*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Center for International Studies.
- STEWART, William A.
 1962 An outline of linguistic typology for describing multilingualism. In Rice, ed. 1962:15-25.
 1968 A sociolinguistic typology for describing national multilingualism. In Fishman, ed. 1968:531-545.
- STOKHOF, W.A.L.
 1975 On the phonology of bahasa Indonesia. *BijdrTLV* 131:254-269.
- STOKVIS, Z.
 1925 *Education in Dutch East India*. New York: Columbia Teachers' College.
- STUFFLEBEAN, Daniel L.
 1968 *Evaluation as enlightenment for decision making*. Columbus: Ohio State University.
- SUHARNO, Ignatius and Kenneth L. PIKE, eds
 1976 *From Baudi to Indonesian: studies in linguistics*. Jayapura, Irian Jaya: Cendrawasih University and Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- SUMANTRI, Maman et al, eds
 1978 *Sejarah dan perkembangan Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa*, vol.3. Jakarta: PPPB.
- SUPRA, Djajanto and Anton J. LAKE, eds
 1974 *Seminar Bahasa Indonesia 1972*. Flores: Nusa Indah.
- SUSANTO, Astrid S.
 1978 Bahasa sebagai sarana komunikasi sosial suatu bangsa. In Sumantri et al, eds 1978:34-49.

TAALCONGRESS

- 1938 Een indonesisch taalcongres. *De Indische Gids* 60/2:979-982.

TAALQUAESTIE

- 1918 Een taalquaestie. *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* 7/1:773-776.

TANNER, Nancy

- 1967 Speech and society among the Indonesian elite: a case study of a multilingual community. *Anthropological Linguistics* 9/3:15-40. (Also in Pride and Holmes, eds 1972.)

TARWOTJO

- 1976 Pengajaran bahasa daerah. In Halim, ed. 1976:93-99.

TAULI, Valter

- 1964 Practical linguistics: the theory of language planning. In H.G. Lunt, ed. *Proc. Ninth Internat. Cong. Linguists*, 605-609. The Hague: Mouton.
- 1968 *Introduction to a theory of language planning*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells.
- 1974 The theory of language planning. In Fishman, ed. 1974:49-67.

TEEUW, A.

- 1959 The history of the Malay language: a preliminary survey. *BijdrTLV* 115:138-156.
- 1961 *A critical survey of studies on Malay and Bahasa Indonesia*. With the assistance of H.W. Emanuels. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

THORBURN, Thomas

- 1971 Cost-benefit analysis in language planning. In Rubin and Jernudd, ed. 1971:254-262.

TSANG, W.

- 1970 The modernization of the Chinese language in the 19th and 20th century. In Alisjahbana, ed. 1970:60-82.

TU, Hengtse

- 1978 The problem of a standard romanisation system of Mandarin Chinese. In Perez et al, eds 1978:73-92.

TUUK, H.N. van der

- 1861 *Bataksch-Nederduitsch woordenboek ...* Amsterdam: Muller.
- 1864-1867 *Tobasche spraak[k]unst*. Amsterdam.
- 1897-1912 *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch woordenboek ...* 4 vols. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- 1971 *A grammar of Toba Batak*. (Translated by Jeune Scott-Kemball, edited by A. Teeuw and R. Roolvink. Original title: *Tobasche Spraak[k]unst*. Kon. Inst. v. T-, L- en V, Translation series 13. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

UHLENBECK, E.M.

- 1967 Indonesia and Malaysia. In Sebeok, ed. *CTL* 2:847-898. (Also in *CTL* 8, 1971, 55-111.)

UNESCO

- 1953 *The use of vernacular languages in education.* (Monographs on Fundamental Education, 8). Paris.
- 1965 *Final report: World Conference of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy.* (ED/217). Paris.

UNITED NATIONS

- 1968 *Report: United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, September 1967.* (E/Conf 53/3) 2 vols. New York: United Nations.

VACHEK, Josef

- 1964 *A Prague School reader in linguistics.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- 1973 *Written language: general problems and problems of English.* The Hague: Mouton.

VALDMAN, Albert

- 1968 Language standardization in a diglossia situation: Haiti. In Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, eds 1968:313-326.

VAN DER VEUR, Paul W.

- 1969 *Education and social change in colonial Indonesia.* Athens: Ohio University Center for International Relations.

VENEZKY, Richard L.

- 1970 Principles for the design of practical writing systems. *Anthropological Linguistics* 12/7:256-270. (Also in Fishman, ed. 1977:37-54.)

VERDOODT, A., ed.

- 1974 *Applied sociolinguistics: proceedings of the Association Internationale de Linguistique A Appliquée, 1972.* Heidelberg: J. Gross.

VERHAAR, J.W.M.

- 1970 *Teori linguistik dan hubungannya dengan pendekatan ilmiah bahasa yang tertentu.* Djakarta: Jajasan Kanisius.

VERHAAR, J.W.M., ed.

- 1975 *Miscellaneous studies in Indonesian and languages in Indonesia, I.* Jakarta: NUSA.

VIKÖR, Lars S.

- 1978 Language standardisation and nationalism. In Perez et al, eds 1978:105-130.

VOORHOEVE, Petrus

- 1955 *Critical survey of studies on the languages of Sumatra.* The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

- VRIES, M. de, and L. TE WINKEL .
 1865 *De grondbeginselen der Nederlandsche spelling.* Amsterdam.
- WAL, S.L. van der
 1961 *Some information on education in Indonesia up to 1942 ...* The Hague: Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Co-operation (NUFFIC). (2nd edition).
 1963 *Het onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indie 1900-1940 ...* Groningen: Wolters.
- WALKER, Willard
 1969 Notes on native writing systems and the design of native literacy programs. *Anthropological Linguistics* 11/5:148-166.
- WALLACE, Anthony F.C., ed.
 1960 *Men and cultures ...* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- WEINREICH, Uriel
 1953 *Languages in contact: findings and problems.* New York: Linguistic Circle of New York. (new edition 1963...1974, The Hague: Mouton.)
- WHITELEY, W.H.
 1968 Ideal and reality in national language policy: a case study from Tanzania. In Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, eds 1968:327-344.
 1971 Some factors influencing language policies in Eastern Africa. In Rubin and Jernudd, eds 1971:141-158.
 1974 Language policies of independent African states. In Fishman, ed. 1974:177-189.
- WHITTAKER, Kenneth
 1966 *Dictionaries.* London: Clive Bingley.
- WILKINSON, R.J.
 1901 *A Malay-English dictionary.* Singapore.
 1904 *A list of Malay words, spelt according to the system recommended by a committee appointed by the government of the Federated Malay States.* Kuala Lumpur.
 1919 *An abridged Malay-English dictionary (romanised).* Singapore.
 1932 *A Malay-English dictionary (Romanized).* Mytilene, Greece: Salavopoulos & Kinderlis.
- WINSTEDT, Richard O.
 1913a *An English-Malay dictionary.* Singapore.
 1913b *Malay grammar.* Oxford. (2nd edition 1927.)
 1916 *Colloquial Malay.* Singapore. (2nd edition.)
 1920 *Dictionary of colloquial Malay.* Singapore. (2nd edition 1945.)
 1927 The teaching of Malay in Europe. *JSBRAS* 75:52-54.

WINSTEDT, Richard O.

- 1952 *A practical modern Malay-English and English-Malay dictionary ...* Singapore: Kelly & Walsh.
- 1953 *An unabridged Malay-English dictionary.* Singapore: Kelly & Walsh. (2nd edition 1959.)
- 1958 *An unabridged English-Malay dictionary.* Singapore: Marican. (2 edition 1960).
- 1960 *Kamus Bahasa Mělayu.* Singapore: Marican.

WOLFF, John U.

- 1965 *Beginning Indonesian.* 2 vols. Ithaca: Cornell University.

WURM, Stephen A.

- 1968 Papua-New Guinea nationhood: the problem of a national language. In Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, eds 1968:345-363. (Also in *Journal of the Papua New Guinea Society* 1/1:7-19, 1966-1967.)
- 1973 Preface to Dutton 1973:iii-vi.
- 1974 Language policy, language engineering and literacy in New Guinea and Australia. In Fishman, ed. 1974:205-220.
- 1977a Future outlooks and standardisation of Pidgin. In Wurm, ed. 1977: 583-594.
- 1977b Language planning and engineering in Papua New Guinea. In Wurm, ed. 1977:1151-1177.
- 1977c Language planning and New Guinea Pidgin. *PL*, A-54:37-51.

WURM, Stephen A., ed.

- 1977 *Language, culture, society, and the modern world.* (New Guinea area languages and language study 3.) *PL*, C-40.
- 1979 *New Guinea and neighbouring areas: a sociolinguistic laboratory.* The Hague: Mouton.

WURM, S.A. and P. MÜHLHÄUSLER, eds

- 1985 *Handbook of Tok Pisin.* *PL*, C-70.

YABES, Leopoldo Y.

- 1970 Developing a national language for Philippines. In Alisjahbana, ed. 1970:120-133.

ZA'BA (ZAINAL ABIDIN BIN AHMAD)

- 1926 *Kitab 'ilmu bahasa Melayu ...* Singapore.
- 1928 Jawi spelling. *JMBRAS* 6/3:81-104.
- 1931 *Kitab rahsia ejaan jawi, penggal yang pertama ...* Singapore.
- 1949 *Daftar ejaan Melayu (Jawi-Rumi) ...* Kuala Lumpur: Federation of Malaya Department of Education.

ZAIN, S. Muhammad

- 1942 *Djalan Bahasa Indonesia.* Djakarta. (10th edition 1957.)

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN BIBLIOGRAPHY

<i>BijdrTLV</i>	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.</i> The Hague.
<i>CTL</i>	<i>Current trends in linguistics,</i> edited by T.A. Sebeok.
<i>JMBRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
<i>JSBRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
<i>IJAL</i>	<i>International Journal of American Linguistics.</i>
<i>Kivung</i>	the journal of the Papua New Guinea Linguistic Society.
<i>PL</i>	<i>Pacific Linguistics,</i> Department of Linguistics, School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
<i>TBG</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.</i> Djakarta.

FURTHER ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
DBK	Direktorat Bahasa dan Kesusastraan
DPI	Dewan Pertimbangan Istilah
LBB	Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya
LBK	Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan
LBN	Lembaga Bahasa Nasional
NICA	Netherlands Indies Civil Administration
Pusat Bahasa	Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa
RRI	Radio Republik Indonesia
SLA	Sekolah Lanjutan Umum Tingkat Atas
SLP	Sekolah Lanjutan Umum Tingkat Pertama
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UUD 1945	Undang-Undang Dasar 1945
UUD-RIS 1949	Undang-Undang Dasar Republik Indonesia Serikat 1949
UUDS 1950	Undang-Undang Dasar Sementara 1950

