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EDITORS’ NOTE

This international seminar on Language Maintenance and Shift IV (LAMAS IV for short) is a continuation of the previous international seminar with the same theme conducted by the Master Program in Linguistics, Diponegoro University on 18 November 2014.

We would like to extend our deepest gratitude to the seminar committee for putting together the seminar that gave rise to this collection of papers. Thanks also go to the Head and the Secretary of the Master Program in Linguistics Diponegoro University, without whom the seminar would not have been possible.

The table of contents lists all the papers presented at the seminar: The first four papers are those presented by invited keynote speakers. They are Dr. Sugiyono (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, Jakarta, Indonesia), Dr. Zane Goebel (La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia), Prof. Yudha Thianto, Ph.D. (Trinity Christian College, Illinois, USA), Dr. Deli Nirmala, M.Hum (Diponegoro University, Semarang, Indonesia).

In terms of the topic areas, there are 21 papers in applied linguistics, 20 papers in sociolinguistics, 14 papers in theoretical linguistics, 18 papers in discourse/pragmatics, and 13 papers (miscellaneous).

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**PRONOUNS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MALAY: A HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS
STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL TEXTS PUBLISHED BY THE VOC FOR CHILDREN IN THE
EAST INDIES**

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the development of the use of pronouns in Malay in the seventeenth century. Employing a diachronic linguistics methodology, this paper studies some shifts in the way in which pronouns were employed in some educational primers published by the Dutch to teach children in the East Indies how to read and write. Particularly, the paper focuses its attention in the two editions of such primer, entitled Sourat ABC (or ABC Letter), first published in 1611 and then republished in 1682. The reading texts included in the primer are taken from standard Christian teaching material and prayers. A study of different editions of such standard texts is beneficial for a diachronic linguistics research because they give the researcher contained, identifiable source to investigate. A closer look at these two editions reveals that there are significant changes and shifts in the use of Pronouns in Malay within the span of 7 decades. These changes reflect the influence of the Dutch language in Malay, as the two languages coexisted at the time when the Dutch colonized the archipelago.

1. Introduction

Historical linguistics studies the way in which languages undergo changes or keep their structure intact over a period of time. Having its domain in the diachronic aspects of the language, it studies the development that a language experiences over a significant period of time. Robert King defines historical linguistics as “the study of all aspects of language development through time.” At the same time, King also sees historical linguistics as the study of language change (King 1969, 1).

Studying diachronic linguistics can be messy at time, given the fact that it is not always easy to find the sources to study the changes that happened in a language over a particular period in the past. As Brian Joseph points out, diachronic linguistics should aim for the truth in determining what actually happened over some time in the past, even if it is messy (Joseph 1992, 126). One good way to do historical linguistics research is when the researcher is able to investigate or analyze a document or collection of texts written in that particular language being revised and rewritten at different periods in time. This way the researcher can trace changes that happened in the language of the document.

In the last couple of decades, historical linguistics has emerged as a growing area of study. If in the past historical linguistics was deemed significant only when it served to formulate linguistics theory, today we see scholars’ interests on historical linguistics as it is, an exciting area of study in itself, without having to be pragmatic. This view is enthusiastically held by Lyle Campbell who remarks that the study of historical linguistics is “fun, exciting, and intellectually engaging.” Campbell, however, still also sees the practical or usefulness nature of historical linguistics in language theory as well as its benefit in helping people to understand human nature better in his treatment of historical linguistics (Campbell 2013, 1).

Roger Lass believes that “historical linguistics” and “language change” are actually intertwined to make up the study of this particular field. Lass calls historical linguistics as a kind of an art of linguistic story-telling (Lass 1997, xiv). I take Lass’ view here to be the foundation of the study I am doing in this essay. What I will do in this presentation is to tell a story of some changes that happened in Malay in the seventeenth century. Particularly, in this essay I will look at the use of pronouns and changes that happened in the way pronouns were used in Malay from early to late seventeenth century.

I will carry out my research by way of comparing the texts that were included in the two editions of a primer, or an instruction book, in Malay, entitled *Sourat ABC*, published by the Dutch in 1611 and 1682. The primers were intended to be used to teach little children in the East Indies how to read and write. Studying the two editions of the same primer or educational material such as the *Sourat ABC* that were published about 7 decades apart gives us very good look at how the language changed over time. Having the texts of the same teaching material but published at two different periods is arguably one of the best ways to study the change that happened in the language. While other features of seventeenth-century Malay, such as spelling, semantic shifts, and other grammatical elements of the language are important and exciting to study, given the limitation of this presentation, I will not be able to discuss them here. I will make further study of these issues in my other research projects.

The language that we now call Bahasa Indonesia has evolved from the Malay language. As a lingua franca of the region of the East Indies prior to the arrival of Europeans in the archipelago, Malay has occupied a distinct place as a means of communication among various groups of people in the region. After the Portuguese came into the region in the early decades of the sixteenth century, both Malay and Portuguese were used as *lingua franca*. However, when the Dutch came at the very last end of the sixteenth century and established the Dutch East India Company, the *Verenigde Oost-Indische Company* (the VOC) in 1602, the Dutch pressed toward the use of Malay as the language for communication among the indigenous people and the Dutch and the indigenous people in the region (Nagtegaal, 1996).

The Dutch were serious about using Malay as the language of communication with the indigenous people of the East Indies. Realizing that Malay was already the *lingua franca* of the region, the Dutch seemed to prefer using it to the other languages. As Kees Groeneboer has explained, the choice to use Malay was a political one (Groeneboer 1998, 117). Prior to the arrival of the Dutch the Portuguese had arrived in the archipelago for trading and also to spread Christianity. The Portuguese language had been used widely in the region, and as I said earlier, had also become another *lingua franca* among various ethnic groups in the archipelago. However, the Dutch selected Malay as the language of communication with the indigenous people, among other reasons, because of its simplicity. And to help them instill the use of the language, the Dutch had a strategic view of teaching the children of the archipelago how to read, write, and speak Malay, even though many of these children were native speakers of regional languages spread out in this vast archipelago.

The fact that the Dutch was serious about Malay can be seen by their publications. The very first book that the VOC ever published was a small dictionary compiled by Frederick de Houtman in 1603. The next publication was the *Sovrat ABC in 1611*. This small book was very important because this was an instruction book, a primer, to teach little children how to read and write. For the purpose of diachronic study of Malay this book provided us with valuable information. It gives us a means to study the language as it was written and spoken in its time.

In order to ensure the education of young children in the East Indies, the VOC established a certain position for teachers in the archipelago, namely the *schoolmeester*, or the “school masters.” The duties of these *schoolmeester* were clearly laid out in *Batavia Kerkenordening*, or the church order of Batavia, first written in 1624 and then revised in 1634. Article 78 of the 1634 church order specified that the *schoolmeester* must teach the young the fundamental teachings of the church, to pray, and to sing the Psalms. The *schoolmeester* must also teach the children how to read and write, to live morally, to obey their parents, and also to obey the government (Thianto 2013, 499). The way the students were educated in the schools was pretty rigorous. They had to go to school six days a week, in the mornings and in the afternoons. They only had two half-day recesses per week, on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons (*Batavia Kerkenordening 1634*, article 79). This rigorous way of teaching the young children is a good reflection of how the Dutch were serious in educating the young people of the archipelago.

2. Significance of the Sources

The *Sourat ABC* of 1611 was compiled by a *koopman* or merchant of the VOC by the name of Albertus Ruyl. Even though Ruyl did not sign his name on the title page, and he did not write a dedicatory epistle to accompany the publication of the primer, scholars believe that he was the compiler of the work. As I have explained in my other work, the reason why Ruyl did not put his name

on this work was because he was not the original author of the texts included in the primer. He only selected and organized the texts into this teaching material (Thianto 2013, 496). I am confident that Ruyl was the compiler and translator of the *Sourat ABC* by reading his dedicatory epistle of his other work, *Spieghel vande Maleysche Tale*, published in 1612. In this other work, he wrote that one year prior, he had published a primer that was intended for educational material for the children in the East Indies (Ruyl 1612, A2 verso). Therefore, when we look at these two works together, we can be certain that Ruyl was the compiler of the 1611 *Sovrat ABC*.

The title page of the booklet says: *Sourat ABC, Akan meng ayd'jer anack boudack seperty deayd'jern'ja capada segala manusia Nassarany: daen berbagy sombahyang Christaan*. As indicated by the title page, this booklet was intended to teach little children based on the teaching of the Christian religion, the same teaching of the religion as taught elsewhere, and the booklet also contained some Christian prayers. In seventeenth century Malay, the word *boudac* referred to young children or young men, as Sebastian Danckaerts later explained in his dictionary (Danckaerts 1623, 77). It is also clear from this title page that instruction or education for the children was done from the point of view of Christianity.

The *Sourat ABC* starts with a list of the alphabet, printed in seven different fonts, which are intended to teach the children how to recognize letters and then to try to write them one by one. Following this list of alphabet, the children are introduced to five vowels and the various ways these vowels can be combined with consonants to form different syllables that are the foundations of word formations. Following it they are introduced to the Ten Commandments as the teaching of how to live morally and religiously. The primer also contains the Lord's Prayer (also called “Our Father”), a morning prayer, an evening prayer, a Christian statement of belief, a prayer for before each meal and a prayer for after each meal. By looking at this educational material we can see that the intention of using this primer was twofold. First, it was to teach literacy to the children. And second, it was a way to teach Christianity to them. Through these texts we can see that for the Dutch, education for these children was in fact religious education.

The 1682 edition of the *Sourat ABC* followed the same pattern as its precursor. No name of the compiler or editor was mentioned anywhere in the booklet. Given the fact that the booklet was based on Ruyl's 1611 work, scholars still consider the 1682 edition of the *Sourat ABC* as Ruyl's work, with the understanding that it was the revised version of the same. The revision reflected the change that happened in the Malay language as it progressed in the seventeenth century. There was a marked difference in this later edition, however, namely on the title page, and later, the style of the Malay language used in the booklet. The title page of the 1682 edition only says: *Sourat ABC, Jang bergouna banja capada anac bouda bouda*. We can see here the effort to simplify the title, showing that this booklet was intended to educate the children, and the education would be beneficial for them. The reference to Christianity was no longer mentioned in the title page. However, when we look at the content of the primer, we still find the same Christian texts used as the teaching material in this later edition of the primer. There was also a noticeable difference in the use of the Malay language in the 1682 edition compared to that of the 1611. The difference clearly reflected the 70-some years of development of the Malay language.

By analyzing the two editions of the *Sourat ABC*, published about seven decades apart within the seventeenth century, we can get a glimpse of how the Malay language underwent some changes as the language came into more contacts with other European languages, mainly Dutch. When the two languages coexisted side-by-side, there was bound to be some type of interaction and even assimilation. A close comparison between the two editions will reveal the changes that happened in Malay as the Dutch became more settled in the East Indies.

The *Sourat ABC* was a unique kind of publication. As a primer to teach the children of the East Indies to read and write the booklet carried with it significant benefit to study the Malay language. For many of the children in the archipelago, this primer may be their first introduction to the formal form of Malay language. As a written text, the booklet was written in what we now call High Malay, bearing with it the characteristics of the language that was used in literature, not in everyday, colloquial language. The fact that the reading material used in the primer was also religious texts, some are prayers, and some are instructions in Christian living, it was even more important that High Malay was chosen as the type of Malay for this primer. For us who study the history of the progress of Malay today, this primer gives us a good demonstration of standard Malay the way the educated

people in the East Indies understood it, and also the way the Dutch learned. At the same time, even though the Malay presented and used in this booklet was a standard type of the language, this also gave us how the language was perceived to have to function, following the grammatical rules acceptable by the speakers of the language in its time.

It was obvious that the Dutch was serious in studying Malay. As I mentioned earlier, as early as 1603, only one year after the VOC was established, Frederick de Houtman compiled a simple dictionary of Dutch and Malay. The dictionary was entitled *Spraek ende Woord-boek* (Speech and word book) and was published in Amsterdam. Then, in 1612, Albertus Ruyl, the compiler of *Sourat ABC* of 1611 published another instruction book for children in the East Indies, entitled *Spieghel vande Maleysche Tale* (Mirror of the Malay Language), published in Amsterdam by Dirrick Pietersz (Ruyl, 1612). The booklet also contained with it a simple Dutch - Malay dictionary that was intended to help the Dutch teachers to understand Malay and to be able to communicate and to teach the children. The publications of these dictionaries, together with the printing of the primer to educate the children served as a clear demonstration of the Dutch's effort to use Malay as the language of communication in the East Indies, given the fact that Malay had become a *lingua franca* of this vast region long before the arrival of the Dutch. The efforts of the Dutch to understand Malay is also beneficial for us today as we study the history of the Malay language, because they provide us with valuable information about the way Malay functioned as a language in the seventeenth century.

The texts selected in the primer are translations of standard texts that had been used by the Dutch in their homeland. These were religious texts that were widely distributed in the Netherlands. Because they were religious texts, we find that the texts were already standardized in Dutch. When they were used as content to educate the children in the East Indies to read and write, the Dutch had to translate these texts carefully, making sure that the result in the target language represented the text in the source language well, but also to make the texts understandable in the target language. They meant nothing for the speakers of Malay if the people could not understand the text. Therefore, even though the texts that we study are the results of translation from Dutch into Malay, we have the confidence that the Malay language used in the text represented and reflected very closely the Malay that was used in the seventeenth century. Thus, by studying these texts, we learn the actual Malay as it was spoken and written in its time.

3. Data Analysis

There are a total of 971 words in the *Sovrat ABC* of 1611, and 909 words in the *Sourat ABC* of 1682 that we study here. The distribution of the use of pronouns in the texts being studied can be seen through these tables:

Table 1

First Person Singular 1611			First Person Plural 1611					
Nominative	Possessive	Objective	Nominative		Possessive		Objective	
			Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive	inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive
hamba (10 x) akoe (3x)	-hamba (3x) -akoe (4 x) -koe (11 x)	hamba (12 x) (12x) 1 akoe (2x)	(None)	kyta (10x)	(None)	kyta (9x)	(None)	kyta (11x)

Table 2

Second Person Singular 1611			Second Person Plural 1611		
Nominative	Possessive	Objective	Nominative	Possessive	Objective
toean (2 x) kamoe (10 x)	-moe (32 x)	-moe (1 x)	kamoe (5 x) angkou (10 x)	angkou (1 x) -moe (16 x)	toean hamba (1 x) moe (1 x)

Table 3

Third Person Singular 1611			Third Person Plural 1611		
Nominative	Possessive	Objective	Nominative	Possessive	Objective
Dea (1x)	-nja	tuan (1 x) -nja (2 x)	(None)	(None)	(None)

Table 4

First Person Singular 1682			First Person Plural 1682					
Nominative	Possessive	Objective	Nominative		Possessive		Objective	
			Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive	inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive
Akoe (3 x)	akou (1x)	akou (2x)	cami (10x)	kita (1x)	cami (12x)	kita (1x)	cami (20x)	kita (6x)

Table 5

Second Person Singular 1682			Second Person Plural 1682		
Nominative	Possessive	Objective	Nominative	Possessive	Objective
-tuan (2x) -mou (1x) camou (3x)	-tuan (2x) -mou (12x)	mou (1x)	Mou (5x)	-mou (13x)	mou (1x)

Table 6

Third Person Singular 1682			Third Person Plural 1682		
Nominative	Possessive	Objective	Nominative	Possessive	Objective
(None)	(None)	-nja (2x) dia (1x)	(None)	-nja (4x)	dia orang (1x)

In the *Sovrat ABC* of 1611, it is evident that the first-person singular in the nominative case of the pronoun *akoe* or *akou* was already used. Even though the word was considered informal in modern Indonesian, its presence in the documents that were formal in nature suggests that the people in the East Indies in the earlier part of the seventeenth century widely used the word to refer to themselves. This is clearly demonstrated in the first line of the Ten Commandments (Ruyl 1611, A2 recto), where the document expresses God as speaking to the people by introducing himself this way: “*Akoe tuan daen Allahmoe*,” “I am your Lord and God.” Even though God is the one speaking here, the personal pronoun being used is still “*akoe*,” indicating that the pronoun *akoe* was used without considering whoe the subject was.

In the dictionary that was compiled by Sebastian Danckaerts in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, the entry for the Dutch word *ick* (modern Dutch *ik*) shows that the Malay word for the first-person singular nominative case of this pronoun is *aco* or *acou* (Danckaerts, 1623, 30). In addition, Danckaerts explains that the term *ackoe* was usually used for a person with a higher quality, a sovereign, or an officer. Danckaerts also includes other words as the synonyms for *ick* such as *beta*, which he said was less used, and even less frequently used than *beta* is *saya*. The least used form of first-person singular pronoun is *hamba*, according to Danckaerts. Thus, the explanation gives us an understanding that *akoe* was considered more formal than other terms for first-person singular nominative case. From Danckaerts’ explanation here we could also see that the pronoun *saya* was already in existence in the seventeenth century. However, this pronoun was still not widely used in the earlier decades of the century. Thus, looking at the language situation today, especially in modern

Indonesian, the distinction between *saya* as a more formal pronoun to use as compared to *aku* which is less formal only happened later in the development of the language.

The same is true with regard to the possessive case for first person singular pronoun. As table 1 shows, the use of the prefix *-koe* or *akoe* was used widely to indicate possessive case. In the earlier part of the seventeenth century, there was no indication of strong preference between the full use of *akoe* as possessive, and the contraction of the word into suffix *-koe*. The use of the full word *akoe* in the possessive case was exemplified in this clause: “... *daen tourut sabda akoe*,” meaning “... and follow my words” (Ruyl 1611, A2 recto). Here we can see that the full word *akoe* is used to show the possessive case. The contraction of *akoe* into a suffix *-koe* was also common in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. There are many instances in the documents to show the case. Among other places, we can see an instance of this in the prayer before meal, where it opens with the statement: “*Touankoe Allah yang cawassa*,” (Ruyl 1611, A6 verso), meaning “My Lord, the almighty God...” Here the prayer shows that the person offering a prayer addresses God as his / her Lord. In all, in the 1611 documents we find the use of *akoe* in the possessive case 4 times, and the suffix *-koe* as possessive 11 times, indicating that both were commonly used at that time period, even though there was a preference more toward the use of *-koe* as suffix.

The curious use of *hamba* in both nominative and possessive cases in the documents is worthy of our attention here. The use of *hamba* was found in the prayer, commonly called *The Lord’s Prayer*. As I have explained elsewhere (Thianto 2011, 291-292, and Thianto 2014, 60-62), the use of *hamba* in this prayer was a significant shift from the commonly accepted form of the prayer. In its original form, in the New Testament that was written in Greek, the prayer starts with the phrase *pater hēmōn*, and the word *hēmōn*, is a second-person plural possessive pronoun. Throughout the prayer in Greek, all the pronouns used are first-person plural, indicating that the prayer is uttered communally, not individually (Novum Testamentum Graece, Matthew 6:9-13, p. 13). Throughout the history of Christianity, the prayer had consistently been translated with the first-person plural possessive form. In Latin the prayer is called *Pater Noster*, in Dutch *Onze Vader* (or sometimes *Vader Ons*), and in English “Our Father.” Thus, the use of *hamba* in this document showed that in the earlier part of the century, when it came to prayer, there was an attempt to individualize the prayer, to change it to first-person singular pronoun, perhaps because the people were accustomed to offering their prayers to God individually, and the prayers were done in private. The use of *hamba* here is in accordance with Danckaerts’ explanation about first-person pronoun in Malay as I already discussed earlier. Its use also showed that in the prayer the people show humility. In Malay, the word *hamba* means “servant,” or (sometimes) “slave.” The documents we study here also used the word *hamba* that has the connotation of “servant” or “slave,” as we see in The Ten Commandments, in the last part where there is a prohibition: “*D’jang-an angkou berhendack rouma amsayamoe atou byni’nja ... atou hamban’ja...*” (Ruyl 1611, A2 recto) meaning: “You shall not covet your neighbor’s house, or his wife ... or his servant / slave...” Thus, the Malay-speaking community in the East Indies was familiar with the meaning of *hamba* as a lowly person. Therefore, when they offered the prayer to God, they positioned themselves as lowly people, unworthy of God’s favor, but still coming to Him with their petitions.

In the earlier part of the seventeenth century, there seemed to be no distinction between the exclusive and inclusive form of first-person plural pronouns. Modern Indonesian language differentiates the inclusive first-person plural pronoun *kita* from the exclusive form *kami*. When the speaker includes the interlocutor in the action, the pronoun *kita* is used, whereas *kami* is used when the interlocutor is not included in the action. We see here that there was no such distinction in the early part of the seventeenth century. As demonstrated in table 1, the word *kyta* was consistently used in all the nominative, possessive, and objective cases for the first-person plural pronoun, giving the impression that in the early-modern Malay the distinction between exclusive and inclusive use of first-person plural pronoun was not as strong as it is in the later period. As we can see from table 1, *kyta* was used 10 times in the nominative case, 9 times in the possessive case, and 11 times in the objective case, whereas *kami* was not used at all.

It is worth mentioning here that the exclusive form *kami* was still absent in 1650, when Heurnius published his grammatical explanation of the Malay language. In his explanation, Heurnius only used the word *kita* as the equivalence of the Dutch word *wij* (Heurnius 1650, B1 verso). This data leads us to believe that even right in the middle of the seventeenth century there was still no distinction between the exclusive and inclusive forms of first-person plural pronoun. The change must have

happened later in the century, closer to the time of the publication of the 1682 *Sourat ABC* in which we start seeing the distinction between *kita* and *cami*.

The absence of the exclusive form of *cami* in the earlier decades of the seventeenth century is unique, because it denies the commonly-accepted view that in the Austronesian languages, of which Malay was a member, the exclusive / inclusive distinction of the pronoun was always present (Donahue and Smith 1998, 69). The data we saw here gives us the understanding that in Malay, the exclusive / inclusive distinction came later, and it was not always the characteristic of Malay in its earlier form.

There was also the fluid alternate use between the singular and plural forms of the first person pronouns in the earlier decades of the seventeenth century. In the 1611 edition of the Lord’s Prayer we see that in the middle part of the prayer there is a petition: “... *macka beramponla doesa kyta seperti kyta berampon akan jang bersalah kepada hamba*,” (Ruyl 1611, A4 verso), meaning “... forgive us our sin as we forgive others who sin against me.” and another example from another prayer, where the one praying makes a petition: “... *bertrangla boedy hamba sebab kyta tyada bertydor bagien maty...*” (Ruyl 1611, A7 verso), meaning: “... enlighten my mind because we do not sleep like dead.” In these instances we can see that there was a free alternate between the singular form *hamba* and plural *kyta*, giving the impression that early-seventeenth-century Malay was not very strict with regard to the use of singular or plural first-person pronouns.

Later decades of the seventeenth century showed some development in the use of the plural and singular forms of first-person pronouns. As evidenced from the 1682 documents, there was less inconsistency between the use of singular and plural pronouns. The same part of the Lord’s Prayer was then written as: “... *makka beramponla pada dosa kita, seperti kita beramponakan sjappa bersalla kapada kita*” (Ruyl 1682, A5 recto). It is clear from this quote that the plural form *kita* is used throughout the petition of the prayer, giving evidence of the fact that in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the use of singular and plural personal pronouns for first person was more standardized, or at least consistent.

The later part of the seventeenth century also saw a more differentiated use of exclusive and inclusive first-person plural pronouns *cami* and *kita*. Table 4 shows us the significantly reduced occurrences of *kita* into just one use each in the nominative and possessive cases, and 6 occurrences in the objective cases. All of the uses of *kita* in the documents we study are found only in the Lord’s Prayer. In the rest of the documents, the use of exclusive form *cami* was very dominant, with 10 occurrences in the nominative case, 12 in the possessive case, and 20 in the objective cases. This shift was to be expected, considering that these texts were mostly prayers, in which people speak to God. It makes more sense to use the exclusive form *cami* or *kami* because in the prayer, the person asks something from God, the interlocutor, and God is not involved in the request that the praying person says to Him. This can be clearly seen in the evening prayer petition: “*Tuan Deos, Bappa jang de surga, cami trima cassie banja banja carna segalla cabaetien Tuan...*” (Ruyl 1682, A6 verso) that means: “Lord God, Father, we are most thankful for all your goodness...”

Second person pronouns also underwent some shifts in their uses between the earlier and later decades of the seventeenth century. The pronoun *kamoe*, “you,” was already used in the early decade of the seventeenth century, even when the one being addressed is God. Its use may be a little startling for today’s speakers of Malay and Indonesian, considering that in the prayers, the pronoun was used to address God directly. In the text we are studying, the prayer was one that people say before they eat. In the first line of the prayer, the person says to God: “... *camoe jang manjadycaen secalien dang-an cauwassahanmoe...*” (Ruyl 1611, A6 verso), or: “... you who have created all with your power...” To address God with the pronoun *kamu* in today’s Indonesian may sound sacrilegious, or impolite, to say the least. However, the use of *camoe* in this text indicated that in the earlier decade of the seventeenth century, the Malay language still did not differentiate between the formal or polite form and the informal or familiar form of second person singular and plural pronouns. This was different from many European languages such as Dutch, German, and French. In Dutch there is the distinction between *jij* and *U*. In German, we distinguish *du* and *Sie*, and in French we distinguish *tu* from *vous*. But in this prayer, there was no distinction made between the more formal or polite form and casual form to address God.

The use of *kamoe* was consistent throughout the 1611 documents, indicating that in the earlier part of the seventeenth century the Malay-speaking people were not too concerned of making

distinctions between the polite and casual way of addressing their interlocutors. This was also seen in other texts we are studying, such as in the prayer for after the meal. The instruction for this prayer in 1611 said: “*Tella kamoe souda bermacam daen menjady kinjang, maeka kamoe berdoala...*” (Ruyl 1611, A7 verso), or: “After you have finished eating and become full, you [should] pray this way...” Therefore, we see that whether the speech was directed to God in prayer, or directed to other human beings, there was no distinction made between the polite / formal form and the casual one.

This fact also indicated that as a language Malay developed separately from Javanese. As we know, in Javanese there is a sharp distinction between the *ngoko* or the casual form, the *krama madya* or the middle form, and the *krama inggil* or the high / most formal form of the language. A speaker of Javanese will carefully assess the social status of his / her interlocutors, and will address them accordingly, using the right form of the language. When the person speaks to a person of much higher status, the person will carefully choose to use the *krama inggil* form to address the interlocutor. In prayers to God it is a must that the person offering a prayer uses the highest, most formal form of the language. Apparently, this was not the case with Malay at the early part of the seventeenth century.

The absence of distinction between formal and informal use of second-person singular pronoun was also indicative of the fact that Malay and Dutch were still not interfering with each other too much during the first two decades of the Dutch’s presence in the East Indies. As I have said previously, the Dutch language makes distinction between the more formal *U* and the familiar form *jij*. As the Dutch had longer presence in the archipelago, there was some interference of the Dutch in the use of Malay. We then see a change in the use of second-person singular pronoun. Let us take the following example. In the 1611 document, a part of the prayer after meal says: “... *tetapi camoe beranacky hamba poula, akan membayecky hydoup kyta...*” (Ruyl 1611, A7 verso). This statement in the prayer was then changed in 1682 to become: “... *macca Tuan souda toucarken hati cami acan membayki idop cami...*” (Ruyl 1682, A7 verso), which means, in English: “...”but [my] Lord has changed our heart (or our life)...” It is clear from this example that in the latter prayer, the second person, who is God here, is now addressed as “Tuan,” to show respect. The same also happened in the prayer before meal. In the 1611 text we read: “*Segala mata menonggo kapadamoe tuan hamba macka kamoe pon de berryn’ja maccannan...*” (Ruyl 1611, A6 verso). The 1682 version of this prayer is changed so that *kamoe* was no longer used, and the sentence was then smoothed to include *Tuan* as the second-person nominative case, or the subject of the sentence: “*Tuan Deos, segalla matta menantang capada mou, macca Tuan pon de brinja maccannan ...*” (Ruyl 1682, A7 recto).

The same sentence discussed previously also functions as demonstration that in the seventeenth century, *mou* or *moe* was broadly used in the objective case. *Mou* was either used as a full word or as a suffix of the word that precedes it. In the 1611 documents, *-mou* as suffix in the second-person singular possessive case was used 32 times and as suffix in the second-person plural possessive case for 16 times (see table 2). In the 1682 documents, the uses were 12 times and 13 times respectively (see table 5) making it the most used pronoun in the documents we study for this essay. This fact alone indicates that in the seventeenth century, the Malay language was already familiar with the use of *-mou* for possessive, and the form remained unchanged throughout the seventeenth century, even until today.

There was another use of *mou* that was characteristic of late-seventeenth century Malay alone. This was the use of this pronoun as a full word in the nominative case. As shown in table 5, there are 5 occurrences in which the full word *mou* was used as subject in the nominative case. This was exemplified by this command: “*Hormat akan bappa daan ibou, agar mou menghidop lamma...*” (Ruyl 1682, A4 recto), meaning: “Honor [your] father and mother so that you live a long life...” This use was only found in the 1682 documents, and not in the 1611 ones, indicating that it was a late-seventeenth century progress in the use of the pronoun.

Early seventeenth-century also saw an interesting use of another second-person plural pronoun *angkou* (modern-day Indonesian *engkau*) in the nominative case. In the 1611 documents the pronoun was used 10 times (see table 2), and they were all found in the text of the Ten Commandments. In the original Hebrew language of the commandments, the second-person pronouns were all in the plural forms, because the commandments were given to the people as a whole. Early-seventeenth century Malay seemed to distinguish between the plural form *angkou* from the singular form *kamoe*. Some examples include the commands: “*D’jang-an angkou memboenoh ourang,*” “You (pl) shall not murder,” or “*Dj’ang-an angkou mant’sioury,*” “You (pl) shall not steal” (Ruyl 1611, A2 verso). The

1611 text of the Ten Commandments consistently used the pronoun *angkou* for the plural form of “you.” However, in the 1682 documents, we no longer see any use of *angkou* either for plural or singular forms of “you.” This shows that there was a shift in the use of *angkou* between the earlier and latter parts of the seventeenth century. As a comparison, the 1682 edition of the Ten Commandments simplified the commands by using ellipsis, in which the subject “you” was considered understood in the command: “*Jangan membounou orang*,” or “*Jangan mentsjouri*,” etc. (Ruyl 1682, A4 recto).

The third person singular pronoun *dea* (modern Indonesian *dia*) was already used in the seventeenth century. The texts we analyze in this essay do not give us many examples, because of the nature of the texts, which are mostly prayers and commandments, and therefore there is no need of much use of third person pronouns. However, the presence of the nominative case *dea* is enough evidence that the pronoun was already used in the seventeenth century (see table 3). The possessive form of the third-person singular pronoun in the early seventeenth century was *-nja* in which the word was used as suffix to the noun it follows. This could clearly be seen in the Ten Commandments and elsewhere. Both the 1611 and 1682 documents show that there was not much change in the use of *-nja* and this tells us that third-person singular pronoun in the possessive case *-nja* did not undergo any change, even until today.

The third-person plural pronoun that was used in the document was *diaorang* in 1682 (see table 6). In the documents we studied, this pronoun did not appear very often. However, we have an instance in the evening prayer where the one praying is asking for God’s care for those who are sick, saying: “*Ingatla pon pada barang orang nang souda sakit ... lagi sayangla pada samoa dia orang...*” (Ruyl 1682, A6 verso), meaning: “Remember those who are sick... and love them...” In the 1611 document of the same prayer, the pronoun was not used, because the prayer was written slightly differently: “... *berryla rahmad kapada segala ourang sakit...*” (Ruyl 1611, A6 verso), or: “... give grace to all the sick people...” Because there is only one instance of the use of this third-person plural in objective case in these documents, it is hard for us to make a generalization. However, it is safe to say tentatively that in the latter part of the seventeenth century, there was the use of this phrase to refer to third-person plural pronoun. This is also supported by the fact that in 1650 Justus Heurnius wrote a grammatical explanation regarding the pronouns in Malay to accompany the publication of his dictionary. In this grammatical explanation Heurnius wrote that the common pronoun to be used for third-person plural both in the nominative and objective cases was *dia orang* (Heurnius 1650, B1 recto). This phrase was used to translate the Dutch word *sy* (or *zij* in modern Dutch). This also gives us some indication that the use of *mereka* as it is now commonly used in modern-day Indonesian was still not common in the seventeenth century.

4. Conclusion

The study presented above showed that some uses of pronouns remained unchanged in the Malay language throughout the seventeenth century until our time today. Most notably, the first-person singular pronoun *akoe* (or *aku* in modern Indonesian) was unchanged over time. The use of third-person singular pronoun also remained the same the past four centuries. Some of the changes that happened quite possibly were caused by interactions between Malay and Dutch. As was illustrated by the change in the use of *kamoe* to refer to God, in the earlier part of the century, further interaction with Dutch gave way to the development in the later part of the century in which *kamoe* was then changed to *toean* in a direct address to God. James Milroy holds that language change normally starts with speakers, and happens in the interactions between speakers. Thus, he believes that a systematic observation of a language can give us an understanding of the actual linguistic situation (Milroy 1993, 221). Furthermore, Milroy sees that contacts between speakers of different languages will likely cause change in the language, and we can observe the changes that happen in that particular language (Milroy 1993, 229). In the case of the changes that happened in Malay in the seventeenth century, we can say that the contacts between the Dutch and the Malay-speaking people indeed caused some of these changes.

Another significant change we see was in the use of first-person singular and plural pronouns. In the earlier decades of the seventeenth century there seemed to be the fluid interchange between first-person singular pronoun *hamba* and the inclusive first-person plural pronoun *kyta*, especially in

prayers. Early seventeenth-century Malay seemed to blur the distinction between these singular and plural pronouns.

We also see another change in the use of exclusive and inclusive forms of first-person plural pronouns. In the earlier decades of the seventeenth century there was an absence of the use of *cami* as the exclusive form of the pronoun. The texts seemed to prefer the use of the inclusive form *kyta*, even in prayers to God, although it was clear that the use of the inclusive form of *kyta* did not fit in such prayers. The change happened later in the century, where we started seeing that there was a distinction between *cami* and *kyta*.

This little study has given us a look into the development of Malay at the earliest time of the presence of the VOC in the East Indies. As the Dutch tried to educate the youth of the archipelago, they provided material in Malay as a means for teaching the children writing and reading. The texts revealed the language of the period. While written in high Malay, these reading materials gave us today some written proof of how the language functioned. Even though what we study here are written texts, they nevertheless are useful for our effort to look into changes that happened in Malay in the seventeenth century. These written texts reflected the speech of the people. Considering that these were educational material, they must have been written to give the school children lessons in the Malay language that was spoken by the people. The Dutch who provided these texts must have wanted the children to be able to speak the language in a structured, standard way of speaking.

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