

# Linguistic variety in later nineteenth-century Dutch-edited Malay publications

Waruno MAHDI

Fritz Haber Institute of the Max Planck Society

Malay publications in colonial Indonesia (Netherlands East Indies) up to 1800 were mainly by Dutch missionaries. Publications after 1900 covered a wide scope of mostly secular topics and genres, edited by indigenous Indonesians (besides Sino-Indonesians and Dutch). This paper studies the intervening period that is characterized by far-reaching secularization and wide thematic diversification, revealing at the same time a lack of coordination of language expertise, resulting in a high degree of dialectal and spelling variation. The development will be inspected in Christian church publications, translated official texts and legal documents, schoolbooks, Dutch-edited Malay newspapers and popular literature. It reveals a wide disparity between official language policy and private publishing practice on one side, and suggests a close relatedness between the informal Malay of Dutch editors and of the educated indigenous elite on the other.

## 1. Introduction: The historical socio-economic background<sup>1</sup>

In the course of the 19th century, Indonesia as a Dutch colony (Netherlands East Indies) underwent fundamental changes in many aspects of its economic and political system and culture.

Up to 1800, the colony had the loose structure of a traditional Malayan thalassocracy: a motley collection of subordinated territories with various traditional forms of social, political, and economic organization were tied by treaties to a supreme paramount, the Dutch United East India Company (VOC = *Vereenigde Oost-indische Compagnie*) which was represented physically in but a few fortified centers, particularly Ambon, since 1609, and Batavia, since 1619. Essentially, the organization and social circumstances of the economy remained unchanged, the VOC mainly monopolized the trade in vital products and enforced restrictions on their production.<sup>2</sup> Dutch and indigenous communities remained relatively isolated from one another, and incursions of Dutch elements into indigenous culture were rather limited (cf. Wertheim 1978:20–22). This

---

<sup>1</sup> **Acknowledgements:** I owe many thanks to Don van Minde for comments to an early version of this article, and for insight into his unpublished contribution (van Minde n.d.). Thanks also go to Holger Warnk for helpful comments to that early version, to Uli Kozok for comments to a more recent version, and to Richard Parker for calling my attention to Parkinson (1773).

I am deeply indebted to the former director of the Department of Physical Chemistry of the Fritz Haber Institute, Gerhard Ertl, and to the present director, Martin Wolf, for the generous opportunity to use Institute facilities in my linguistic and culture-historical studies. Many thanks go to Marcel Krenz, Albrecht Ropers, and Frank Quadt, for invaluable technical support.

My sincerest thanks go to co-workers of libraries where I found the quoted pre-1900 publications and newspapers: the *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, The Hague; the *Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden*; the former libraries of the *Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen*, Amsterdam, and *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (KITLV), Leiden; the *Cornell University Library*, Ithaca, NY; and last but not least the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz*. I gratefully acknowledge frequent use of the *Malay Concordance Project* online search facility (mcp.anu.edu.au), founded by the late Ian Proudfoot.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vlekke (1965:200–204, 288–289), Boxer (1965:94, 189–191).

was unlike the assimilating policy of the Portuguese in the preceding period,<sup>3</sup> explaining the linguistic impact of Portuguese that was only replaced by Dutch as most widely spoken European language after the middle of the 19th century.<sup>4</sup>

After dissolution of the VOC with the expiration of its charter on December 31, 1799,<sup>5</sup> territories under Dutch paramountcy were placed under direct colonial administration. This opened the way to a fundamental change in economic policy, introduction of industrial-age European organization, capital and technology, and renewal of the infrastructure, leading to changes in the social structure of the indigenous population involved in new modes of production, transport, and administration. The colony lost its loose and fragmented structure, and began to consolidate towards the territorial administrative integrity of post-feudal national geopolitical entities (cf. Mahdi 2012a:106).

This development at first suffered several setbacks. In the homeland, Europeans were preoccupied with the Napoleonic Wars. This was followed, after June 1815, by a conservative respite that nevertheless failed to hold back, or perhaps even actually provoked, the revolutionary upheavals of 1848.<sup>6</sup> In the Dutch colony, a brief period of liberal reform during the governor-generalship of Herman Willem Daendels (from 1808 till 1811) and the British Interregnum under Thomas Stamford Raffles (from 1811 till 1815) was ended when the leasing of land to Europeans—a central point of policy of that liberal period—was abolished by the conservative Governor General G.A.G.P. van der Capellen (from 1816 till 1826) with his decree of May 6, 1823 (*StbNI*<sup>7</sup> **1823** no. 17).<sup>8</sup>

The resulting abrogation of land-lease contracts—and reimbursement of the prepaid rent at an exorbitant interest rate—severely burdened the indigenous nobility, and was one of the causes of the Java War of 1825–1830 (see Vlekke 1965:286). Finally, van der Capellen's decree had to be withdrawn by decision of Commissioner General Leonard P.J. du Bois de Gisignies (*StbNI* **1827** no. 53). In a last-ditch attempt to achieve maximum productivity under retention of traditional conditions of production and landownership, the so-called Cultivation System (*Cultuurstelsel*) was introduced in 1830. It stipulated compulsory cultivation of government crops (for export) on 20 percent of the land of peasants in *désa* village commons (Vlekke 1965:289).

The rise of revolutionary sentiment in Europe convinced the Dutch king, Willem II, to have a constitution drafted by the liberal politician J.R. Thorbecke,<sup>9</sup> and enacted in November 1848, establishing the Netherlands as constitutional monarchy (see Boogman 1977). The liberals formed the cabinet for several terms, and gradually put through their economic policies which were irreconcilable with the system of trade monopolies

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Drewes (1929:136–138), Boxer (1965:215 & 219).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Prick van Wely (1906:3–7), Groeneboer (1993:16).

<sup>5</sup> Vlekke (1965:239), Boxer (1965:299).

<sup>6</sup> A nearly contemporaneous retrospective with almost philosophical insight was offered by de Bosch Kemper (1875:317ff).

<sup>7</sup> *StbNI* = *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, the government gazette (official journal) of the Netherlands East Indies.

<sup>8</sup> Regardless of this setback, the increase of sea-rover activity (*zeeroverij*)—cf. Mahdi (2008:135)—forced the colonial administration to mobilize cruiser-proas (*kruisprauwen*) with wage-earning indigenous seamen, helmsmen, and commanders (*StbNI* **1821** no. 37, p. 99).

<sup>9</sup> Johan Rudolf Thorbecke (lived 1798–1872), see State (2008:140).

and government enterprises based on compulsory or bonded labor:<sup>10</sup> For example, slavery was abolished by October 12, 1859, in Java and Madura, and by January 1, 1860, also in the rest of the colony (*StbNI* 1859 no. 47, art. 1); then a law put an end to the obligatory planting of, and delivery quotas for, cloves in the Moluccas (*StbNI* 1863 no. 169), and another law limited seigneurial services (*heerendienst*) of peasants in fields and households of nobility (*StbNI* 1867 no. 123), and so forth.

Finally, the agrarian reform that allowed private individuals and companies to acquire land in hereditary tenure (*erfpacht*) was passed in 1870.<sup>11</sup> This opened the way for private capital investment in plantations, workshops, mining, etc., with the consequence that a significant section of the population was transplanted from a natural economy of *désa* village commons into employment as, either contract or hired, wage-earning labor in a more outright commodity economy.<sup>12</sup> This required a significant development of the infrastructure, which in turn had as consequence a further increase in employment of indigenous labor in railways,<sup>13</sup> steamshipping,<sup>14</sup> mechanical workshops (to which I will return below), etc. Emerging urban settlements of Europeans as well as indigenous and non-indigenous Asians required a police force,<sup>15</sup> firefighting brigades,<sup>16</sup> and mail services,<sup>17</sup> all with indigenous employees (cf. Fig. 1). As for the telegraph service that was commenced in 1855–1857, the upkeep of the telegraph lines was subsequently performed by indigenous *isoleurs* ‘insulation men’ (Wieringa 1914:24, 27).

Whereas a considerable part of the work in plantations and mines, particularly outside Java, was done by contract coolies (in Northeast Sumatra frequently Chinese, see Breman 1987), indigenous labor in transport, communication, mechanical workshops, and municipal services was for the greater part performed by free wage earners.<sup>18</sup> A

---

<sup>10</sup> Vlekke (1965:302–303), Burger (1975:123).

<sup>11</sup> *StbKN* 1870 no. 71 (*StbKN* = *Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk* [after 1882 *Koninkrijk*] *der Neder-landen*); *StbNI* 1870 no. 118; see also Vlekke (1965:306–307), Burger (1975:125, 128).

<sup>12</sup> As example of employment of indigenous workers at an industrial site, a detailed listing of indigenous personnel, their number, tasks, and wages, at a typical oil-mining site under routine operating conditions is provided by de Stoppelaar (1897:198–200).

<sup>13</sup> The concession for the Semarang-Surakarta-Yogykarta railroad was granted by *StbKN* 1863 no. 110 and *StbNI* 1863 no. 116. The operation of the Padang-Sawah Lunto railroad (West Sumatra) for transporting coal from the Umbilin coal mines is described in *Verslag over den aanleg en de exploitatie van de Staatsspoorwegen in Nederlandsch-Indië over het jaar 1896* (not seen, cit. from *Verslag* 1898: 1).

<sup>14</sup> See e.g. à Campo (1994).

<sup>15</sup> *Oppassers* (the precursor word of Bazaar Malay *opas* ‘policeman’), originally watchmen in administrative and military offices (cf. *StbNI* 1827 no. 55, art. 6 sub 2°), later referred to policemen (*policie-oppassers*) in *StbNI* 1874 no. 119a. Dutch *policie* {*politie*} ‘police’ was later also borrowed: cf. *polisie* (van den Berg 1880:1), *penggawei policie* {*pegawai polisi*} ‘police seviceman’ (Francis 1892:75).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. J.L. Rhemslev’s translation of fire-brigade instructions in Soerat Parintah (1891).

<sup>17</sup> Mail service began (between Batavia and Semarang) in the middle of the 18th century (Wieringa 1914: 2), but indigenous personnel only became involved (as guides showing and lighting the way for couriers) by regulations introduced under Daendels in 1808–1809 (*ibid.*:4–5). In the subsequent decades, postal services grew in a somewhat chaotic manner, involving (apparently indigenous) policemen and messengers in the 1850s (Wieringa 1914:7), until regulations for letter mail (*reglement op de brievenpost*) were defined in *StbNI* 1862 no. 81, while *StbNI* 1864 no. 5, art. 18 & 21 even specifies compensation for house rent and freedom from seigneurial duties for indigenous personnel.

<sup>18</sup> For sake of simplicity I differentiate between free laborers and contract coolies based on the circumstance that abandonment of work by the former merely leads to termination of wage payments, while the latter is forcibly brought back and subjected to variously harsh punishments (see Houben 1999:14–15).

visitor of the naval workshop in Surabaya, for example, described what he witnessed there as follows (Bickmore 1868:58):

*Here they make many castings, but their chief business is manufacturing steamboilers for the navy. Nine hundred Javanese were then in this establishment, all laboring voluntarily, and having full liberty to leave whenever they chose. Most of the overseers even are natives, and but few Europeans are employed in the whole works.*<sup>19</sup>

Thus, an increasing wage labor force came to be employed in an orderly process of production and service. Already considerations of productivity and profitability alone (contract coolies were often acquired at some expense from coolie transporting agencies<sup>20</sup>) meant that their health could no longer be entrusted to *dukuns* ‘traditional medicine men’. One needed indigenous medics (*dokter Jawa* ‘Javanese doctors’).<sup>21</sup>

All this required a renovation of the administration and employment of more indigenous employees. The population, extracted from its village common (*désa*) natural economy, had to rely much more on the retail trade, leading to a growth of the indigenous as well as Sino-Indonesian merchant middle class. The children of indigenous trained laborers and workers in service, intellectual and middle class occupations needed to be schooled in a manner that would conform to demands on education for all these various novel occupations, and this, in turn, meant training indigenous teachers.<sup>22</sup>

Elaborate statistics on education were given by the Dutch-Indigenous Education Commission (HIO-Commissie 1930). Schooling in Dutch for indigenes depended on income and rank of the parents, and facilitated later careers in the civil service. It also led to abandonment of rural places of origin in favor of urban residency (*ibid.*:7-20), and encouraged middle class children to pursue positions in the civil service (*ibid.*:21).

The liberal economic reforms also led to a marked increase in the Dutch population. A broad layer of Indonesian-born Dutch and Eurasians emerged, experiencing Indonesia as homeland. Children of Dutch families learned to speak Malay—the Bazaar Malay of their nannies—before they learned to speak Dutch.<sup>23</sup> Hence, if Dutch and indigenous communities only had restricted mutual contacts before 1800, then changes in the 19th century caused the two ethnic groups to become intertwined in countless manners on multifarious planes: economic, social, political, cultural (cf. Mahdi 2012a).

These developments could not fail to have far-reaching and complex consequences for the linguistic situation. The change was so sudden and of such a radical nature, that it caught the language experts quite unprepared. The result was an altogether chaotic situation in official language policy and actual Dutch-edited Malay publishing. The following sections will inspect the various manifestations of this linguistic free-for-all.

---

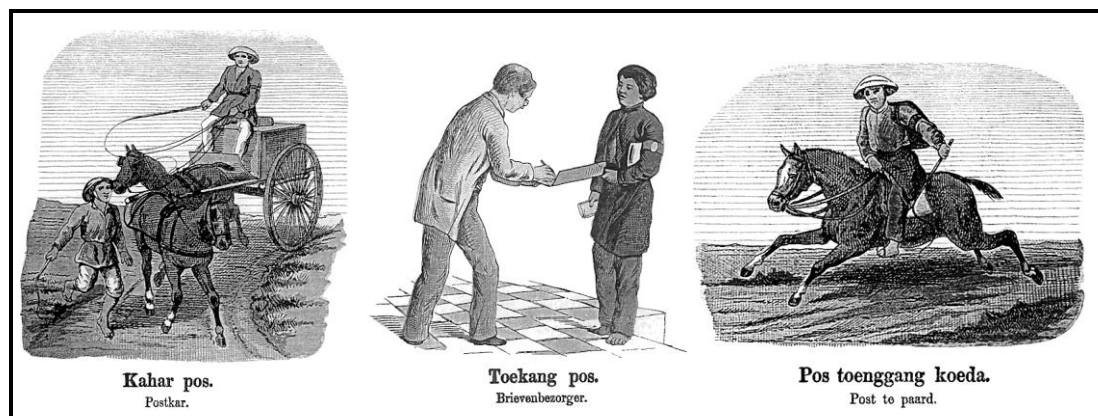
<sup>19</sup> Laborers and overseers (indigenous and Chinese) also worked at the shipyard on Onrust Island. Their wages are listed in *StbNI* 1825 no. 15, p. 57.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. van den Brand in Breman (1987:269, 271–281).

<sup>21</sup> The first school for indigenous medics (*Inlandsche geneeskundige*) was established by decree no. 7 of the Governor General, November 24, 1875 (*StbNI* 1875 nos. 264 & 265). There is a very informative publication on indigenous medics by Hesselink (2011).

<sup>22</sup> The missionary teachers’ school (*kweekschool*) of B.N.J. Roskott in Ambon, opened in 1835. That of Graafland at Tanawangka (Minahasa) was opened in 1854 (Kroeskamp 1974:66 & 149). Government teachers’ schools opened 1851 in Surakarta, and 1866 in Bandung (*ibid.*:304-305; Moriyama 1995).

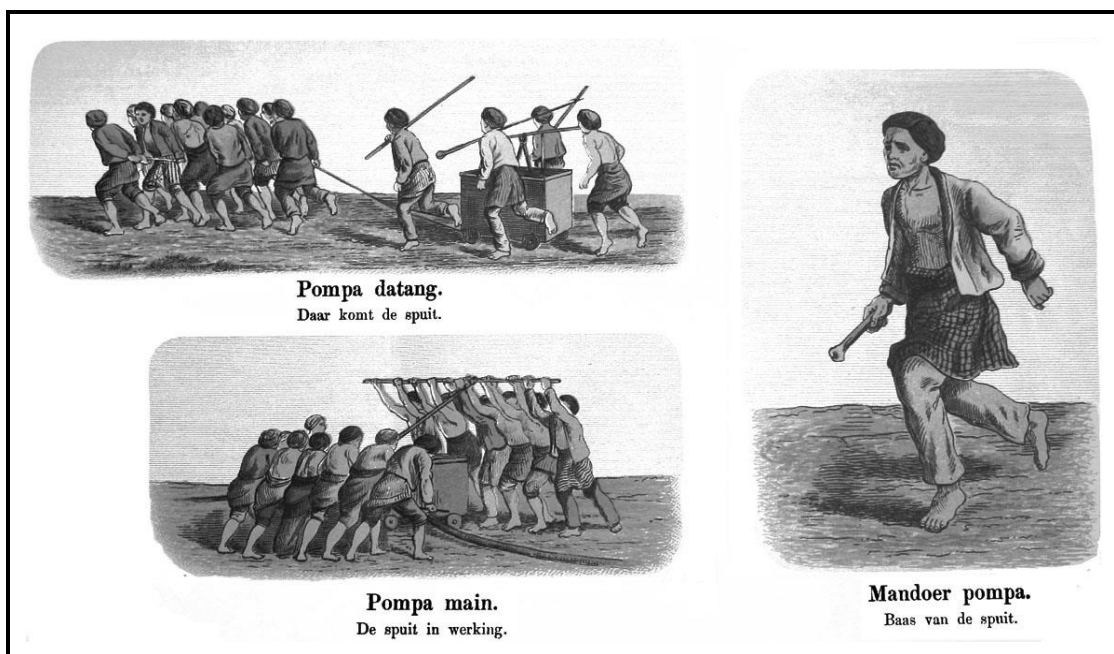
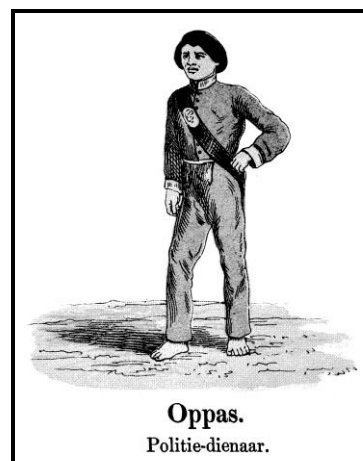
<sup>23</sup> Veth (1850:24); Freijss (1859:24-25); Bickmore (1868:21); Schuchardt (1891:150).



*Above:* *Kahar pos* – *Postkar* ‘mail carriage’;  
 {*Tukang*}<sup>24</sup> *pos* – *Brievenbezorger* ‘letter deliverer’;  
*Pos* {*tunggang kuda*} – *Post te paard* ‘mail on horse’;

*Rightside:* *Oppas* {*opas*} – *Politie-dienaar* ‘police serviceman’;

*Below:* *Pompa datang* ‘the pump comes’ –  
*Daar komt de spuit* ‘there comes the watercanon’;  
*Pompa main* ‘the pump operates (lit. plays)’ –  
*De spuit in werking* ‘the watercanon in working’;  
 {*Mandor*} *pompa* ‘pump headman’ –  
*Baas van de spuit* ‘chief of the watercanon’.



**Figure 1. Images with Malay and Dutch captions of various indigenous service-men, reproduced from a book with illustrations (Gambar-gambar 1879). As the book was designed for children, the pictured subjects must have been relatively common in the living environment of their gentry and middle-class parents**

<sup>24</sup> Here and further, I will place the modern spelling of a word or expression (of any language) between curly brackets or braces {}.

## 2. “High” versus “low” Malay in Dutch missionary publishing

The earliest Dutch-edited Malay publications were produced by missionary publishers. Working mainly in the East of the Malayan Archipelago, they soon came to the conclusion that schoolbooks and religious texts in Malay could only be adequately understood by those, for whom they were designed, when in the vernacular (Mooij 1923:41–42, 272). Consequently, as Danckaerts (1623:[vi])<sup>25</sup> had already noted in the foreword to his Malay edition of the Heidelberg catechism, the translation was ‘in the common coarse Malay language’<sup>26</sup> which alone was understood in that region. The problem was not restricted to the Malay dialect or style, and the same author noted furthermore, that a particular problem in translating Christian texts was (*ibid.*:[viii]):

that in them do occur some manners of speech taken from the Holy Scriptures, which are not possible to be expressed in Malay with own words of the language ...<sup>27</sup>

Indeed, already even things like *roti* ‘bread’ and *anggur* ‘wine’, being apt to release a galaxy of associations in the mind of a native of the Mediterranean, at best only implied exotic items of food and drink to the common Malay. Various concepts of the Christian religion do not have immediate analogues in Islam, or vice versa, so that Malay indeed did not generally have expressions to name them.

The socio-economic conditions in the Archipelago hardly changed during VOC rule, nor did the Malay language situation. Two centuries later, in 1848, Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi<sup>28</sup> who collaborated in the Malay translation of the Bible from the English, noted similar difficulties (Besar & Roolvink 1953:397), i.e. that there were:

... some expressions which Malays have never been accustomed to use, such as *kingdom of heaven*, and *mouth of God*, and *child of God*, and *thy father who is in heaven*, and *eternal life*, and so on.<sup>29</sup>

Christianity was not the only religion to bring a flood of novel concepts and corresponding technical terms into the Malayan world. Hindu-Buddhist religion, the ideological mainstay of the Malay thalassocratic state, introduced an elaborate Sanskrit / Prakrit corpus of loanwords. The adoption of Islam in coastal trade emporiums introduced the puritanical ethics of growing mercantile interests while providing a contrastive ideology to that of the Hindu empire of Majapahit from which they sought to become independent, repeating the procedure with borrowings from Arabic and Persian.

But with the exception of some relatively small areas (Banda, later Ambon, Manado, and Batavia), VOC administration did not seriously involve the population in any innovations in socio-economic relations or political structure. Only in the 19th century (see previous section), would the population experience sufficient change in their

---

<sup>25</sup> Virtual page numbers (in brackets), beginning with [i] for the title page, are given for pages of the introduction, not numerated in the original.

<sup>26</sup> The Dutch original: *inde ghemeene slechte Maleytsche tale*.

<sup>27</sup> I.e.: *dat daer inne occurreeren eenige manieren van spreekken uyt de H. Schrifture genomen, die niet vvel mogelijck en zijn inde Maleytsche tale met eygentlijcke vvoorden uyt te drucken: ...*

<sup>28</sup> Who lived in Malacca (under Dutch rule till 1824), before moving to the newly established British outpost in Singapore.

<sup>29</sup> ... *beberapa perkataan yang tiada pernah biasa dipakai orang Melayu, iaitu seperti kerajaan syurga dan mulut Allah dan anak Allah dan bapamu yang ada di syurga dan kehidupan yang kekal dan sebagainya*.

economic and social life to participate in contemporaneous European socio-economic culture, and create a demand for corresponding means or modes of expression.

The Portuguese had practiced a more associative culture policy, so that the most common European language until the 1850s remained (Creole) Portuguese. The persistent significance of Portuguese in the Malay of Christian discourse was eyed with displeasure by Dutch officials, but the only alternative was returning to literary “High” Malay with Arabic as main donor for technical terms (cf. Werndly 1736:249–265).

This was begun by Melchior Leydekker,<sup>30</sup> and completed with the publication of his Malay New and Old Testaments (Biblia 1731 and 1733)<sup>31</sup> and the Malay grammar of Werndly (1736). It was a very bookish Malay, further aggravated by a complicated, perfectionist spelling system, in which Christian texts were henceforth published. It had many digraph ligatures, e.g. *ng* for *ng*, or *hh*—an *hh* ligature—for Jawi-script<sup>32</sup> *ḥa* (ح) as opposed to *h* for *ha* (ح). Upper- and lower-case *ʌ* and *ʌ* were introduced for ‘ain (ع), and <sup>4</sup> represented *hamzah* (ء), while word duplication was indicated by *ρ*. A circumflex (^) was used for long vowels,<sup>33</sup> and a macron (¯) for Jawi-script *tashddid* (ّ) that indicated gemination of a consonant. The already cited Abdullah Munsyi made the following comment about the spelling system (Besar & Roolvink 1953:120):

I recognized all the letters throughout, and only the diacritics were wrong. Because, in the Malay script, the diacritics are not that numerous. It troubled my mind, because I wondered, how many kinds of Malay spellings there were in the world.<sup>34</sup>

A profusion of Arabic loanwords and “difficult words” taken directly from Arabic (i.e. not based on already existing Arabic loanwords in literary “High” Malay) rendered the text so incomprehensible, that Governor General Gustaaf Willem van Imhoff had an explanatory dictionary published in 1743–1745 solely for reading the Bible.<sup>35</sup>

The following is from chapter 4 of the Gospel of Matthew (Biblia 1731:5). Here and further, the original text is on the left, a transliteration in modern Indonesian spelling—but with *é* for the low and mid front vowels /*ɛ*/ and /*e*/, and unaccented *e* for schwa /*ə*/—is between curly brackets {} on the right. An English gloss follows underneath:

17. *Deṛi paḍa tatkāla 'itu maḳa bahāruw* {17. *Dari pada tatkala itu maka baharu*  
*ʌisāj meṁulā<sup>4</sup>ij berchoṭḥbah, dan bersab-* *Isa memulai berkhotbah, dan bersabda:*  
*da: tawbatlah kāmū, kārana karaḳā<sup>4</sup>an* *tobatlah kamu, karena kerajaan surga*  
*ṣawrga 'itu suḍah damping.* *itu sudah damping.*

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Melchior Leydekker to the Christelyke Synodus van Noord Holland of November 15, 1697, quoted in Valentyn (1698:9–30). See also Leydekker (1685).

<sup>31</sup> Published post mortem by a team under George H. Werndly.

<sup>32</sup> Jawi script differs from the Arabic in additionally having *ca* (چ), *ga* (گ), *nga* (غ), *nya* (ن), and *pa* (پ).

<sup>33</sup> Spoken Malay does not have long vowels. Spelling as long vowel was retained in Arabic loanwords, while in indigenous words it indicated place of stress, particularly to avoid a reading as schwa.

<sup>34</sup> *Maka semuanya itu kukenal belaka hurufnya melainkan bersalahan noktanya sahaja. Karena dalam surat-surat Melayu tiada demikian banyak noktanya. Maka susahlah hatiku, sebab berpikir ada berapakah jenis surat Melayu dalam dunia ini.*

<sup>35</sup> Drewes (1929:147), Swellengrebel (1974:173).

18. *Sabermûla maķa berđjâlanlah Xîsâj pa đā pantej tâsik ĐJalilâ; maķa delihatrja duwā 'awrang bersûdâra, 'ija 'îtu, SĴimawn, jang terfebût Petrus, đân 'Andarijâ sûdârarja lâki ρ, jang 'adâlah bowang đjâla kadâlam tâsik: kârana 'adâlah marika 'îtu nalâjan.*

18. *Sebermula maka berjalanlah Isa pada pantai tasik Jalila, maka dilihatnya dua orang bersaudara, yaitu Semawn, yang tersebut Pétrus, dan Andaria saudaranya laki-laki, yang adalah buang jala ke dalam tasik, karena adalah merêka itu nelayan.}*

'17. From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

18. And Jesus, walking by the sea of Galilee, saw two brethren, Simon called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea : for they were fishers.<sup>36</sup>

This prohibitive style and spelling was still used in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, as in a reprint of a 1735 Book of Psalms translation by Werndly (1826), and a song book by le Bruyn (1828). But by the 1850s, intelligibility of biblical texts in the Christian community became increasingly significant, leading to sharp critical statements from clerical as well as linguistic experts. Of the former, there is Brumund (1853:167):

The Malay Christians have no Bible. I must express myself more concretely. When I say, the Malay Christians, then I mean Christians, both of mixed, as of pure indigenous blood, who only speak Malay; and do I add: they have no Bible, then what I mean is, they cannot understand their indigenous Bible.<sup>37</sup>

Van der Tuuk (1856:172), a notoriously outspoken linguist (cf. Nieuwenhuys 1962), remarks with no less irony:

Others again call the Malay of the Leydekker-Werndleyan Bible *high Malay*, and this in certain sense rightly so, it being above the reach of both indigene as well as European.<sup>38</sup>

Initiatives for a Bible in vernacular Malay began early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: the Gospel of Matthew, translated by William Robinson in a Bazaar Malay, appeared in 1815, and again, with the Gospel of John, in 1823.<sup>39</sup> The Gospel of Matthew in Ambon Malay by C.T. Hermann was apparently published in 1850 in Rotterdam (Koper 1956:173).

The entire New Testament, the so-called 'Surabayan translation', was printed in 1835 in Batavia.<sup>40</sup> The spelling was much more accessible, and used no ligatures, diacritics, or special characters. It abandoned Arabic loanwords and proper-name cognates in favor of more familiar terms. The passage quoted above from the Leydekker-Werndly Bible of 1731, Matthew 4.17–18, now appeared as follows (Biblia 1835:7):

<sup>36</sup> The English gloss follows an 1854 Oxford University Press edition of the "King James" Bible.

<sup>37</sup> *De Maleische Christenen hebben geen Bijbel. Ik moet mij meer bepaald uitdrukken. Wanneer ik zeg, de Maleische Christenen, dan bedoel ik Christenen, zoowel van gemengden, als van zuiver inlandschen bloede, die alleen Maleisch spreken; en voeg ik er bij: zij hebben geen Bijbel, dan is mijne meening, zij kunnen hunnen inlandschen Bijbel niet verstaan.*

<sup>38</sup> *Anderen weder noemen het Maleisch van den Leydekker-Werndleyschen Bijbel hoog-Maleisch, en dit in zekeren zin teregt, daar het boven het bereik is zoowel van Inlander als Europeaan.*

<sup>39</sup> Koper (1956:173), Swellengrebel (1974:176); cf. also van Boetzelaer (1941:43).

<sup>40</sup> Van Boetzelaer (1941:43), Swellengrebel (1974:176).



17. *Maka deri pada tatkala itoe memoe-lailah Jesus mengadjar, sabdanja: tobatlah kamoe, karna keradjaän sorga soedah dekat.* {17. *Maka daripada tatkala itu memulailah Yésus mengajar, sabdanya: tobatlah kamu, karena kerajaan surga sudah dekat.*
18. *Dan serta Jesus berdjalan pada pante laoet Galilea, maka melihatlah dia doea orang bersoedara, ija itoe Simon, jang terseboet Petrus, dan Andreas soedaranja laki-laki, lagi memboeang djala dilaoet: karna dia-orang pendjala adanja.* 18. *Dan serta Yésus berjalan pada pantai laut Galiléa, maka melihatlah dia dua orang bersaudara, yaitu Simon, yang tersebut Pétrus, dan Andréas saudaranya laki-laki, lagi membuang jala di laut, karena dia-orang penjala adanya.*}

The translation was generally received quite positively (see Swellengrebel 1974:176). It is nevertheless apparent that the translator was not a native speaker of either literary or colloquial Malay. The use of the *meN-*, *beR-* and *teR-* verbal prefixes reveal a diligent and conscientious student of literary Malay, and only narrowly misses the elusive native-speaker language feeling.

The near-synonym for ‘casting (a net)’ again reveals a non-native speaker: *membuang* ‘throw away, discard’ in place of, for example, *melémpar* ‘throw, toss, hurl, cast’. Frequent deletion of interconsonantal schwa (as in *karna* {*karena*} ‘because’) is indeed a feature of the Bazaar Malay of Java, and also Manado Malay (Prentice 1994:414). Some of the more obvious dialectisms are from Bazaar Malay, e.g. *dia-orang* for ‘they, them’, as well as *kita-orang* for ‘we, us’ on the title page.

There was a second edition in 1865,<sup>41</sup> and in a further edition (Biblia 1875) the text is practically identical, except that Bazaar Malay *dia-orang* ‘they, them’ was replaced by *marika* {*meréka*}, although *kita-orang* ‘we, our’ was retained.

Of equal success was the Bazaar Malay New Testament of H.C. Klinkert, published in two parts (Biblia 1861–1863) in Semarang, with reprints in 1885 and in 1896.<sup>42</sup> The already quoted Matthew 4.17–18 now appeared as follows (Biblia 1861–1863:7):

17. *Dari koetika itoe Jesoes moelai mengadjar dan berkata: Tobatlah dirimoe, karna karadjaän sorga soedah dekat.* {17. *Dari ketika itu Yésus mulai mengajar dan berkata: Tobatlah dirimu, karena karajaan surga sudah dekat.*
18. *Maka sedeng berdjalan di pinggir laut Galiléa, Jesoes melihat doewa orang jang bersoedara, Simon, jang terseboet Petros, dan Andreas, soedaranja, jang memboewang djala di laoet (karna dia orang toekang tangkap ikan).* 18. *Maka sedang berjalan di pinggir laut Galiléa, Yésus melihat dua orang yang bersaudara, Simon, jang tersebut Pétrus, dan Andréas, saudaranya, yang membuang jala di laut (karena dia orang tukang tangkap ikan).}*

The text has the same Bazaar Malay *dia orang* for ‘they, them’. The (Non-Bazaar) use of the verbal prefixes *meN-* and *beR-* is improved, compared to the already reviewed “Surabayan translation”, but retains non-native usage like *terseboet* (for *dinamakan* ‘be called’) and *memboewang* (for *melémpar* ‘throw, cast’). The superfluous *dirimoe* {*dirimu*} ‘your self’ is a calque of the Dutch reflexive. Bazaar features are suppression of interconsonantal schwa (as in *karna* {*karena*} ‘because’) and retention of schwa in final syllables (as in *deket* {*dekat*} ‘near’, *sedeng* {*sedang*} ‘while’).

<sup>41</sup> Koper (1956: 173), Swellengrebel (1974: 176).

<sup>42</sup> Van Boetzelaer (1941: 43), Koper (1956: 173), Swellengrebel (1974: 183, 196).

Further editions in the vernacular include an explicitly ‘Low Malay’ (*Plat-Maleis*) New Testament by E.W. King, published in 1873 (Koper 1956:173), and an Ambon Malay translation by B.N.I. Roskott in 1877 (*ibid.*; and van Boetzelaer 1941:42) seen as 1883 reprint. In spite of positive reactions to the Low Malay editions, the issue of dialect choice continued to attract controversy (Swellengrebel 1974:176–181, 200–203). Ironically, the discussion was almost exclusively based on the judgements of non-native speakers. Swellengrebel (1974:173) also found the following excerpt from the annual report for 1913 of the Netherlands Bible Society to somehow characterize the overall situation:

On the subject of Malay no one agrees with anyone, except with himself.<sup>43</sup>

It was then decided that the Bible translation should not be in a *lingua franca* dialect of Malay, but in the allegedly “pure” Malay that was assumed to be the dialect of the Riau-Lingga islands (Swellengrebel 1974:185). As we will see below, this was also the prevailing opinion amongst language officials.

A translation of the Bible in that version of Malay was assigned to H.C. Klinkert who would bring forth a new translation of the New Testament in 1870 (seen as second edition: *Biblia* 1888), and then also of the Old Testament (*Biblia* 1879). The already quoted passage, Matthew 4.17–18, now appeared as follows (*Biblia* 1888:10):

17. *Arkian, maka daripada kětika itoe djoega dimoelāi olih Isa mēngadjar, katanja: Tobatlah kamoe, karēna karadjaän sorga itoe soedah dēkat.*

{17. *Arkian, maka daripada ketika itu juga dimulai oleh Isa mengajar, katanja: Tobatlah kamu, karena kerajaan surga itu sudah dekat.*

18. *Maka sēmantara Isa bērdjalan ditēpi pantei tasik Galilea itoe dilihatnja doewa orang bērsaoedara, ija-itoe Simon, jang bērgēlar Petroes, dan saoeedaranja, jang bērnama Andreas, tēngah mēlaboehkan poekat dalam tasik, karēna mareka-itoe pēmoekat.*

{18. *Maka sementara Isa berjalan di tepi pantai tasik Galilēa itu dilihatnya dua orang bersaudara, yaitu Simon, yang bergelar Pétrus, dan saudaranya, yang bernama Andréas, tengah melabuhkan pukuk dalam tasik karena merēka itu pemukat.*}

Already even a superficial perusal immediately reveals the tremendous effort of the translator to learn the literary Malay of Riau-Lingga. The use of the verbal prefixes is generally correct, even having passive voice *dimoelāi* {*dimulai*} ‘is begun’ where a European speaker would have normally used the active voice. The interconsonantal schwas, deleted in Bazaar Malay renderings, were restored (e.g. *karēna* ‘because’). Bazaar Malay plurals of pronouns do not occur. The use of *tasik* for ‘sea’ is Manado Malay. In Riau (also Johore) Malay it means ‘lake’ (as against *laut* ‘sea’),<sup>44</sup> but it may be interpreted as referring to the sea of Galilee as a lake. The word *arkian* ‘moreover’ (also *arakian*) is a bookish archaism that Klinkert seems to have very much favored.

The verb used for ‘casting’ (a net), *mēlaboehkan* {*melabuhkan*}, actually ‘dropping’ (e.g. an anchor),<sup>45</sup> is good Riau Malay, but a *poekat* {*pukat*} is a dragnet that is not cast, but either drawn (trawled), or fastened in a stationary position in a flowing current or as trap into which a school of fish is herded. One must bear in mind, of course, that so-called “Riau Malay” was apparently not the language commonly spoken by the local

<sup>43</sup> *Inzake het Maleis is niemand het met iemand, behalve met zichzelf, eens.*

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Wilkinson (1901–1903:150 sub *tasek*, 593 sub *laut*).

<sup>45</sup> Hence {*pelabuhan*} ‘harbor’, lit. ‘place where one drops anchor’.

people, but (allegedly) the court language of the Sultanate of Riau.<sup>46</sup> Klinkert's informants were probably courtiers, perhaps also merchants, but not common villagers, fishermen, or sailors. That the former may have confused *pukat* 'dragnet' and *jala* '(casting) net' with one another seems possible, however, they would not be very likely to use *tasik* 'lake' when meaning 'sea' (*laut*). It is interesting that in the Bazaar-Malay Semarang edition quoted above, Klinkert had *laoet* {*laut*} for 'sea'.

As we will presently see, the ambiguity in the treatment of Malay dialects in church publications and Bible translations did not reflect any particular linguistic inadequacy of church people, but was quite in line with the general situation amongst language experts and officials of that time.

### 3. First changes in indigenous education through European contacts

In the first half of the 19th century, the situation with respect to the school education of indigenes in Java (outside of Batavia) was quite bleak. Official surveys made in 1819 came to the following results for the respective *regencies*<sup>47</sup> (van der Chijs 1864: 215–220). Italicized words in the listing are in the cited author's spelling.

Banten (*Bantam*) with Sérang: pupils learned Jawi script reading and writing from sometimes privately paid religious or lay teachers; of 800 stewards (*mandor*) less than 100 could read and write.

Bogor (*Buitenzorg*): children of well-situated parents received basic instruction in reading the Quran.

Krawang: most of the heads of districts could not read or write well enough to serve as teachers.

Priangan (*Preanger*): boys could be given in apprenticeship to learn Sundanese-script reading and writing.

Tegal (*Tagal*): "high priests"<sup>48</sup> teach children of well-situated parents reading and writing, Malay language, simple arithmetics; but of around 850 heads of village commons (*désa*), only 3 or 4 could write their own names.

Pekalongan: 8 large and *c.* 180 small Quran schools (*pesantrén*) taught reading the Quran and religious books; pupils for becoming "priests" (*khatib?*) read more books and were schooled longer; Javanese script was learned from friends.

Rémbang: 32 "priests" give a 4-month basic course followed by a course in Quran reading.

Lasem: 13 "priests" were engaged in teaching more than 200 pupils in the chief township itself.

Tuban: Also 13 "priests" instructed 180 pupils in the town of Tuban itself, and many more in the village commons.

Jipang: 14 "priests" (1 *katib*,<sup>49</sup> 13 *mukmin*) taught in Panolang, Pandangang, Buwarno, Rajawesi, and Blora. Only some ten local dignitaries could read and write the Javanese script, having learned from family, or from teachers in Surabaya.

<sup>46</sup> In later texts and descriptions, it typically was a presentation of the language by non-native speakers who often had not even been in the area, but Klinkert had actually stayed in insular Riau several years.

<sup>47</sup> Corresponding approximately to modern *kabupatén* 'district' (literally 'county').

<sup>48</sup> Perhaps *kyai*? The author did not always provide the indigenously used designation of functionaries.

Kedu (*Kadu*): 10 “priests” gave religious instruction, and taught reading the Quran and its Javanese translation. Children of nobility learned Javanese-script reading and writing from parents, relatives, or even from servants.

Gresik (*Grissee*): children of dignitaries could read and write Javanese, some could also use Latin-script Malay, taught by their parents’ scribes. Religious instruction began at the age of 7, by “priests”.

Surabaya: religious instruction mainly amounted to explanation of the Quran. Some pupils acquired a superficial knowledge of the Arabic script. Malay was only known among the higher strata, mainly on the coast.

Pasuruan: education consisted of learning to read and write the Arabic script in dormitories (*langgar*) or some few private houses. Javanese-script reading and writing was taught by scribes, sometimes by friends or relatives.

Besukin: “priests” gave religious instruction to all who wished it. Children came at the age of 5 or 6, and learned to repeat Arabic phrases, the meaning of which sometimes not even the teacher knew, but had to be said at wedding ceremonies. Children of dignitaries learned Javanese-script reading and writing from friends.

Banyuwangi: “priests” taught reading, writing, and a very rudimentary understanding of Arabic. Literacy in the Javanese script was minimal, and even the *regent*<sup>50</sup> read and wrote it very unsatisfactorily.

Under these circumstances, the level of literacy in Java was predictably very low. Drewes (1934:25) quotes J.C. Baud<sup>51</sup> remarking in 1823:

A Javanese almost never reads ... some few of the principals of the land [take] delight in leafing through the remnants of an antiquated literature.<sup>52</sup>

Van Hoëvell (1849:110) expressed this with an even more elaborately condescending attitude to Javanese literary tradition, highlighted here with italics as in the original:

... *the Javanese do not read*. Relatively only very few, mainly the principals, can read: and know ye what they read? Not Dutch, but Javanese; not history or philosophy or politics, but poetry. The entire Javanese literature consists of nothing else but poetry, — excentric, fantastic poetry; — that is what he likes; the more wondrous, the better!<sup>53</sup>

Upon visiting Bali, Zollinger (1845:55) was surprised to find a significantly higher level of education there:

<sup>49</sup> Meant here is presumably *khatib* ‘preacher’, not to be confused with *katib* ‘scribe’. *Mukmin*, lit. ‘believer’, commonly refers to a person considered knowledgeable in religious matters.

<sup>50</sup> Chief of a *regency*.

<sup>51</sup> Jean Chrétien Baud (lived 1789–1859) had an extensive colonial career in the Netherlands East Indies, leading up to his governor-generalship from 1833 till 1836.

<sup>52</sup> *De Javaan leest bijna nimmer ... eenige weinigen van de voornamen des lands [scheppen] vermaak om de overblijfselen der aloude letterkunde te doorbladeren*. The original text without Drewes’ insertion (here in brackets [...]) was not altogether grammatical.

<sup>53</sup> ... de Javanen lezen niet. *Betrekkelijk slechts zeer weinigen, voornamelijk de hoofden, kunnen lezen: en weet ge wat ze lezen? Geen Nederduitsch, maar Javaansch; geene geschiedenis of wijsbegeerte of politiek, maar poëzij. De geheele Javaansche literatuur bestaat uit niets anders dan poëzij, — excentrische, phantastische poëzij; — daar houdt hij van, hoe wonderbaarlijker, hoe liever!*

That however the Balinese people are in their knowledge ahead of the Javanese, ... is also evident from the skill in reading and writing, which must be more inbred among the Balinese than among the Javanese; from the arts in general and architecture in particular, which in *Bali* has remained upright, and this apparently on the level of the foregone Hindu period in *Java*.<sup>54</sup>

Van Hoëvell (1854:11) gained a similar impression in Bali. Neither of the authors forgets to stress that education in Java was once on par with that of Bali, and that the deteriorated situation in Java was a recent development. Zollinger (1845:55–56) found no better explanation than such platitudes as the “deadening breath of Islamism” and “that laughable European semi-civilization”.<sup>55</sup> In reality, Islamization under the Sultanate of Demak led to cultural progress—the Portuguese were much impressed by Javanese shipbuilding and craftsmanship of that period.<sup>56</sup> The deterioration in Java began with the downfall of Demak and restoration of feudal socio-economic relations of former Majapahit in the new Mataram Empire, and continued as power shifted to the VOC. European culture influence, once it came into effect, would actually prove not to be “laughable” at all. It was only that VOC and conservative policy had up to that time screened indigenous society from such influence.

Reports of a cultural deterioration in Java overlooked a number of new developments in the region, which is probably an indication that, up to the 1840s, the effects of those novel features still were of a localized nature. But the economic and infrastructural innovations introduced during the short period of liberal reform under Daendels—particularly the naval workshops in Surabaya and Semarang, and the *c* 1000 km Great Mail Road (*de Grootte Postweg*) from Anyer at the westernmost end of Java to Panarukan in East Java—and under Raffles had begun to involve the indigenous population in new economic roles.<sup>57</sup> Daendels’ liberal policy also led to increased cultural contact between Javanese nobility and Europeans (cf. Sutherland 1979:7–9).

An outright phenomenal example of this development is the painter **Raden Saleh**.<sup>58</sup> His early-recognized artistic gift earned him a place in a small school for indigenes in Cianjur (West Java) that had just been opened by the liberal-minded *Resident* of Cianjur, Robert L.J. van der Capellen. After Cianjur, Saleh stayed with the Belgian art painter **A.A.J. Payen** in Bogor (West Java), who instructed him in painting.

---

<sup>54</sup> *Dat echter het Balinesche volk in kennis het Javaansche vooruit is, .... bewijzen ook nog, de bedrevenheid in het lezen en schrijven, die onder de Balinezen meer inheemsch moet zijn dan onder de Javanen; kunst in het algemeen en de bouwkunst in het bijzonder, die op Balie is staande gebleven en wel op den trap van de gezonkene Hindoesche periode op Java.*

<sup>55</sup> I.e. *den doodenden adem van het Islamismus, and de belagchelijke Europeesche half-beschaving.*

<sup>56</sup> Referring to the period around 1511–1513, João de Barros in his major work *Da Asia* notes that: *Jãos, em que entravam muitos carpinteiros, calafates, e officiaes mecanicos, que Affonso d’Albuquerque levava em grande estima, por etes Jãos ferem grandes homens deste mister do mar, ‘Javanese, amongst whom were many carpenters, caulkers and mechanics, whom Affonso de Albuquerque held in great esteem, for these Javanese were great experts in maritime crafts’* (de Barros 1777:108–109), and mentions *muita artilheria feita na Jauha, por serem grandes homens de fundição e de todo lavramento de ferro, e outras que houveram da India* ‘much artillery made in Java, for they were great men at casting and all works with iron and other crafts performed in India’ (*ibid.*:354-355), see also Ferrand (1918:161-162).

<sup>57</sup> Not the construction work on the Great Mail Road itself, done by forced labor under cost of health and even life (Nas & Pratiwo 2002:710). But it led to development of new settlements, markets, and trading places along the entire coast (*ibid.*:719).

<sup>58</sup> Read as if spelled Radén Saléh. I spell proper names as in the sources, but italicize titulations.

He traveled to Europe in 1830, staying in the Netherlands, Germany, France, and England, returning to Java in 1851.<sup>59</sup> The following excerpt is from the facsimile of *Raden Saleh* to J.C. Baud on June 17, 1844, published by Kraus (2012: 134):

<p><i>Tambahan saija kassie bertaoe pada Pa- doeka, jang saya poenja pakerdjaän itoe portrait darie Hertog satinga abis dan Hertog banjak soeka hattie apalagie Hertogin van Kent (mamanja Ratoe darie England) inie gambar lebih bessar dan lebih banjak kerdja seperti jang saija soedah terseboet dalem soerat doeloe, dan djoega saija mistie bikin 4 Portrait atawa 5 darie dia poenja koeda. inie gambar saya taksir arga 600 Pruisische dalders.</i></p>	<p><i>{Tambahan saya kasih [ber]tahu pada Paduka, yang saya punya pekerjaan itu potret dari Hertog setengah habis dan Hertog banyak suka hati apalagi Hertogin van Kent (mamanya Ratu dari England) ini gambar lebih besar dan lebih banyak kerja seperti yang saya sudah [ter]sebut dalam surat dulu, dan juga saya mesti bikin 4 potret atau 5 dari dia punya kuda. Ini gambar saya taksir harga 600 Pruisische daalders.}</i><sup>60</sup></p>
---	---

‘Furthermore, I inform your Excellency that my work, the portrait of the Duke, is half finished, and the Duke is very pleased, the more so the Duchess of Kent (mother of the Queen of England). This picture is larger and takes more work than that which I already mentioned in my earlier letter, and I also have to make 4 portraits or 5 of his horses. These pictures I reckon to have a price of 600 Prussian thalers.’

*Raden Saleh*’s native language in which he was actually literate was apparently Javanese, and numerous inscriptions he made were in Javanese script,<sup>61</sup> From the above excerpt one gathers the impression that he acquired his Malay at the Dutch-run school in Cianjur and from discourse with Dutchmen, i.e. it is not an indigenous form of Malay, but the “Low” Malay of Dutch speakers, and probably close to Service Malay (*Dienst Maleis*) or Barracks Malay (*Kazerne* or *Tangsi Maleisch*).<sup>62</sup> In the following sections we will see that this excerpt from *Raden Saleh*’s correspondence provides an early example of the Malay typically spoken by the Dutch-educated indigenous gentry.

As in the case of the Bible translations, one finds in *Raden Saleh*’s Malay such features of Ambon/Manado Malay as the “reversed” possessive construction with *{punya}*. Only once does the Java Bazaar possessive with *{-nya}* occur: *{mamanya Ratu}* ‘mother of the Queen’. Meanwhile, a text passage by *Raden Saleh* cited by Kraus (2004: 24 n. 6) features the Bazaar plural personal pronoun *{dia-orang}* ‘they’.

*Raden Saleh*’s cosmopolitan upbringing was unique due to his rare painting talent. But even in the inner circles (*dalem*) of the princely palace (*kraton*) of Yogyakarta, even a commoner could profit from intercultural contacts. A prolific example was **Kassian Cephas**, the very first indigenous professional photographer. He was born in 1844 or 1845 to a Javanese commoner couple who gave him the name *Kassian*. He was baptized in 1860, taking the Christian name *Cephas*<sup>63</sup> that became his surname in 1889.

<sup>59</sup> See more of his biography in Bachtiar (1976), van Dijk (1986:11–15), Guillot & Labrousse (1997), Kraus (2004); see also Kraus (2012:33–36, 40–44, 47–59, 67).

<sup>60</sup> In the modern reendering on the right, a superfluous prefix (according to modern standards) is placed in brackets. The non-italicised words are Dutch (with corrected spelling where called for).

<sup>61</sup> Reproduced in Kraus (2004:2, 13, 27, and on the back cover).

<sup>62</sup> Cf. van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal (1891).

<sup>63</sup> Aramaic for ‘rock’, as the apostle Simon was called, i.e. Greek πέτρος, Latin *Petrus*, English *Peter*.



**Figure 2. Advertisement of Kassian Cephass's photo studio in issues no. 2 till 33 (Jan. 18 – May 13, 1877)<sup>64</sup> of the Dutch-language newspaper *Mataram* appearing in Yogyakarta**

In the 1860s he was trained as a photographer by **Simon Willem Camerik**, the court photographer of Yogyakarta. His talent soon gained recognition, and when Camerik left in 1871, Cephass was appointed the new court photographer. An important role was played by **Izaäc<sup>65</sup> Groneman**, the court physician in Yogyakarta. Having a particular interest in Javanese history and culture, Groneman in 1885 became co-founder of the Association for Archaeology, Geography, Linguistics and Ethnography at Yogyakarta (*Vereeniging voor Oudheid-, Land-, Taal- en Volkenkunde te Jogjakarta*). Cephass, who had meanwhile opened an own studio in the late 1870s (see Fig. 2), made photographs of court ceremonies and ancient temples etc. for the Association, and privately for Groneman who published them.<sup>66</sup> Having received many awards, including in particular the gold medal of Orange-Nassau in 1901, he died in November 1912.<sup>67</sup>

In the decadent aristocratic environment of strict pecking order, Cephass as a man of low birth advanced to become the first indigenous professional photographer. In this, Simon Camerik as his mentor, and Izaäc Groneman as his professional promoter, played key roles in making Cephass' social breakthrough possible (cf. Knaap 1999:25).

The brief liberal period of the early 19th century must have triggered a certain expectation, as if in anticipation of the sharp increase in “post-traditional” forms of employment after 1848. These expectations amongst potential employers and investors in that period of liberal economic policy were not discouraged by the conservative counterreforms that followed. Indeed, the 1819 survey of educational attainment among indigenes reported by van der Chijs (1864), quoted at the beginning of this section, must have reflected a concrete interest in appraising the potential availability of correspondingly educated indigenous employees and workers.

The alarming results of the survey could not fail to convince interested parties of the necessity of opening schools for the indigenous population. The establishment of teachers' schools in Surakarta in 1851 and in Bandung in 1866<sup>68</sup> should evidently be

<sup>64</sup> I could not access issue no. 1 (Jan. 15, 1877). I did browse through issues appearing after no. 33, but did not find the Cephass advertisement in them.

<sup>65</sup> In many publications, his first-name initial is given as *J.*

<sup>66</sup> Particularly photographic plates in special albums (Groneman 1888 with 17 photos; and 1895 with 25), as also in general publications (Groneman 1899: plates I–IV and VI–X between pp. 28–29, 32–33, 42–43, 44–45, 50–51, 56–57, 74–75; in the edition I consulted, a plate V was missing). Footnote 1 in Groneman (1885:434) says: ‘See the four photogrammes of Cephass, the photographer of H.H. the Sultan.’ However, there were no photographs in the library copy of the journal I consulted. This seems, nonetheless, to be the first mention of Kassian Cephass as court photographer.

<sup>67</sup> Biographic data are based on de Graaf (1980), Guillot (1981:61–73), and Knaap (1999:5–10, 15–23).

<sup>68</sup> Kroeskamp (1974: 304–305), Moriyama (1995).

seen in this context. It was apparently also a period in which many Europeans felt it necessary to make modern knowledge available to talented indigenes, be that an aristocratic *Raden Saleh* or the commoner *Kassian Cephas*.

It was under these circumstances that Philippus Pieter **Roorda van Eysinga** began the newspaper *Bintang Oetara* ('northern star') in February 1856, which was continued after his death in the same year by his son Willem Andries Philip. The newspaper was chiefly aimed at enlightenment. But the rather stiff price—it was edited in Rotterdam and printed in The Hague—and other factors forced it to cease publication in mid 1857 (see Adam 1995:20–21, and in section 7 below).

Another remarkable figure from this period was the prominent Indonesian-born Dutch expert in Sanskrit and Old Javanese, **Hendrik Kern**. It is perhaps not widely known, that he supported some Rotinese teachers in publishing what is probably the earliest linguistic contributions of Indonesian indigenes in a journal of international standing. The first is a Malay essay about Rotinese by **Manafe** (1889), from which the following excerpt from the introduction can serve as text sample:

<p><i>Adapun pada mĕnjĕbutkan sagala pĕ-kataän itu dĕngan sĕpatutnja, ja itu: sabagaimana diutjapkan oleh orang Rotti, maka pĕngarang mĕrasa baik akan mĕmakaikan bĕbĕrapa tanda ditulis diatas huruf jang bĕrbunji. Maka di tulis tanda jang matikan atau djazam (°) diatas a, ja itu å pada djadikan o jang pĕngutjapanja pĕndĕk; maka kata mådå (tĕmbakau) harus desĕbutkan saolih-olih tĕrtulis moddo. Pada mĕnunjuk a jang pandjang, maka ditulis diatas a suatu baris kĕtjil djadilah (ā) upama dalam pĕkataän n'dåla, låla, råra, n'dåra, dåra (kuda), saolih-olih tĕrtulis dĕngan dua a (aa).</i></p>	<p>{<i>Adapun pada menyebutkan segala perkataan itu dengan sepatutnya, yaitu: sebagaimana diucapkan oleh orang Roti, maka pengarang merasa baik akan memakaikan beberapa tanda ditulis di atas huruf yang berbunyi. Maka ditulis tanda yang matikan atau jazam (°) di atas a, yaitu å pada jadikan o yang pengucapannya pĕndĕk; maka kata mådå (tembakau) harus disebutkan seolah-olah tertulis moddo. Pada menunjuk a yang panjang, maka ditulis di atas a suatu baris kecil jadilah (ā) umpama dalam perkataan n'dåla, låla, råra, n'dåra, dåra (kuda), seolah-olah tertulis dengan dua a (aa).</i>}</p>
---	--

'In order to cite all the words appropriately, that is: the way they are pronounced by the Rotinese, this writer found it good to use some signs written over the letter of a vowel. Thus a devocalizing mark or *jazam* (°) is written over *a*, hence: *å*, to give a short *o*; so that the word *mådå* (tobacco) should be pronounced as if it were written *moddo*. To indicate a long *a*, a small bar is written over the *a* giving *ā*, for example *n'dåla, låla, råra, n'dåra, dåra* (horse), as if written with two *a*-s (*aa*).'

This is the first attempt at a phonological description by an indigene. Dutch has a short and a long *o*, /ɔ/ and /o:/ respectively, while Dutch *aa* spells a long /a:/. *Jazam* is the Malay rendering of Arabic *jazma* 'superscript ring diacritic to suppress the default vowel'. The corresponding Javanese-script diacritic is named *patĕn*, lit. 'that makes dead, that puts out', hence the Malay {*yang matikan*}, lit. 'that causes to become dead, that puts out'. Interesting is the use of *u* instead of *oe* for /u/, just as in the Rotinese-Malay wordlist of another Rotinese teacher promoted by Hendrik Kern, Tello (1890).

Another promoter of enlightenment was the agriculturist **Karel Frederik Holle**, 'the Dutchman who wanted to make Dutchmen out of Sundanese' and had to make a Sun-



danese out of himself first.<sup>69</sup> He promoted the education of young Sundanese. He wrote a manual for Javanese farmers (Holle 1871–1879) and had it translated into Sundanese by a pupil learning Dutch, *Raden Kartawinata* (Holle 1874–1879). Holle's instructions were also published in Malay by Gonggrijp (1866), and a subsequent version by Gerth van Wijk in Latin script (Holle 1876) and Jawi script (Holle 1877).

Kartawinata also published other Sundanese translations: the memoirs of the navigation of Capt. Bontekoe of Hoorn (Kartawinata 1874),<sup>70</sup> and a version of *Robinson Crusoe* to be discussed below. His sister, *Raden Ajoë Lasminingrat*, became involved in this too, for example with the translation of a children's story, *Carita Erman* (Lasminingrat 1875),<sup>71</sup> and a collection of fairytales published in 1876.<sup>72</sup>

Another indigene to get an early European schooling was *Sati gelar* Sutan Iskandar of the Nasution clan, a Mandailing Batak born in 1840 in Pidoli Lombang. After attending Panyabungan elementary school set up by the *Assistent Resident* of Mandailing-Angkola, **Alexander P. Godon**, he was employed by the latter as indigenous scribe (*adjunct inlandsch schrijver*). Returning to the Netherlands in 1857, Godon took Sati Nasution along. The latter was baptized in Arnhem in 1858 as Willem Iskander. After having attended an Amsterdam teachers school in 1859–1861, he returned to Mandailing in 1862.

He set up a teachers school in Tano Bato, and translated schoolbooks into Mandailing Batak: *Si Hendrik na Denggan Roa* (Padang, 1865; from N. Anslijn's *De Brave Hendrik*); *Barita na marragam* (Batavia, 1868; from a book by J.R.P.F. Gonggrijp); *Buku basaon* (Batavia, 1871; 2nd ed. 1884; from a reading book by W.C. Thurn); *Taringot di Ragam-Ragam ni Parbinotoan Dohot Sinaloan ni Alak Eropa* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1873); and wrote a reading book himself: *Si Boeloes-Boeloes Si Roemboek-Roemboek* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij 1872).<sup>73</sup>

A glimpse into the complexity of the cultural “cohabitation” between indigenes and Europeans in Indonesia of that time is provided by a book of recipes, published in Yogyakarta in a version of Java Bazaar spoken by Indonesian-born Dutchmen and Dutch-Indonesian Eurasians: Buning (1879)—see Fig. 3.

The following passage, from recipe no. 528 (on p. 135), includes a large number of Dutch words (not italicized in the righthand transliteration), some of which are practically confined to the colloquial Bazaar Malay of Dutch and Eurasian speakers. It also includes some Javanese words (highlighted on the right):

<p><i>Roti djawa (Javaansche broodjes.) Te-poong beras 5 mangkok thee, die tjampoor sama legèn 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> mangkok, abis die bikin beslag; lant as die rijsken 2 djam. Kalook soedah, die tambahie telor 8, goela pasir 3</i></p>	<p>{<i>Roti Jawa (Javaansche broodjes). Te-pung beras 5 mangkok téh, dicampur sama legèn 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> mangkok, habis dibikin beslag; lant as di-rijz-kan 2 jam. Kalau sudah, ditambahi telor 8, gula pasir 3</i></p>
--	--

<sup>69</sup> Van den Berge (1993:135); see also Janssen (1888).

<sup>70</sup> A Javanese version by the same translator (not seen) is reported for 1873 (van Limburg Brouwer 1877:309-310).

<sup>71</sup> From the Dutch *Hendrik van Eichenfels: Eene Vertelling voor Kinderen en Kindervrienden*, from a German original: *Wie Heinrich von Eichenfels zur Erkenntnis Gottes kam* by Christoph von Schmid.

<sup>72</sup> *Warnasari: atawa rupa-rupa dongèng*, tina basa Walanda kana basa Sunda [in Sundanese script]. Soerabaia: E. Fuhri & Co. (not seen).

<sup>73</sup> Biographic data were taken from van Dijk (1986: 15–17), Rodgers (2002), and Harahap (2007).

*mangkok, santen kanil 3 mangkok en garem 1 sendok thee; lantas die rames lagie, abis die bakar pake vorm poffertjes en apie die atas en die bawah. Njang die atas tarook banjak, en koeweehnja, djangan die balik-balik dalem pan.*

*mangkok, santan **kanil** 3 mangkok en garem 1 séndok téh; lantas dirames lagi, habis dibakar pakai vorm poffertjes en api di atas en di bawah. Yang di atas taruh banyak, en kuéhnya, jangan dibalik-balik dalam pan.*

‘Javanese breads (*id.*). 5 tea cups of rice flour is mixed with 1½ cups of sugar-palm sap, after that make batter of it; then let it rise 2 hours. When that is done, add 8 eggs, 3 cups of sugar, 3 cups of coconut cream and 1 tea spoon of salt; then mix again, after that bake [*lit.* burn] it using a *poffertjes* form and a fire above and below. That which is above put a lot [of coals], and do not turn over the cakes in the pan.’

Read *oo* as /o:/ (not /u/). Dutch *rijz[en]* ‘[to] rise’ is misspelled with *s* instead of *z*, a frequent error of indigenous, Eurasian, and some Indonesian-born European speakers who pronounced Dutch surd voiced *z* as voiceless *s*. The misspelled word is embedded in a Malay verb-form with the passive prefix *di-* and Bazaar causative suffix *-ken*. Dutch *vorm* ‘form’ is spelled correctly with *v*. Frequent in such texts is the Dutch conjunction *en* ‘and’. Malay Bazaarisms are *sama* as instrumental preposition (instead of *dengan*), and *abis* {*habis*} or *lantas* ‘[and] then’ instead of *lalu* or *kemudian*. Also worth noting is the presence of a final glottal (spelled *-k*) in *kalook* {*kalau*} ‘if, when’ and *tarook* {*taruh*} ‘put’.

Dutch *poffertjes* are small lense-shaped batter cakes made in a special pan with round concavities in which they are formed. It is particularly illustrative of the cultural intermixing that was taking place: a “Javanese” pastry is made in a specific Dutch baking pan generally unknown even in Europe outside the Netherlands and Scandinavia.<sup>74</sup>

The ingredients, meanwhile, exclude the possibility that this was a locally adapted Dutch recipe. One could imagine Javanese *kanil*—a thick cream which gathers at the top when coconut milk (Malay *santan*) is warmed—as a replacement for European milk cream, but Javanese *legèn* refers to the sweet sap obtained from the arenga or also coconut palm (Malay *nira*) which, when the water is boiled off, thickens to a brown palm sugar. It cannot be a replacement for (European) sugar here, because the recipe has {*gula pasir*} ‘granulated (cane) sugar’ for that. Heating from above (with burning coals on the high-rimmed lid) was an essential technique in cooking so-called *spekkoek*, a cinnamon flavoured layer cake from the Moluccas, consisting of pancakes successively baked on top of each other—only possible with heating from above.

Already in the Malay title page, shown in Fig. 3, one notes the Dutch conjunction *en* ‘and’, and the vernacular cognate *Blanda* ‘Dutch’ of the variants *Holanda* ~ *Olanda* (also *Oelanda*) ~ *Wolanda* (sometimes with geminated *-ll-*) of more serious contemporaneous publications.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Such a pan is apparently known in Denmark as *æbleskivepande*, and in Norway as *munkepanne*. A similar pan seems also to be known in Sweden.

<sup>75</sup> From Portuguese *Hollanda* (with mute *h-*), rendered in Jawi-script as *w·l·a·n·d* (ولاند) which was in turn Latinized as *Wolanda* ~ *Walanda*. A tendency in some variants of Malay to shift initial *w* to *b* apparently led to *Belanda* ~ *Blanda*.

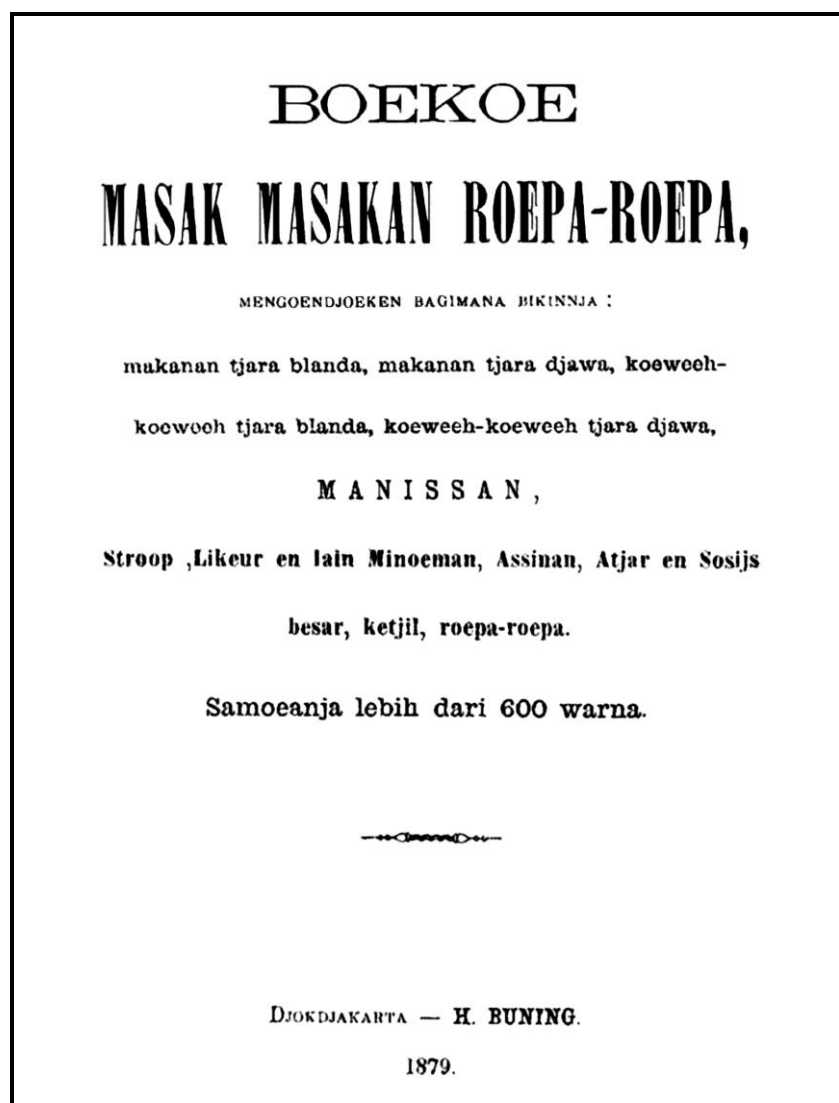


Figure 3. Title page of a recipe book in a Eurasian colloquial Malay (Buning 1879): ‘Cook book for all kinds of dishes, shows how to make: Dutch dishes, Javanese dishes, Dutch cakes, Javanese tarts, sweetmeats, syrup, liqueur and other drinks, salted vegetables, pickles and large, small, all kinds of sausages. Altogether more than 600 items.’

#### 4. Language policy and language expertise

On the eve of the Renaissance, a classicist prescriptive language tradition was challenged by a descriptive principle based on actually spoken language. An awakening middle class critically reviewed the cosmopolitan traditions of a decadent aristocracy. In the Netherlands, this was expressed in the first Dutch grammar of Spieghel (1584:1) who expounded the return to inherited words and abandonment of loanwords from French—the elitist language of distinction. In the 16th–17th centuries this became a puristic campaign to preserve Dutch as a “self-respecting language” by fighting such “contaminations” (Jansen 1999). But with regard to Malay language policy, Dutch experts and officials continued to hold on to the conservative views of Leydekker and Werndly, cf. Pijnappel (1865:157), an *indologie* lecturer in Delft:

For when one has thoroughly penetrated the knowledge of a language and of the literary products composed therein, insofar as such are extant, then one

may, from the connection which exists between its character and that of the nation, draw conclusions with regard to this latter. Well now Low Malay is not a language and thus has no character. Just imagine a poet in Low Malay! It is a logical contradiction.<sup>76</sup>

Nonetheless, language specialists were increasingly conscious of the significance of vernacular dialects of Malay. Thus, Roorda van Eysinga (1839) supplemented his Malay grammar with a Malay-Dutch dictionary that explicitly included “Low” Malay, so too in the improved edition (Roorda van Eysinga 1855)—to both of which I will return below. But in official policy the conservative attitude prevailed, at least in school education. This was prescribed in the General Regulations (*Algemeen Reglement*) on education for indigenes in government schools, issued as decree of the Governor General of May 3, 1871 (*StbNI 1872* no. 99, article 28, on p. 6):

... the Malay shall be taught according to the rules and the spelling of the pure Malay that is commonly employed on the Malacca Peninsula and in the Riau Archipelago.<sup>77</sup>

This was easier said than done. Speakers of High Malay were practically not available as writers or teachers. When such writers could be found, their texts, typically in Jawi script in which the vowels are usually not explicitly indicated, had to be transliterated. One consequence of this was—as noted by van der Tuuk (1886:974)—that that which passed for Riau Malay in publications of even the experts was far from uniform, often enough interspersed with such an incoherent rendering of Low Malay that the author called it *Brabbelmaleisch* ‘Gibberish Malay’.<sup>78</sup>

Van der Toorn (1887: 36), meanwhile, described the situation as follows:

One so often complains that the teachers of Malay here, and to no lesser degree such that come from a teachers school, speak such a strange Malay; but how could it be otherwise, when they in the main only learn rules regarding a dialect that is for one unknown to them, that they don't speak or hear spoken anywhere except in school, and the particularities of which they assume to have to implement in their own speech, not comprehending how crooked and incorrect the resulting expression must become.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> *Want wanneer men in de kennis eener taal en de literarische producten, darin vervat, zoo die aanwezig zijn, geheel is doorgedrongen, dan zal men uit het verband, dat er tusschen het karakter daarvan en dat van het volk bestaat, gevolgetrekkingen kunnen maken ten opzicht van dit laatste. Maar nu is het Laag-Maleisch geen taal en heeft dus geen karakter. Denk u eens een dichter in het Laag-Maleisch! 't is eene logische contradictie.*

<sup>77</sup> *... het Maleisch zal worden onderwezen volgens de regelen en de spelling van het op de schiereiland Malakka en in den Riouw-archipel algemeen gebezigde zuiver Maleisch.*

<sup>78</sup> Occasionally regarded as reference to the Low Malay of indigenous speakers, but van der Tuuk was clearly referring to the Malay of Dutch functionaries. Their Malay was later just as critically dismissed, perhaps exaggeratedly so, as *jammerlijke brabbeltaal* ‘pitiable gibberish’ by Drewes (1948:24), see on this point also Steinhauer (1980:358). Authentic indigenous varieties of Low Malay, van der Tuuk explicitly indicated, were not *brabbeltaal* (Grijns 1996:365–366).

<sup>79</sup> *Men klaagt er zoo dikwijls over, dat de Maleische onderwijzers hier, en zij die van een kweek-school komen niet in de geringste mate, zulk vreemd Maleisch spreken; doch hoe kan het anders, waar zij in hoofdzaak alleen regels leeren omtrent een dialect dat hem ten eenemale onbekend is, dat zij nergens anders spreken of hooren spreken dan op school, en waarvan zij het eigenaardige vermeenen te moeten toepassen op hun eigen taal, niet begrijpende hoe krom en onjuist dan de gedachte uitdrukking moet worden.*

Gibberish or not, the resulting Malay, could indeed feature stylistic dropouts apt to “shock” the purist language expert. This is particularly evident in translations of official and legal texts, to which I will return in the next section.

A serious attempt to improve acquaintance with Riau and Johore Malay was made by Hermann von de Wall in cooperation with *Haji Ibrahim*, a remarkable professionally and intellectually agile Malay dignitary on the island of Penyengat immediately opposite Tanjung Pinang (see van der Putten 2001:ix, 1). Dialogues in Johore Malay were published (part I: *Ibrāhīm* 1868; part II not seen: 1872) in Jawi script with a parallel Latin-script transliteration by H. von de Wall. Then followed a collection of 386 Malay *pantun* verses (*Ibrāhīm* 1877), similarly in parallel renderings in the two scripts.

Von de Wall employed special diacritics in his Latin-script transliteration. A macron was placed over vowels that were spelled as long vowels in Jawi script, for which the digraph *oe* /u/ was fused to a ligature (ā) in the text, but not on the title page. An underdot under *e* indicated schwa, and under some consonants indicated Jawi-script special characters, e.g. *ḳ* for *qaf* (ق) as contrasted to *k* for *kaf* (ك). The character ʾ was introduced for ‘ain (ع), while the Jawi-script *hamzah* (ء) was retained as such. The following excerpt is from the beginning of the Dialogs (*Ibrāhīm* 1868:3):

<p><i>Perkāra rādja dimāna kita tāhoe? Seḡadar mēndengngar-2 chabar dāto* Bandar sahadja. Bāekankah tēwan Anggelbeḡ ke-tjil<sup>80</sup> dādoeḡ digēdoeng kēboe reḡtang? Tēwan Anggelbeḡ itoe djadi komisāris dari pada gāewernemen. Adālah pekerdjāan-nja dātang itoe, mēmātoesken bahagīan tānah.</i></p>	<p>{<i>Perkara raja dimana kita tahu? Sekadar mendengar-dengar khabar datuk Bandar sahaja. Bukankah tuan Angelbeek kecil duduk di gedung kubu rentang? Tuan Angelbeek itu jadi komisaris daripada gubernemen. Adalah pekerjaannya datang itu, memutuskan bahagian tanah.</i>}</p>
---	---

‘As for matters of the king, what do we know? I only overheard the report of *Datu*’ Bandar. Does not Mr. [Christian van] Angelbeek sit in the building of the transversal fortification? Mr. Angelbeek is commissioner of the government. It is his task there to come and decide the distribution of land.’

The (short) vowels in Jawi script are not usually indicated explicitly, the reader being expected to know the implied vowels.<sup>81</sup> Hence, when the reader speaks a different dialect of Malay, one with a different vowel correspondence, the rendering of the text would no longer follow the dialect of the writer, but that of the reader. For example, von de Wall Latinized verse no. 36 (*Ibrāhīm* 1877:9) as follows:

<p><i>Anak enggang ditepi seḡāra; Ikan selāngat tēwan hēmpasken. Kāloe seḡerti mēnggenggam bāra; Berāsa hanḡet, tēwan lepasken.</i></p>	<p>{<i>Anak enggang di tepi segara; Ikan selangat tuan hēmpaskan. Kalau seḡerti mēnggenggam bara; Berasa hangat, tuan lepaskan.</i>}</p>
---	--

<sup>80</sup> It is unclear to me, how to interpret *ketjil* {*kecil*} here (lit. ‘small, minor, lesser’). For ‘junior’ one would more likely have used Malay *muda*.

<sup>81</sup> Van der Putten (2001:ix) expressed this as follows: *it remains a captivating brain teaser trying to make out the words by writing down the skeleton of consonants and figuring out what the vocals should be to make a Malay word out of it.*

‘A hornbill chick on the ocean’s shore; / to it a gizzard-shad<sup>82</sup> do throw.  
Were it like holding a burning coal; / feeling the heat, do let it go.’

The quoted verse was chosen because it united all the relevant deviations that otherwise did not occur in such concentration. Standard literary Malay did not tolerate a schwa in an ultimate closed syllable. An original schwa in that position was typically shifted to *a*. In the above, the editor vocalized the ultimate syllable of some words with schwa in conformity with Java Bazaar Malay,<sup>83</sup> i.e. in the suffix *-kən* {-kan} (in *hempaskən* ‘throw before [something]’, *lepaskən* ‘let go’; also in *mēmātoeskən* ‘decide upon’ of the previous quotation) and in *hanget* {*hangat*}<sup>84</sup> ‘warm, hot’. The Bazaar cognate of the latter is *anget*, but initial *h-* of the Riau-Johore mode, given in *Haji Ibrahim*’s Jawi-script spelling, confirms that the underlying text was indeed not in vernacular Bazaar, and that only von de Wall’s vocalization was Bazaar influenced.

The Jawi-script character for *w*, *wau* (و), can spell *w*, *o*, *u*, or the diphthong *au*. The word *kalau* ‘if’, Jawi script *k·a·l·w* (كالو) was misread by the editor as *kalu*, a variant pronunciation (besides *kalo*) of a widespread vernacular cognate of the word in Java.

Actually, linguistic expertise already existed at that time. A talented scholar of eastern languages, Philippus Pieter Roorda van Eysinga, commissioned to compile a Dutch-Malay dictionary, published it with the Malay glosses in Jawi as well as Latin script (Roorda van Eysinga 1824) — see Fig. 4. Back in the Netherlands, he published a Malay grammar with a supplemented dictionary of High and Low Malay (Roorda van Eysinga 1839). It was reedited as Dutch-Malay dictionary, declared to include the ‘court, folk, and low language’ (*hof-, volks- en laage taal*; Roorda van Eysinga 1855). After he died in 1856,<sup>85</sup> his son Willem Andries continued his work by publishing a Latin-script Malay-Dutch dictionary (Roorda van Eysinga 1877).

Although based on Jawi-script Malay, both senior and junior authors avoided the Bazaar vocalization of ultimate-syllables with schwa, using, for example, spellings such as *dâpat* ‘get’, *dâtang* ‘come’, *tangkap* ‘catch’ (Bazaar *dapet*, *dateng*, *tangkep* respectively). However, schwa before a medial rhotic remained deleted in all four cited dictionaries, e.g. *brat* ‘heavy’, *trang* ‘clear’ (modern standard *berat*, *terang*).

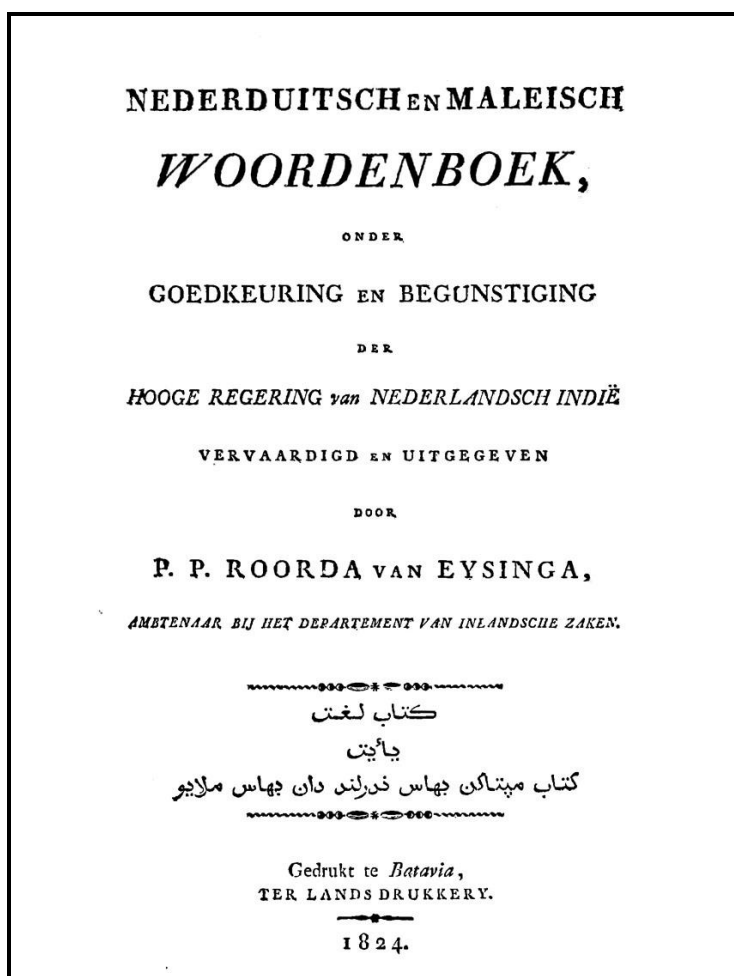
With regard to the suppressed schwa even in presentations of standard Malay, the situation improved in the last quarter of the 19th century, e.g. in the Jawi- and Latin-script Malay-Dutch dictionary originally compiled by Herman von de Wall, but reedited by official commission by van der Tuuk (1877–1884) who was known for his high expertise. The last words cited above are spelled with explicit schwa (*berat* and *terang*). The same is true for the even earlier published dictionary of Pijnappel (1875), in which the cited words are spelled *bĕrat* and *tĕrang*. Thus, standard literary vocalization, like that given in 20th-century publications was already represented in late 19th century Dutch-edited scholarly dictionaries of Malay.

<sup>82</sup> *Ikan selangat* ‘k.o. sea fish, shortnose gizzard shad, chacunda shad, *Anodontostoma chacunda* = *Dorosoma chacunda* = *Gonostoma javanicum*’.

<sup>83</sup> Surprising, because von de Wall had gone to live in Riau to learn the local dialect (Grijns 1996: 366) in direct contact with *Haji Ibrahim* (see van der Putten 2001). Von de Wall’s inbred rendering of the suffix {-kan} as *-ken* with schwa was already noted by van der Tuuk (Grijns 1996:364).

<sup>84</sup> Note that already the dictionary of Roorda van Eysinga (1839: suppl. p. 41) had *hângat*. That of Pijnappel (1875:10, 143) had *angat* ~ *hangat*.

<sup>85</sup> See his biography by Wap (1857:12–29).



**Figure 4. Title page of the first official Dutch and Malay dictionary, that of Roorda van Eysinga (1824). The Jawi-script parallel title: *Kitāb loġhat ya'itu kitāb mengatākan bahāsa nederland dān bahāsa melāyū* {*Kitab logat yaitu kitab mengatakan bahasa Nederland dan bahasa Melayu*} 'Book of way of speaking, that is the book to say Dutch and Malay.'**

It is remarkable that the junior Roorda van Eysinga published a popular instruction on "Low Malay", appearing in four editions (1857, 1866, 1879, c. 1880, seen as 2nd and 4th editions).<sup>86</sup> The Malay dialects it taught included Bazaar, Betawi, and Ambon, cf. the personal pronouns *kita* ~ *saja* {*saya*} ~ *goewa* {*gua* ~ *gué*}<sup>87</sup> ~ *béjta*<sup>88</sup> 'I, me', *loe* {*lu*}<sup>89</sup> ~ *kówé*<sup>90</sup> 'thou', *dia* ~ *ieja* 'he', *kita orang* etc. 'we', *loe orang* etc. 'you', *marika itoe* {*meréka itu*} 'they' (Roorda van Eysinga 1866:4).

<sup>86</sup> The Dutch book title (see bibliographic reference) translates as: 'Collection of a multitude of necessary conversations with indigenes of all classes in the Low-Malay language, preceded by a brief grammar of that language, such as that spoken and understood by lower Malays, and that for the convenience of those who depart to India [i.e. the Indies]'

<sup>87</sup> Already cited for 'Malay as spoken in Batavia' by Parkinson (1773:233) as *gooa* 'me'. It is a loan from Chinese 我, Pinyin *wǒ*, Xiamen (a.k.a. Amoy) *goá* (Douglas 1899:110) 'I, me'.

<sup>88</sup> Ambon Malay *béta* 'I, me'.

<sup>89</sup> Parkinson (1773:233) has *loo* 'you'; cf. Chinese 汝, Pinyin *rǔ*, Tong'an *lú* (Douglas 1899:323) 'thou'.

<sup>90</sup> This is low-register (*ngoko*) Javanese of the dialect spoken in Central Java.

## 5. Adapting Malay to modern legal formulations

As noted in section 2, the earliest indigenous communities under direct European administration were Christian communities in the east of the Archipelago. The earliest colonial administrative and judicial records in Malay are also from the east, and include, for example, two bilingual Dutch and Malay documents from 1817 and 1829, studied by van Minde (n.d.). The following are a Dutch passage (left) and the corresponding Malay (right) from an 1829 verdict of the *Grote Landraad* court:<sup>91</sup>

*Dan wel verder van hier aan te voldoen bleven deze muitelingen/ verhard in het kwaad/ in hun oproer persisteren en weigerden zich aan het gouvernement te onderwerpen, hetwelk ten gevolge had, dat Z.E. den Commissaris Generaal Buijskes wiens geduld door zoo veel euvelmoed getergd ten einde liep; bij Publicatie in do 14e februarij 1818 verscheiden hoofden van den opstand vogelvrij verklaarde.*

‘Then far from complying to this [offer], these mutineers—obdurate in their evilness—persisted in their insurrection and refused to submit to the Government, which had the consequence, that his Honor the Commissioner General Buyskes,<sup>92</sup> whose patience, provoked by so much wantonness, was exhausted; declared with Publication of 14th February 1818 that the respective leaders of the revolt were outlawed.’<sup>93</sup>

*Djika ada djawoh pada memponohkan ini, itu awrang<sup>2</sup> djahat sudah mening'gal dengan kekerasan didalam kadjahatan dan haru biru dan sudah angaan pada datang melindang kepada Pemarentah jang mana lagi djadi peng'ikatan'nja maka jang ter'utama Commissaris Generaal Buijskes ampunja sabar pada sabagitu rupa kadjahatan sudah djadi meng'usarij dan habis, bagij Pemberitahuwan terharij 14 februarij 1818 kabanja'an deri kapala<sup>2</sup> huro-hara denjatakan pada pembunuh awleh sijapa jang akan mendapat di'awrang.*

{*Jika ada jauh pada memenuhkan ini, itu orang-orang jahat sudah meninggal dengan kekerasan di dalam kejahatan dan haru biru dan sudah enggan pada datang melindungi kepada Pemerintah yang mana lagi jadi pengikatannya maka yang terutama Commissaris Generaal Buijskes empunya sabar pada sabagitu rupa kejahatan sudah jadi mengusari dan habis, bagi Pemberitahuan terhari 14 februari 1818 kebanyakan dari kepala-kepala huru-hara dinyatakan pada pembunuh oleh siapa yang akan mendapat diorang.*<sup>94</sup>}

The English gloss is of the Dutch text. The Malay text is hardly comprehensible, and shows the Dutch translator’s limited proficiency in Malay. What it literally says is:

If it is far at fullfilling this, these evil people have remained<sup>95</sup> with violence in criminality<sup>96</sup> and uproar, and have been unwilling to come for protection to the Government which was their binding so that the patience of the

<sup>91</sup> Van Minde's (n.d.) reading at the *Arsip Nasional*, Jakarta, in the Ambon collection, number 67/5.

<sup>92</sup> Arnold Adriaan Buyskes, Lieutenant Governor General over Dutch colonial troops 1807–1809, was named as Commissioner General 1814, and sent in 1817 to Ambon to suppress the rebellion there (Paulus 1917:424–425).

<sup>93</sup> I.e. free to be killed on the spot.

<sup>94</sup> This (beside *dorang*) is an Ambon-Malay cognate of Bazaar Malay *dia-orang* (cf. Prentice 1994:424).

<sup>95</sup> *Meninggal* normally means ‘to die’, but apparently has a superfluous *meN-* prefix here, and should be interpreted as *tinggal* ‘remain’.

<sup>96</sup> *Kadjahatan* {*kejahatan*}, literally ‘evildoing’, has come to mean ‘crime, criminality’, but may at that time still have been used literally.



principal Commissioner General Buijskes at such kind of criminality was already made angry and finished, for the Announcement dated 14 February 1818 most of the uproar leaders were declared for killer by anyone who will get them.

With direct colonial administration of Java and Sumatra, concepts pertaining to an industrial-age civil society had to be conveyed to peoples whose socio-economic development had been arrested at a late medieval phase. Cf. the enlistment form (*aannemings-billet*) for indigenous crewmen in the Netherlands East Indies Navy in Dutch and Malay in *StbNI* **1863** no. 116a, on p. 15. The main part is shown in Table 1.

There is Bazaar Malay deletion of schwa before a medial rhotic (*prahoe* {*perahu*} ‘boat’, *prang* {*perang*} ‘war’, *trima* {*terima*} ‘receive’, *priksa* {*periksa*} ‘examine’), possessive with {-*nya*} in {*permintaannya siapa*} ‘whose request’. For ‘born’ (*geboren*) there is an artificial \**diberanakin* derived from Malay *beranak* ‘have a child’ with the prefix *di-* and the Betawi suffix *-in*, corresponding to standard Malay *-kan*.<sup>97</sup> Also Betawi is *ma* {*mak*} ‘mother’ with final glottal stop,<sup>98</sup> spelled *k* in standard orthography, but often dropped—as here—by European authors. The rendering of Malay *pulau* ‘island’ as *poeloe* (read *pulu*) was frequent in the Malay of Dutch speakers. Note also the antiquated Dutch spelling *gagie* (modern {*gage*}) ‘pay, wage, salary’, the precursor of Malay *gaji* {*gaji*} ‘id.’.<sup>99</sup> The term for ‘indigenous’ (*inlandsche*) is given as *bangsa Islam*, lit. ‘Islamic ethnicity’,<sup>100</sup> although there was the Malay expression: *anak negeri*, lit. ‘child of the polity’.<sup>101</sup> One problem was that Malay verbs have no past tense. Early treatments often used the adverb {*sudah*} ‘already’ as past-tense marker. Hence, Dutch *aangenomen* ‘accepted’ is translated as {*sudah diterima*} ‘already accepted’, and *gevisiteerd* ‘examined’ as {*sudah diperiksa*} ‘already examined’. A native speaker would simply leave out {*sudah*}.

At the bottom of the form was a standard statement of acceptance, representing an early attempt at such legal formulations in Malay:

<p><i>Jang bertanda tangan di bawah ini menjatakan jang atas perdjandjian perdjandjian terseboet di atas ini dia soedah masoek bekerdja dan soedah dengar di batja perkara perkara dari hal peprang-an pada hari ini ia-ieto ..... hari boelan ..... tahun ..... di .....</i></p>	<p>{<i>Yang bertanda tangan di bawah ini menyatakan yang atas perjanjian-perjanjian tersebut di atas ini dia sudah masuk bekerja dan sudah dengar dibaca perkara-perkara dari hal peperangan pada hari ini yaitu ..... hari bulan ..... tahun ..... di .....</i>}</p>
---	---

‘The undersigned declares to have entered employment under the conditions indicated above, and that the articles of the martial code (*krijgs-artikelen*) have been read to him today, the ..... day of the month ..... year ..... in .....

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Chaer (1982:XXVIII no. 4, XXXII no. 26). Roorda van Eysinga (1877:5 sub *anaq*) has *di pèr-ânaqkan* ‘be born’. The modern Arabism *lahir* ‘be born’ is first noted in Klinkert (1902:862).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. *ma*’ (Chaer 1982:228) ~ *mak* (Chaer 2009:267).

<sup>99</sup> *Gagie* occurs in Cornelis Kiliaen’s 1599 *Etymologicum teutonicæ linguæ* (De Vries 1992:180), and in a 1652 Dutch text (Kraack 1996:242). For Malay it is cited as *gâdjie* by Roorda van Eysinga (1839:34).

<sup>100</sup> Hindu Bali was not under Dutch rule, but Christian communities in East and Central Indonesia were.

<sup>101</sup> *Anak negeri* appears on the title pages of *Daftar* (1882; 1884; 1891; 1892), and *Ichtisar* (1894). It is also cited as *anaq négri* ‘indigene (*inboorling*)’ by Roorda van Eysinga (1877:5 sub *anaq*).

The calque of Dutch *handtekening* ‘signature’ (lit. ‘hand-signing’, *teken* ‘sign’) as Malay *tanda tangan* was already common in the mid 19th century.<sup>102</sup> Note the Bazaar Malay suffix *-ken* (*menjatakan* {*menyatakan*} ‘declare’), and loss of schwa before a rhotic in *peprang-an* {*peperangan*} ‘warfare’ (also *prang* ‘war’ in Table 1). The hyphen in the latter, and in *bilang-an* {*bilang-an*} ‘number’, is to indicate that the preceding consonant is the final coda of the word base. Cf also *di branak-in* {*\*diberanakin*} ‘be born’ in Table 1.

The increasing number of indigenous workers and employees in industrial-age professional relations required their acquaintance with official documents, and these often included an explicit order that translations be placed on public display.<sup>103</sup> Consequently, there was a growing volume of translations and published legal texts produced by the government or privately. However, the inexperience of translators and missing means of expression in Malay predictably led to problems. The following is from a text (*StbNI* 1848 no. 16) privately translated and published by van den Berg (1880:1):

<p>1. <i>Njang misti djalanken polisie dan tjari orang njang bekin kasalahan kadjahatan dan pelanggaran antara orang Djawa dan lain bangsa njang terseboot di bawah ini, toeroot begimana lebarnya tempat njang ada di bawah parintanja masing masing, ia itoe:</i></p>	<p>{1. <i>Yang mesti jalankan polisi dan cari orang yang bikin kesalahan kejahatan dan pelanggaran antara orang Jawa dan lain bangsa yang tersebut di bawah ini, turut bagaimana lebarnya tempat yang ada di bawah perintahnya masing-masing, yaitu:</i>}</p>
---	---

‘Those who must carry out policing and find persons who commit criminal wrongdoing and violations amongst persons of Javanese and other ethnicities mentioned below, so too how wide the extent is that lies under the command of each of them, are:’

Noteworthy are: prenasalization of the relative marker {*yang*} as *njang*; the Betawi suffix {-*ken*} in *djalanken* ‘carry out’; the possessive copula *-nja* {-*nya*} in {*lebarnya tempat*} ‘width of the place’ and {*perintahnya masing-masing*} ‘[the] command of each respective one’. In some parts of Java a /u/ (spelled in Dutch as *oe*) in the ultimate syllable is lowered to /o/ (spelled *oo*), as in *terseboot* {*tersebut*} ‘[that are] mentioned’, *toeroot* {*turut*} ‘join, come along, so too’. Betawi variants of individual words are *begimana* for standard {*bagaimana*} ‘how’, and *misti* for {*mesti*} ‘must’ (cf. Chaer 1982:66 sub *begimanè*,<sup>104</sup> 243 sub *misti*).

<sup>102</sup> Abdullah Munsyi describes a first acquaintance with it: ‘The Tumenggung responded: “Of what use is a signature, Sir? My tongue already suffices”. The raja Farquhar responded: “Well in the custom of us whites, one needs a signature, so that our concord does not change”.’ (*Maka jawab Temenggung: “Apa guna tandah-tangan, tuan? Lidah sahaya ini sudah cukup”*. *Maka jawab Raja Farquhar: “Adapun dalam ‘adat kita orang-putih, maulah dengan tandah tangan, supaya jangan berubah2 wa ‘ad kita”*, Besar & Roolvink 1953:174). Albeit, signatures were already becoming established, and in Riau, *tanda tangan* occurs c. six times in the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* edition of Matheson Hooker (1991), while in Sumbawa it occurs c. 20 times in the *Bo’ Sangaji Kai*, e.g. *Kemudian daripada itu maka Abdul Muslimin bertanda tangan serta bersumpah atas Qur’an* ‘After that Abdul Muslimin made a signature and swore on the Qoran’ (Chambert-Loir & Salahuddin 1999:345).

<sup>103</sup> For example, *StbNI* 1859 no. 26 on implementing the law in Riau had to be, “insofar necessary, displayed in the native and Chinese languages” (*voor zoo veel noodig, in de Inlandsche en Chineesche talen aangeplakt worden*).

<sup>104</sup> Cf. also *bagémana* ~ *bagaimana* ~ *begimana* ~ *bagimana* ~ *begimanè* ~ *pagémana* ~ *pagimana* ~ *pegimana* ~ *pegimana*’ (Grijns 1991:125 #10.401).

**Table 1. Texts of the main parts of the Dutch and Malay versions of an enlistment form for indigenous crewmen in *StbNI* 1863 no. 116a**

<p><i>AANNEMINGS-BILLET van</i>  <i>Bij het korps Inlandsche schepelingen,</i>  <i>dienstdoende aan boord von Z. Ms. schep-</i>  <i>en en vaartuigen van oorlog in Neder-</i>  <i>landsch-Indië.</i>  <i>als ..... op de gagie van f ..... 's maands.</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>Geboren te .....den ..... eiland .....</i>  <i>Residentie .....</i>  <i>laatste verblijf .....</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>Waar aangenomen, op welke voorwaar-</i>  <i>de, en op wiens magtiging [sic] of</i>  <i>verzoek dezelve is geschied.</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>Door wien gevisiteerd.</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>Bevorens gediend.</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>Vaders naam ..... Moeders naam .....</i></p>	<p><i>SOERAT PENERIMA-AN dari</i>  <i>pada bilang-an atau pasoean orang-</i>  <i>orang kapal bangsa Islam, bekerdja di</i>  <i>kapal kapal dan prahoe Prang dari sri</i>  <i>maha Radja di tanah Hindi-Nederlan</i>  <i>Seperti ..... dengan mendapat gadji .....</i>  <i>roepijah tiap-tiap boelan.</i>  <i>Di branak-in di ..... pada .... hari boelan</i>  <i>..... tahoen, poeloe ..... Residentie .....</i>  <i>tingal dihoeloe di .....</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>Di mana soedah di trima, atas perdjian</i>  <i>djian apa dan atas koewasa atau per-</i>  <i>mintaannya siapa soedah djadi itoe.</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>Soedah di priksa siapa.</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>Diehoeloe bekerdja di mana.</i></p> <hr/> <p><i>Nama Bapanja ..... Nama Manja .....</i></p>
--	---

‘ENLISTMENT FORM for persons doing service with the corps of indigenous crewmen on board of H.M.’s ships and vessels of war in Netherlands Indies

as ..... for a pay of..... guilders a month.

Born in ..... on ....., [on the] island ....., [in the] Residentie .....

formerly lived in .....

‘Where accepted, on what conditions, and by whose authority or request that was performed.’

‘By whom examined’

‘former service’

‘Father’s name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mother’s name \_\_\_\_\_’

{SURAT PENERIMAAN dari pada bilangan atau pasukan orang-orang kapal bangsa Islam, bekerja di kapal-kapal dan perahu perang dari Sri Maharaja di tanah Hindia-Néderland

Seperti ..... dengan mendapat gaji ..... Rupiah tiap-tiap bulan.

Diberanakkan di ..... pada ..... hari bulan ..... tahun, pulau .....,

Résidénsi .....

tinggal dahulu di .....

{Dimana sudah diterima, atas perjanjian apa dan atas kuasa atau permintaannya siapa sudah jadi itu.}

{Sudah diperiksa siapa.}

{Dahulu bekerja dimana.}

{Nama Bapaknya \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nama Maknya \_\_\_\_\_}

Nonetheless, the text is not Bazaar or Betawi Malay, but an apparent attempt by someone who had learned Malay quite well in a vernacular Malay environment to produce “pure” Malay. He occasionally even overshoots his aim, as with the superfluous rhotic of *per-* in *perlanggaran* {*pelanggaran*} ‘transgression’.

One finds what is apparently a more East Javanese variant of Bazaar Malay in an anonymous translation of instructions for police, privately published in Surabaya (Boekoe Peratoeran 1888:3):

8. *Saben toedjoe hari sekali pada hari jang di tentoeken Kepala dessa misti mengadep pada Kepala districtnja dan kasi taoe segala perkara jang soeda kedjadian di dalem toedjoe hari yang soeda, ...* {8. *Saban tujuh hari sekali pada hari yang ditentukan[,] Kepala désa mesti menghadap pada Kepala districtnya dan kasih tahu segala perkara yang sudah kejadian di dalam tujuh hari yang sudah, ...*}

‘8. Once every seven days on the day which was specified, the head of the village common must appear before the head of his district and report [*lit.* let know] all matters that have happened in the foregone seven days, ...’

*Saben* ‘every, each’ is a Bazaar Malay Javanism, rendered *saban* in modern Indonesian Malay (cf. Klinkert 1902:460 sub *sabĕn*; Zain 1957:651 sub *saban* and *saben*). A week is named explicitly as ‘seven days’, perhaps because in Java one traditionally had a five-day market week, *pasar*, also known as *pancawara*.

Another privately published document may serve to demonstrate a West-Javanese dialectal variant, a collection of documents regulating the use of free lands to the west of the River Cimanuk. The following is an excerpt (Atoeran 1888:5):

*Fasal 6. Djikaloe toean tanah, atas belandja dan tanggoengannja sendiri, soeroeh loekoeken, atau peroesahaken (garap) tanah-tanah hoetan, atau tanah jang belon di kasi seperti sewa poesaka, oleh orang-orang koeli-koeli, dengan bajaran tiap-tiap hari, maka orang-orang jang bekedja koelian itoe, tiadalah di pandang seperti mendapat sewa poesaka atas tanah jang di loekoeken olehnja.* {*Pasal 6. Jikalau tuan tanah, atas belanja dan tanggungannya sendiri, suruh lukkan, atau perusahakan (garap) tanah-tanah hutan, atau tanah yang belum dikasih seperti séwa pusaka, oléh orang-orang kuli-kuli, dengan bayaran tiap-tiap hari, maka orang-orang yang bekerja kuliaan itu, tiadalah dipandang seperti mendapat séwa pusaka atas tanah yang dilukukan oléhnya.*}

‘Paragraph 6. If a landlord, at his own expense and responsibility, orders that forest lands, or lands which have not yet been given in hereditary tenure, be plowed or cultivated by daily-paid coolies, then these coolie-workers are not considered to have acquired hereditary tenure of the land which they plow.’

Concepts of indigenous cultural tradition often were adapted to the best knowledge of the Dutch editor. The word {*pusaka*} ‘[traditional or sacred] heirloom’ is used to express ‘heredity’ of the land tenure, apparently unaware of existing *waritsan* {*warisan*} ‘inheritance’ (Klinkert 1902:877 sub *warits*).<sup>105</sup> {*Atas belanja [...-nya]*}, *lit.* ‘upon expenditure [of]’, translates Dutch *ten laste [van]* ‘at the expense [of]’. The editor was not aware of the loanword {*gaji*} ‘wages’ (see in Table 1), and uses {*bayar-an*} ‘payment’ instead. Note also the Bazaar suffix *-ken* and adverb *belon* {*belum*} ‘not yet’.

Amongst further Bazaar and Betawi influenced Malay translations of legal texts, one may cite two texts translated by J.L. Rhemslev: the instructions for the fire-brigade in the city and suburbs of Batavia (Soerat Parintah 1891; in Latin and Jawi script), and an overview of rules for indigenous personnel of the army (Ichtisar 1894). Some technical terms are directly borrowed from Dutch, for example *masinis* (Dutch *machinist*) in the former, and *cipiel* {*sipil*} (Dutch *civiel* ‘civilian’) in the latter document. Finally, one may mention the collection of domestic regulations of Wiggers (1904), which featured Dutch *ambtenaar* ‘civil servant’, and *tanah partikulier* {*tanah partikulir*} ‘private-

<sup>105</sup> Cf. also *waris* ‘heir’ Wilkinson (1901–1903:677).

owned land' (with Dutch *particulier* 'private'), the latter provided with the Malay gloss *tanah merdika* {*tanah merdéka*}, lit. 'independent land', within parentheses.

Bazaar Malay and Betawi were not the only sources of dialect deviations. Legal texts translated by J.L. van der Toorn—an experienced specialist on Minangkabau who had lived in West Sumatra—were influenced by Minangkabau Malay, i.e. not by Minangkabau, but by the traditional literary Malay of the Minangkabau court at Pagaruyung. The following is from van der Toorn (1894:3):

<p><i>Maka Sari padoeka nan dipartoean Basar Goebornoer Djindaral talah manimbang, bahasa sagala nan tarsaboet dalam oendang-oendang itoe wadjib djoega didjalankan atas bangsa-bangsa, nan bakan masoek bilangan oerang Oelanda di Hindi Nederland akan tatapi dangan maoebahi mana-mana nan wadjib dioebahi dalam oendang-oendang itoe, karena tabiat dan hal kaadaan bangsa-bangsa ini barlainan dangan tabiat dan hal kaadaan oerang Oelanda itoe.</i></p>	<p><i>{Maka Sri paduka yang dipertuan besar Gubernur Jenderal telah menimbang, bahwasanya segala yang tersebut dalam undang-undang itu wajib juga dijalankan atas bangsa-bangsa, yang bukan masuk bilangan orang Belanda di Hindia Nederland akan tetapi dengan mengubah mana-mana yang wajib diubah dalam undang-undang itu, karena tabiat dan hal keadaan bangsa-bangsa ini berlainan dengan tabiat dan hal keadaan orang Belanda itu.}</i></p>
--	---

'His illustrious high excellency the Governor General has considered, that all that is mentioned in those laws have to be also applied to ethnicities that are not counted among the Dutch persons of the Netherlands Indies, but with alterations wherever it was necessary to make alterations in those laws, because the character and condition of these ethnicities are different from the character and condition of Dutch persons.'

Obvious Minangkabau deviations from Riau-Johore Malay are the relative marker *nan* in place of *yang*; the vowel *a* instead of schwa in a non-final syllable of the word base (e.g. *sagala* {*segala*} 'all', *tatapi* {*tetapi*} 'but', *dangan* {*dengan*} 'with', *karana* {*kerana* ~ *ka-rena*} 'because') and in prefixes (e.g. *manimbang* {*menimbang*} 'to weigh, consider', *kaadaan* {*keadaan*} 'state, condition', *tarsaboet* {*tersebut*} 'mentioned, named'). Similar features occur in other works of the author, including a translation of police regulations (van der Toorn 1904).

Two initial passages from the criminal code of law for indigenes (see Fig. 5) will demonstrate the contemporaneous state-of-the-art in Malay usage in judicial texts dealing with employment. The Malay text (Wetboek 1889:3–4) is on the left. The corresponding—but not identical—passage from the Dutch-language criminal law for Europeans (Wetboek 1866:2–3) is on the right, illustrating the complexity of contemporaneous Dutch "legalese", presenting particular difficulties to the translator.

<p><i>Fatsal 1. Jang di namaken pelanggaran, ja-itoe djikaloe memboewat barang jang di larang di dalem peratoeran besar dan ketjil dari pada policie, dengan ada hoekoemannja jang tiada lebih brat dari pekerdjaän paksa tiada dengan rante dan dari denda wang, ...</i></p>	<p><i>Art. 1. Overtreding bestaat in het doen of nalaten van hetgeen, onder bedreiging van geene zwaardere straf dan gevangenisstraf en geldboete, gezamenlijk of afzonderlijk, met of zonder verbeurdverklaring van bijzondere voorwerpen, is verboden of geboden bij de reglementen en keuren van politie, ...</i></p>
---	--

Paragraph 1. That which is named a violation, that is if one does a thing

Article 1. A violation pertains in the doing or neglect of that which, under penalty of a no

which is forbidden in the major [*i.e.* main] and minor [subordinate] regulations of the police, for which the punishment is not heavier than forced labor without being chained and than a monetary fine, .....

*Fatsal 2. Jang di namaken kedjahatan, ja-itoe: djikaloe memboewat soewatoe barang jang di larang di dalem peratoeran besar dengan ada hoekoem-annja, dan jang tiada termasuk di dalem katrangannja pelanggaran.*

Paragraph 2. That which is named a crime, that is if one does a thing which is forbidden in the major regulations for which there is punishment, and which is not included in the explanation of a violation.

The passages feature the already familiar Bazaarisms like the schwa in the suffix *-ken* (as in *di namaken* {*dinamakan*} ‘is named’) or in ultimate word-base syllable (*dalem* {*dalam*} ‘inside’), and deletion of schwa before medial rhotic in *brat* {*berat*} ‘heavy’ or *katrangan[nja]* {*keterangan[nya]*} ‘explanation [of]’. A comparison of the glosses to the Malay and Dutch texts shows the difficulties with formal terms, which the translator faced.

Bazaarisms are surprising here, because contemporaneous dictionaries already featured High Malay vocalization, *i.e.* *a* instead of *e* in the ultimate syllable, and a non-deleted interconsonantal schwa before a rhotic, *cf.* for example Pijnappel (1875:30 sub *bĕrat*, 123 sub *dalam*), Klinkert (1902:132 sub *bĕrat*, 387 sub *dalam*). Yet, even amongst lexicologists known for their high expertise, one finds uncertainties, *cf.* Roorda van Eysinga (1877:21 sub *brat*, but 23 sub *dĀlam*). All this probably reflects the general lack of coordination and consultation amongst language experts and translators.

## 6. Schoolbooks

The problems in Malay editing that became apparent above also existed in schoolbooks. Malay schoolbooks already appeared relatively early for use in missionary schools. The oldest surviving printed schoolbook in Malay is the *Sourat ABC* of Ruyl (1611), see also Groeneboer (1994). For the time immediately prior to 1848, van der Chijs (1879:70–71) lists 1829–1844 schoolbooks that were in use in Rotinese schools.

The period after 1850 witnessed a marked increase in frequency of schoolbook publication, number of printed copies, and efficiency of their distribution. Catalogues from which such books could be ordered appeared in short intervals: *Daftar* (1872a, 1872b, 1877, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892).

The books mainly complied with the needs of elementary schools. Middle and high school education for indigenes was only possible in schools for Dutch pupils, which taught in Dutch, and therefore did not lead to a corresponding advancement in means of expression in Malay. Indigenes in middle and high school learned instead to express themselves professionally in Dutch.

heavier punishment than imprisonment and monetary fine, together with or separate from a declaration of forfeit of particular objects, is forbidden or called for by the regulations and notices of the police, .....

*Art. 2 Misdrijf bestaat in het doen of nalaten van hetgeen bij algemeene verordening, onder bedreiging ven straf, is verboden of geboden, en niet in de omschrijving valt van overtreding.*

Article 2. A crime pertains in the doing or neglect of the same under general ordinance, under threat of punishment, is forbidden or called for, and does not fall within the description of a violation.

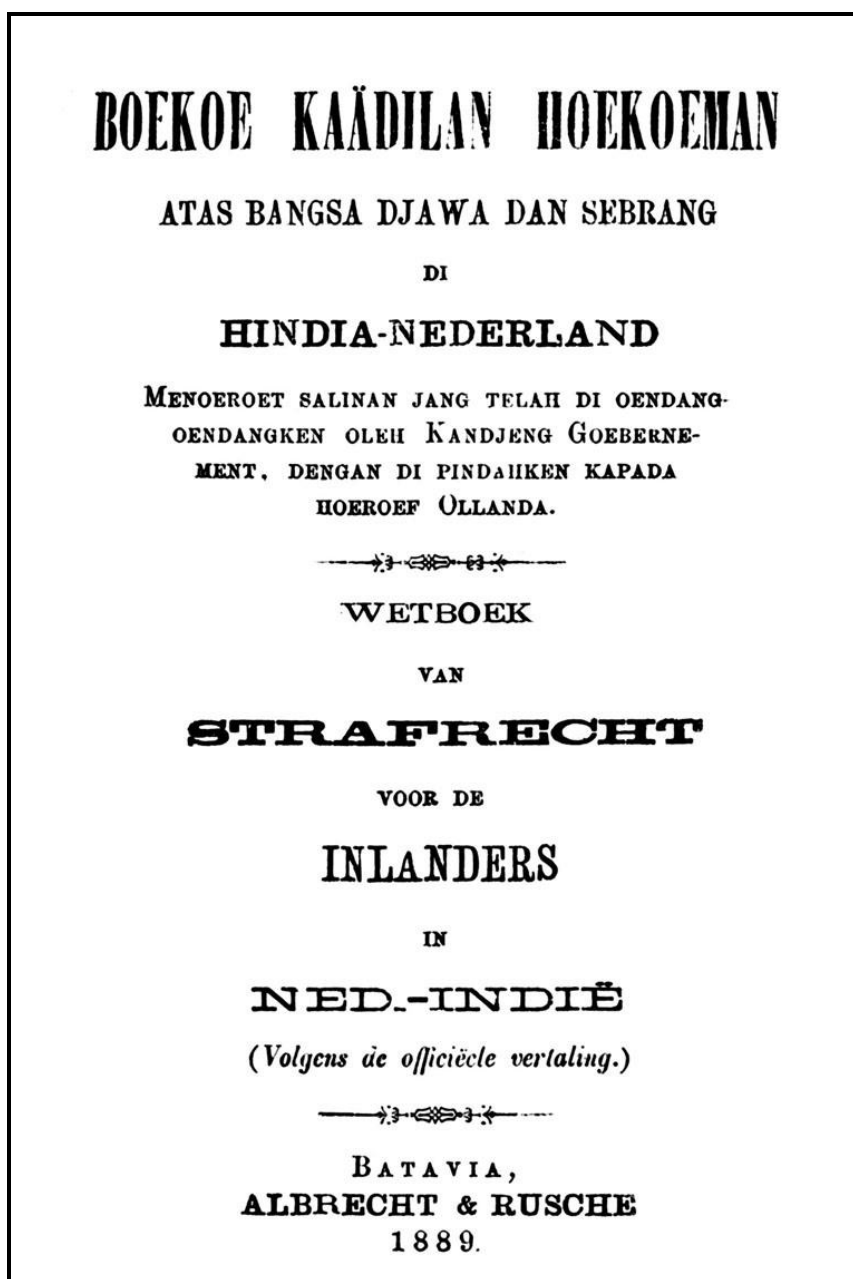


Figure 5. Titlepage of a Latin-script edition of the 1872 official Malay translation of the code of criminal law for indigenous persons (Wetboek 1889):

{*Buku Keadilan Hukuman atas bangsa Jawa dan Seberang di Hindia-Nederland. Menurut salinan yang diundang-undangkan oleh Kanjeng Gubernemen, dengan dipindahkan kepada huruf Belanda.*}

‘Book of Penal Justice on Javanese and Oversea ethnicities in Netherlands Indies. Following the translation which was ordained by the Noble Government, and rendered in Dutch letters.’

The books mainly complied with the needs of elementary schools. Middle and high school education for indigenes was only possible in schools for Dutch pupils, which taught in Dutch, and therefore did not lead to a corresponding advancement in means of expression in Malay. Indigenes in middle and high school learned instead to express themselves professionally in Dutch. Books in indigenous languages for elementary school had to perform a contradictory task. Elementary schools which did not prepare

for a modern furthergoing education, had to at least acquaint the pupils with their own indigenous culture and tradition, of which the European authors of course had only a limited grasp. However, these schools also had to prepare pupils for participation in “post-traditional” economic relations, and expatriate authors were not necessarily qualified to formulate these novel concepts with expressions provided in the traditional culture. As a consequence, indigenous alumni—of native-language elementary schools as well as of advanced Dutch schools—did not experience the “post-traditional” as a further development of their indigenous culture in a new age of economic relations, but rather as a parallel, competing tradition (see Mahdi 2012a).

An interesting title in this context is the Malay edition of the school atlas of Versteeg (1875), of which the list of contents is quoted in Table 2. It opens a number of partially contradictory glimpses into the problems that were faced in schoolbook editing. It proceeds to describe the world to pupils of ethnicities who sailed the high seas to Africa and China since almost two millennia. Some aspects of the subject had been established items of knowledge in indigenous culture, before that culture deteriorated in more recent times. Thus, although various indigenous peoples of precolonial Indonesia were familiar with geographical maps (Cf. Ferrand 1918, le Roux 1935, and note Borschberg 2010:46), the author appears to be at a loss, finding an adequate term for ‘map’, and resorts to the circumscribing expression *gambar* ‘picture, image’. Yet, the Indonesian Malay term *peta* ‘map’ was already glossed as ‘sketch, map’ by Roorda van Eysinga (1839: suppl. p. 107), borrowed via Old Javanese *pēta* ‘picture’ from Sanskrit *paṭa* (Zoetmulder 1982:1347).

Though citing traditional names for Sumatra (*Poeloe Pertja* {*Pulau Perca*}, lit. ‘gutta-percha island’), Borneo (*Kalimantan*),<sup>106</sup> and also Vietnam (*Koetji* {*Koci*}),<sup>107</sup> Persia (*Adjam* {*Ajam*}, cf. Jones 2007:8 sub *Ajam*),<sup>108</sup> Syria (*Sjam* {*Syam*}, an Arabic term for the Levant),<sup>109</sup> and Egypt (*Mesir*, as it is still called in modern Indonesian, from Arabic *Miṣr*), the author renders Sulawesi and Maluku<sup>110</sup> as *Selebessi* and *Maloeka*.

Amongst usual non-native speaker problems: *pulau* ~ *pulo* ‘island’ is rendered *poeloe* (read *pulu*) as often done by Dutch speakers; the word *peratoer* is a non-existent derivation of *atoer* {*atur*} ‘arrange, put in order’ (cf. *aturan* ‘arrangement, rule’, *peraturan* ‘regulations’). He strives to avoid presumed “Western” monotony by alternating *dan* ‘and’ with *dengan* ‘with’, *dan lagi* ‘and also’, *dengan lagi* ‘with also’, or with Bazaar *sama* ‘and’. But a conjunction in paratactic listings is quite common in Malay.

An almost simultaneously published geography book by Harmsen (1875; see Table 3) features the following definitions (p. 3):

---

<sup>106</sup> *Kalimantan* was the authentic Malayan name of the island, while *Borneo* was a European rendering of *Brunei*, unwittingly applied to the whole island, see J. Hunt to Thomas Stamford Raffles, reproduced in Keppel (1846: supplement p. xvii).

<sup>107</sup> From whence European *Cochin[china]*. The Malay is from Chinese 交趾 (Pinyin *Jiāozhǐ*), Xiamen (a.k.a. Amoy) *kauchi* (Douglas 1899:197 and 38).

<sup>108</sup> An online count on the Malay Concordance Project facility found *Ajam* 24 times in the *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain* (‘A Story of Alexander the Great’) edition of Hussain (1986).

<sup>109</sup> Glossed ‘Syria, Damascus’ in Jones (2007: 306 sub *Syam*<sup>1</sup>). The *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain* edition cited in the previous footnote has *Syam* 16 times.

<sup>110</sup> *Maluku* ultimately reflects *Maloko*, named in the 14th-century Old Javanese *Désawarnana* (Robson 1995:34), via Portuguese *Maluco*.





**Table 3. List of Asian countries in the geography book of (Harmsen 1875:7)**

1. <i>Bahagian Asija jang taälok pada negeri Toerki;</i>	1. Part of Asia under the rule of Turkey;
2. <i>Bahagian Asija jang taälok pada negeri Roesi;</i>	2. Part of Asia under the rule of Russia;
3. <i>Negeri Arab;</i>	3. Arabia;
4. <i>Negeri Farsi;</i>	4. Persia;
5. <i>Negeri Afganistan;</i>	5. Afghanistan;
6. <i>Negeri Beloedjistan;</i>	6. Beluchistan;
7. <i>Negeri Hindoestan;</i>	7. Hindustan;
8. <i>Negeri Birman;</i>	8. Burma [i.e. Myanmar];
9. <i>Negeri Japan;</i>	9. Japan;
10. <i>Negeri Toerkistan;</i>	10. Turkestan;
11. <i>Negeri Mandsjoerai;</i>	11. Manchuria;
12. <i>Negeri Tjina;</i>	12. China;
13. <i>Negeri Tibet;</i>	13. Tibet;
14. <i>Negeri Anam;</i>	14. Annam [i.e. Vietnam];
15. <i>Negeri Sijam;</i>	15. Siam [i.e. Thailand];
16. <i>Kepoelauwen hindija sebelah timor.</i>	16. East Indies Archipelago.

‘The biggest lands, these are named continent [lit. *big-land*]; for example the part of the earth Europe which is connected with Asia, is named a continent. Furthermore Africa, and America, and Australia are also named continents. And then an island, that is a piece [lit. *chip*] of land that is in the middle of the sea, and that is surrounded by the water of it.’

Versteeg had adapted an indigenous word for ‘continent’, *benoewa* {*benua*},<sup>111</sup> which persists to this day, while Harmsen resorted to an artificial construct, *tanah-besar*, lit. ‘big land’. But the latter has “High” Malay *poelau* {*pulau*} ‘island’. Two continent names are rendered differently: *Awstrali* vs. *Australija*,<sup>112</sup> and *Europa* vs. *Airopah*.<sup>113</sup>

Names of countries in the geography book of Harmsen (1875:7)—see Table 3—were not preceded by *tanah* as in Versteeg’s index (Table 2), but by *negeri* that indeed meant ‘country’ in Java, but ‘polity, town’ in Riau-Johore Malay.<sup>114</sup> During the 20th century, the Java Bazaar meaning became standard in Indonesian Malay. Harmsen avoided using a compass direction as direct attribute in [*hindija*] *sabelah timor* (no. 16), lit. ‘[Indies] of the east side’, for implied ‘East [Indies]’. Versteeg did use it in *Amerika Oetara* ‘North America’ and *Amerika Selatan* ‘South America’ (18° and 19° in Table 2), but this was a European-influenced innovation. In pre-20th century Malay literature, compass directions indeed occurred as a direct attribute of some nouns, as in {*angin barat*} ‘west wind’, {*pantai selatan*} ‘south coast’, {*sebelah timur*} ‘east side’, etc., but to my knowledge not in combination with country names.

<sup>111</sup> It is a Malayo-Polynesian term for ‘land, place with settlement’ (cf. Wolff 2010:755 sub *bānuwa*).

<sup>112</sup> The north of Australia was known to the Makassarese as *Marege*’ (Macknight 1976).

<sup>113</sup> But cf. Malay *Feringgi* ~ *Peringgi* ‘European, white person’, from Persian *feringī* ~ *frangī* ‘French, Italian, European Christian’ (Jones 2007:240; Steingass 1976:928), from Latin *franci* ‘the Franks’ (who established and ruled the medieval Sacrum Imperium Romanum, i.e. “Europe” as seen from the east).

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Wilkinson (1901–1903: 674 sub *něgěri*): ‘A city; a state; town as opposed to country’

**Table 4. Table of contents in the atlas schoolbook of van Gelder (1897)**

1. <i>Himpoenan poelau-poelau Hindia Nederland.</i>	1. Archipelago of Netherlands Indies.
2. <i>Tanah Djawa dan Madoera.</i>	2. Java and Madura.
a. <i>Goenoeng-goenoeng dan soengai-soengai-nja.</i>	a. Its mountains and rivers.
b. <i>Kerapnja orang isi nĕgari.</i>	b. Density of population.
c. <i>Roepa-roepa bĕhasa</i>	c. various languages.
d. <i>Hoetan rimba.</i>	d. Jungle.
3. <i>Tanah Djawa sabĕlah Barat.</i>	3. West Java.
4. <i>Tanah Djawa Pĕrtĕngahan.</i>	4. Central Java.
5. <i>Tanah Djawa sabĕlah Timoer dan residenan Bali dan Lombok.</i>	5. East Java and the <i>Residency</i> of Bali and Lombok.
6. <i>Poelau Pertja ataw Soematra. Residenan Padang-hilir dan Padang-hoeloe.</i>	6. Island of Gutta-percha or Sumatra. <i>Residency</i> of Lower Padang and Upper Padang.
7. <i>Poelau Kalimantan ataw Borneo.</i>	7. Island of Kalimantan or Borneo.
8. <i>Poelau Selebes sabĕlah Selatan-daja. Tanah Minahasa. Poelau-poelau Ambon. Bangka dan Bĕlitoeng.</i>	8. Southwest Celebes. Minahasa. Ambon Islands. Bangka and Belitung.
9. <i>Poelau Selebes, poelau-poelau Maloeka dan residenan Timor. Poelau-poelau Banda</i>	9. Celebes Island, Moluccan Islands and Timor <i>Residency</i> . Banda Islands.

The two above-cited publications provide a prolific picture of the lack of standards at that time, and that on a subject that was not novel for indigenes. An atlas by Willem van Gelder that appeared before 1890, of which I saw the 4th edition (van Gelder 1897) and the 8th (1911), gives further insight into this lack of standards. The contents of the 4th edition is quoted in Table 4. One notes that whereas Harmsen already had a Malay term for ‘archipelago’, *kepoelauwen* {*kepulauan*}, van Gelder uses the descriptive expression *himpoenan poelau-poelau*, lit. ‘group of islands’. Like Versteeg, van Gelder has *tanah* before country names, and *Poelau Pertja* for Sumatra, *Kalimantan* for Borneo. However, van Gelder accompanies the two latter with *Soematra* and *Borneo* as synonyms that are more familiar to Europeans, while in the 8th edition (van Gelder 1911) the author only cites the latter names. By that time, these apparently were also more familiar for the Dutch-educated indigenous elite.

The titlepage features a map which includes East Africa, Mongolia, New Guinea and Australia (see Fig. 6), while in the 8th edition (van Gelder 1911) it includes all of Africa and Eurasia. Noteworthy in that map is *laoetan* {*lautan*} for ‘ocean’, as in *Laoetan Hindi* ‘Indian Ocean’ and *Laoetan Besar*, lit. ‘Big Ocean’, for the Pacific. Note also the sea names *Laoet Hitam* ‘Black Sea’, and *Laoet Tengah*, lit. ‘Middle Sea’, for the Mediterranean. Both names, calqued from the respective European names, have been retained in Indonesian Malay till this day. The Red Sea is named *Laoet Kholzom* (reedited to *Kolzoem* in 1911), from its Arabic name *Baħr al-Kulzum*.<sup>115</sup> Other traditional names are *P[oelau] Singhala* ‘Sri Lanka’, *Tan[ah] Adjam* ‘Persia’ and

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Becker (1959), Jones (2007:173 sub *Kulzum*). Versteeg (1875:1 and 14) has *Laoet Kholzom* for the Red Sea. *Laut Kulzum* occurs in the *Hikayat Indera Putera* (Mulyadi 1983:92), and as *Kalzum* in the *Hikayat Seri Rama* (Ikram 1980:287) and the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* (Ahmad 1987:276, 494, and 591).

*Teloek Adjam* ‘Persian Gulf’, the latter a calque of the European expression involving Malay {*teluk*} ‘gulf’. The Bay of Bengal, named a sea, *Laoet Benggala*, was renamed *Tel[oe]k Benggala* in the 1911 edition.

Chinese rivers bear Chinese names: *Hoang ho* ‘Yellow River’ and *Yang tse chiang* ‘Yangtze Kiang’.<sup>116</sup> Some toponyms are borrowings from Dutch, e.g. *Peking*, [*Laoet*] *Aral* ‘Aral [Sea]’, *Euphraat* ‘Euphrates’ and *Australie* ‘Australia’—the latter spelling not coinciding with that of either Versteeg (1875) or Harmsen (1875) cited above.

Interesting comparisons to the toponyms of the above geography books are provided by a travelogue published in Malay by von de Wall (1878b), the *Kesah pelajaran seorang perampoeuan mengoelilingi boemi* {*Kisah pelayaran seorang perempuan mengelilingi bumi*} ‘Story of the voyage of a woman around the world’. Already the first sentence includes toponym spellings that contrast with the data above:

*Bahwa sesoenggohnja pada tarich Masehi 1852, pada delapan hari boelan Julie, waktoe poekoel enam pagi, maka toeroenlah sahaja kekapal api jang bernama Mangkasar, dipelabohan Betawi, laloe berlarjar kepoelau Peretja, jang diseboet orang djoega poelau Semantara.* {*Bahwa sesungguhnya pada tarikh Maséhi 1852, pada delapan hari bulan Juli, waktu pukul enam pagi, maka turunlah sahayanya ke kapal api yang bernama Mangkasar, di pelabuhan Betawi, lalu berlayar ke pulau Perca yang disebut orang juga pulau Semantara.*}

‘For indeed in 1852 of the Christian Era, on day eight of the month July, at six o’clock in the morning, I descended onto the steamship named Mangkasar, in the port of Batavia, and sailed to the Gutta-percha island, which people also call Semantara island.’

The name of the steamship, *Mangkasar*, is presumably that of the city of Makassar, Southwest Sulawesi. The same rendering is given in Versteeg (1875:4, 9) and in van Gelder (1897: nos. 1, 8, and 9). The language conforms to the circumstantial mode of expression of classical Malay literature: {*bahwa sesungguhnya*} ‘for indeed’; *maka* ‘then, thereupon’; also {*turunlah sahayanya*} instead of {*saya turun*} ‘I descended’. The elaborate “spelling out” of the date was rather anachronistic, considering the date in contemporaneous Dutch-edited Malay newspapers (see in section 7 below).

Another publication of the same author is von de Wall (1888): *Kesah pelajaran kepoelau Kelemantan* {*Kisah pelayaran ke pulau Kalimantan*} ‘Story of a voyage to Kalimantan’. It uses *negeri* for ‘country’, and *tanah* in the apparent meaning ‘continent’ here. The language style is the same as in the previously considered publication. A comparison of the geographic texts aptly demonstrates the existing variation in language and style of Dutch-edited textbooks of that time. But besides non-uniform rendering of toponyms and dialectal variation, there were problems with formulating novel concepts, as was also noted for legal texts in the previous section.

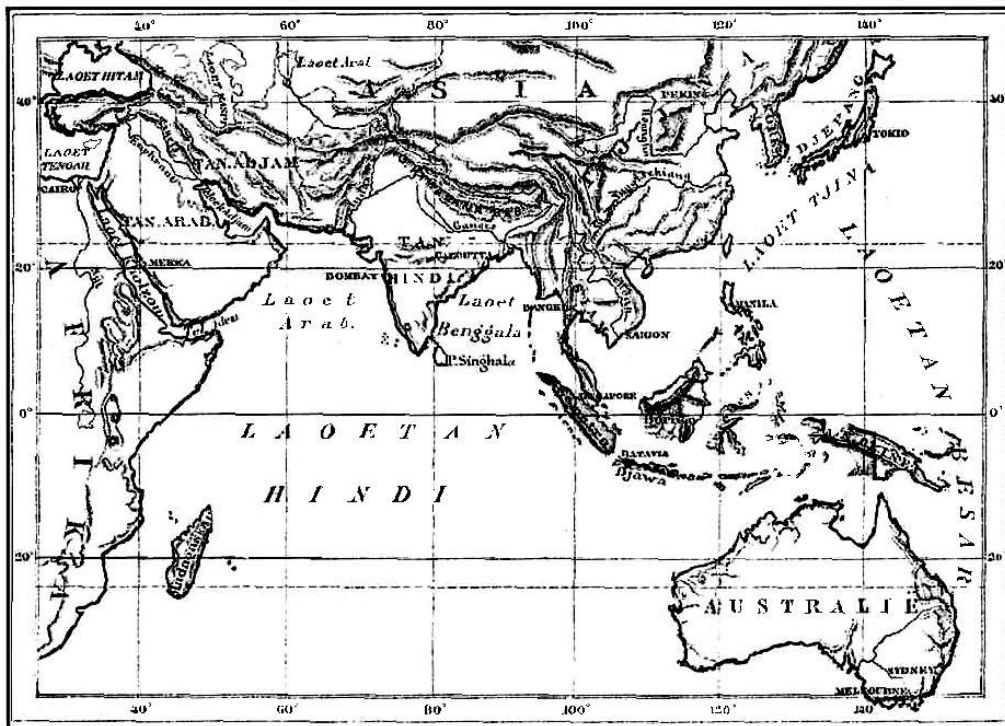
Such problems are also evident in arithmetic books. Here too, limited knowledge of the translator can be just as problematic as missing expressive means in Malay, as the following passage from Gonggrijp (1861:25) will show:

<sup>116</sup> Pinyin Chinese *Huáng Hé* (黄河) and *Yángzǐ Jiāng* (揚子江).

# ATLAS SĒKOLAH HINDIA-NEDERLAND,

TERKARANG OLEH

W. VAN GELDER.



Tjitakan jang kaempat.

GRONINGEN, J. B. WOLTERS, 1897.

Figure 6. Titlepage of the fourth edition of the school atlas of van Gelder (1897), showing a map featuring toponyms which are interesting to compare with those of Versteeg (1875) shown in Table 3

*Hal poekoelan (Vermenigvuldiging)*

*Adapoen hal poekoelan itoe mengadjar akan ambil satoe bilangan sebrapa kali jang terseboet di dalam bilangan jang lain*

*Djikalau orang kata poekoel 12 dengan 6 maka artinja ija itoe ambil 12 anam kali.*

*Akan hitong brapa 6 kali 12 itoe, maka boleh orang toelis 12 enam kali lalo djoemlahkan itoe. Tetapi djikalau ada bilangan jang lebeh besar seperti 80 kali 77 maka soesah sakali toelis delapan poeloeh kali bilangan 77 itoe lalo djoemlahkan. Maka hal poekoelan itoe mengadjar orang akan dapat djoemlah itoe dengan pendekh.*

*Akan poekoel bilangan jang lebeh kitjil deri 10 bajik-lah orang beladjar sampej tahoe bajik-bajik di kapala.*

*{Hal pukulan (vermenigvuldiging)}*

*Adapun hal pukulan itu mengajar akan ambil satu bilangan seberapa kali yang tersebut di dalam bilangan yang lain.*

*Jikalau orang kata pukul 12 dengan 6 maka artinya ia itu ambil 12 enam kali.*

*Akan hitung berapa 6 kali 12 itu, maka boléh orang tulis 12 enam kali lalu jumlahkan itu. Tetapi jikalau ada bilangan yang lebih besar seperti 80 kali 77 maka susah sekali tulis delapan puluh kali bilangan 77 itu lalu jumlahkan. Maka hal pukulan itu mengajar orang akan dapat jumlah itu dengan pëndék.*

*Akan pukul bilangan jang lebih kecil dari 10 baiklah orang belajar sampai tahu baik-baik di kepala.}*

‘The striking ([Dutch] multiplication)

As for striking, it teaches to take one number as many times as named in the other number.

If one says strike 12 with 6 then it means he takes 12 six times.

To count how much 6 times 12 is, one may write 12 six times and then sum that up. But if there is a larger number like 80 times 77 then it is very difficult writing 77 eighty times then summing up. So the striking teaches one to get the sum in short.

For striking numbers which are smaller than 10 it is good to learn it well in the head.’

The author is acquainted with the use of Malay *kali* ‘times’, as in *6 kali 12* ‘6 times 12’, but did not find a corresponding nominal derivation, because contemporaneous Malay apparently did not have one. Indonesian *perkalian* ‘multiplication’ was only coined after independence, being cited for example in Poerwadarminta (1976:437) of which the first edition appeared in 1953, though not yet in Zain (1957:325 sub *kali*).<sup>117</sup>

In the following arithmetic book quotation from van der Toorn & Harmsen (1891:25 no. 19), the author adapts the meaning of an existing Malay term:

*Ada saboeah bilik jang boedjoernja 7 Meter dan lintangnja 5 Meter dan tingginja 6 Meter. Maka dinding bilik itoe ditampali kartas. Djeka soeatoe Meter empat persegi kartas itoe harga saoeang tali djadi berapa harga samoeanja kartas itoe belaka?*

*{Ada sebuah bilik yang bujurnya 7 méter dan lintangnya 5 méter dan tingginya 6 méter. Maka dinding bilik itu ditampali kertas. Jika suatu méter empat persegi kertas itu harga seuang talén jadi berapa harga samuanya kertas itu belaka?}*

‘There is a room of which the length is 7 meters and the width 5 meters and the height 6 meters. The walls of the room are patched with paper. If a meter

<sup>117</sup> Winstedt (1966:244 sub *multiplication*) cites *perkalian* explicitly as Indonesian, besides more common Malay *pərbanyakan* that means more generally ‘numerical increase, procreation, augmentation’.

square of the paper had the price of one quarter [guilder]<sup>118</sup> then how much is the price of all the paper as a whole?’

The Malay term for a square figure, *empat persegi* (lit. ‘four cornered’), is used for mathematical ‘square’ (‘to the power of two’). Modern Indonesian has retained *persegi* for ‘square’ in both meanings,<sup>119</sup> having merely dropped the numeral *empat* ‘four’.

It may be significant that, for example, the schoolbook catalogue Daftar (1884:9–10 nos. 8–21) listed 14 arithmetic editions (including serial volumes). The list of books for other disciplines, besides language and reading literature, consisted altogether of only 6 items (Daftar 1884:10 nos. 24–29):

24. Von de Wall, *Ilmoe alam*—‘natural history’, see van de Wall (1880a);
25. Harmsen, *Bahoewa ini ilmoe boemi*—‘this is geography’, see Harmsen (1875) quoted above;
26. Van der Toorn, *Kitab pembatjaän dari hal perbilangan ilmoe alam*, 1881—‘natural history reader’;
27. Gerth van Wijk, *Berbagai-bagai peladjaran dari pada ilmoe alam*, n.y.—‘all kinds of natural history lessons’;
28. —"——, *Pengadjaran dari pada elmoe boemi*, 1876—‘teaching of geography’;
29. [anonymous], *Roepa-roepa peladjaran pada memboekakan akal anak-anak*, 1881—‘all kinds of lessons to further children’s intelligence’.

The composite preposition *dari pada* as possessive copula in nos. 27 and 28 is a mechanical translation of Dutch *van* ‘of’, because for Malay syntax *peladjaran ilmoe alam* would have sufficed. Note the Javanese spelling of *elmoe* {*ilmu*} ‘knowledge, science’ in no. 28, despite the standard spelling *ilmoe* in the preceding title by the same author. This probably demonstrates the influence of editors and publishers.

Besides school books there was instructive literature for adults. One provided examples for official letters, contracts, and other texts, and included an historiographic anthology of official correspondence between local indigenous rulers and Dutch governors (Francis 1892). More specific was the telegraphic codes manual of Capellen (1895).

Another important genre was fiction, occidental as well as oriental, often with repeated reprints. These were not exclusively for school instruction, but books for the reading public will be discussed separately below. Here I consider titles in Daftar (1884: 10–12 nos. 30–68), which were earmarked for schools. First a Malay adaption of a German modification by Campe (1780)<sup>120</sup> of Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*—allegedly from the Dutch<sup>121</sup>—by von de Wall (1878a)<sup>122</sup> (see Jedamski 2002:25), in which the hero was named *Krusoe Robinson* from Hamburg.<sup>123</sup> Von de Wall restored the hero’s name to *Robinson Crusoe*. The following is from p. 55 (p. 65 of the 1882 third edition):

<sup>118</sup> A *tali* refers here to a 25 cent coin (modern Indonesian *talén*, a Bazaar Javanism).

<sup>119</sup> ‘Equal-sided rectangle’ and ‘power of two’, but not ‘open space in town’.

<sup>120</sup> See also Guillermo (2014: 5, 8–9).

<sup>121</sup> The Dutch *Robinson* edition I accessed (Timmer 1806) was not a translation or modified rendering of the German edition of H.J. Campe, but a continuation of the story in the same style and method. Though narrating about Robinson and Friday, it begins with their return to Europe, and was not the precursor text of the Malay translation. Von de Wall, apparently employed the German text, even though the Malay title page text declares that it *mengikoet karangan bahasa Wolanda* ‘follows the Dutch text’.

... oleh karena itoelah disangkanja, jang moesoh itoe soedah poelang katempatnja, sabab ija tijada dapat apa jang ditjaharinja. Maka Robinson dan kawannja pon menjimpan sendjatanja. Kemoedijan maka Robinson mentjahari dan dapat djoega makanan sadikit, Maka Robinson memberi nama Djoemaät pada kawannja itoe, karena sekalian hal jang terseboet itoe terdjadi pada hari Djoemaät,...

{... oléh karena itulah disangkanya, yang musuh itu sudah pulang ke tempatnya, sebab ia tiada dapat apa jang dicaharinya. Maka Robinson dan kawannya pun menyimpan senjatanya. Kemudian maka Robinson mencahari dan dapat joega makanan sedikit, Maka Robinson memberi nama Jum'at pada kawannya itu, karena sekalian hal jang tersebut itu terjadi pada hari Jum'at, ...}

‘... that is why they assumed, that the enemy had returned to their place because they had not found what they had sought for. So Robinson and his companion then put away their weapons. After that Robinson looked for and also found a little food. Robinson gave his companion the name Friday, because all these mentioned things happened on a Friday, ...’<sup>124</sup>

The language is a remarkable example of classical “High” Malay, and the only points of criticism regard the vowels, which is inevitable when mastery of that language is based on Jawi-script sources. Strictly speaking the deviations are not necessarily mistakes. Thus, the *e* instead of *i* in *maseh* ‘still’ and *o* for *oe* {*u*} in *moesoh* ‘enemy’ would be correct for Riau-Johore, though not [*ada*]pon ‘then, there-upon’.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>122</sup> This was the 2nd edition; the 1st edition, 1875, I have not seen; the 1884 catalogue lists the 1882 3<sup>rd</sup> edition with the year misprinted ‘1883’.

<sup>123</sup> The German text (Campe 1780:5): *Es war einmahl ein Man in der Stadt Hamburg, der hieß Robinson. Dieser hatte drei Söhne.* ‘There once was a man in the city of Hamburg, his name was Robinson. He had three sons.’ And further down: *Nun war also nur noch der Kleinste übrig, den man Krusoe nan-te, ich weiß nicht, warum?* ‘Now only the youngest one was left, whom they named Krusoe, I know not why?’ Daniel Defoe’s Robinson came from York. Campe (1780) interchanged first name and surname of the hero, moved his place of birth, and set the whole in the narrative frame of a story that a father tells his children. These two latter modifications were retained in the Malay edition that begins with: *Maka adalah saorang orang dinegeri Hamburg bernama Crusoe, dan anaknja ada tiga orang anak laki-laki.* ‘There was a man in the city of Hamburg, named Crusoe, and his children were three boys.’

The German adaption of Gräbner (1866) also had Robinson living in Hamburg, but no frame story, and left the name of Robinson Crusoe unchanged, cf. Gräbner (1866:1): *Vor vielen, vielen Jahren wohnte in Hamburg ein Kaufmann, der stammte aus England und hieß Crusoe.* ‘Many many years ago there lived in Hamburg a merchant who originated from England, and was named Crusoe.’ A comparison of the texts shows—as inferred by Jedamski (2002)—that the precursor of the Malay edition was the version of Campe, not of Gräbner, though retaining Defoe’s original hero’s first name and surname.

<sup>124</sup> The German original (Campe 1780:65): *Endlich ward es beiden sehr wahrscheinlich, daß die Wilden von ihrer vergeblichen Nachforschung wohl müßten nachgelassen, und in ihren Kähnen sich wieder nach ihrer Heimath begeben haben. Sie legten also ihre Waffen nieder, und Robinson hohlte etwas von seinem Vorrathe zum Abendessen herbei. Weil dieser merkwürdige Tag, der in der Geschichte unseres Freundes sich so vorzüglich auszeichnet, grade ein Freitag war; so beschloß er seinen geretteten Wilden den Nahmen desselben zu geben, und nant’ ihn also Freitag.*

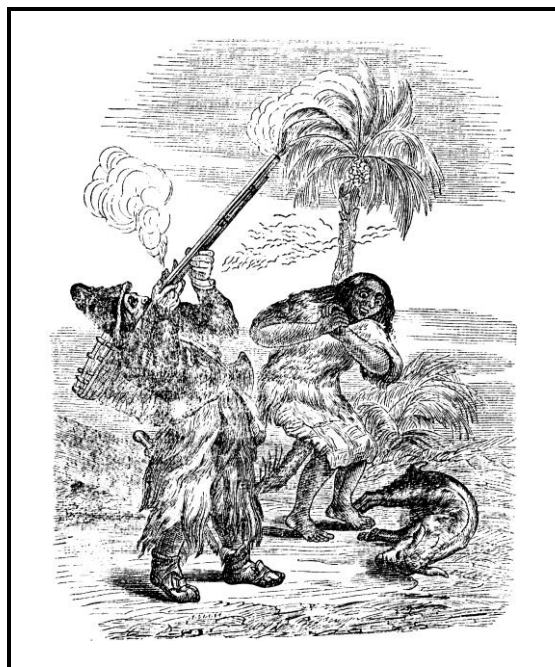
The passage in Gräbner (1866:263) is different: *Zunächst sprach er mehrere Male das Wort “Herr” aus und zeigte dabei auf sich selbst, dann gabe er dem Fremden zu verstehen, daß er ihn “Freitag” nennen wolle, denn es war nach Robinsons Kalender an einem Freitag, als er dem armen Gefangenen das Leben rettete.* ‘At first he said several times “Master” while he pointed at himself, then he let the stranger know, that he would call him “Friday”, because according to Robinson’s calendar it was a Friday, when he saved the poor captive’s life’.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. *maseh* ~ *masih* and *musoh*, but *adapun*, in Wilkinson (1901–1903: 634, 663, and 482 sub *pun*).



*Serta Robinson berkata begitoe, senapangjapon berboenji dan boeroeng itoepon djatohlah, kena ditembaknja. Maka serta Djoemaät mendengar boenji senapang itoe maka ijapon djatoh djoega, oleh karena terkedjoet.*

‘As Robinson said that, his shotgun resounded and the bird thereupon fell, hit by the shot. And as Friday heard the sound of the shotgun, he fell too, because he was startled.’



**Figure 7. Image from the *Robinson Crusoe* edition of van de Wall (1891:81)**

The spelling of *karana* {*karena*} ‘because’ is not Riau-Johore,<sup>126</sup> but Minangkabauan High Malay. The same can be said of the vocalization of the preposition *ka-* {*ke*} ‘to, towards’ in *katempatnja* ‘to their place’ and the numeral *sa-* {*se-*} ‘one, a’ in *sadikit* ‘a little [bit]’.

In the fourth, revised, edition the editor made further efforts to approach indigenous speech, and indeed corrects some above-mentioned deviations (von de Wall 1891:65):

<p><i>... oleh karena itoelah maka disangkakenja, bahwa moesoh itoe telah poelang ditempatnja, sabab tijada mendapat apa jang ditjaharinja itoe. Maka Robinson dan kawannjapon menjimpan sendjatanja. Kemoedijan maka Robinson mentjahari makanan, maka dapatlah djoega sedikit, Maka kawan Robinson itoe dinamainja Djoemaät, karena sekaligus hal jang terseboet itoe terdjadi pada hari Djoemaät, ...</i></p>	<p>{... oléh karena itulah maka disangkakan-nya, bahwa musuh itu telah pulang ke tempatnya, sebab tiada mendapat apa yang dicaharinya itu. Maka Robinson dan kawannya pun menyimpan senjatanya. Kemudian maka Robinson mencahari makanan, maka dapatlah juga sedikit, Maka kawan Robinson itu dinamainya Jum’at, karena sekalian hal yang tersebut itu terjadi pada hari Jum’at, ...}</p>
--	---

The book was reprinted quite frequently: the 3rd. edition was published in 1882; the 4th in 1891 (see above text and Fig. 7; it is also cited in Sykorsky 1980:503, 512 no. 19, 513 no. 5); and the 7th in 1906. In 1893 the same text, but in the spelling which was current in the British-ruled territories, was published in Singapore (Warnk 2007: 92, with facsimile of the title and first page on p. 93).

This and translations of other European adventure novels were quite popular (see Jedamski 2002). There also were translations of Classical Malay as well as Near Eastern Oriental literature, which similarly saw repeated editions (cf. Mahdi 2006:91), several of which were translated by von de Wall. These include an edition titled *Hikajat*

<sup>126</sup> Wilkinson (1901–1903: 494, 509, 514) has *karēna* ~ *kērana* ~ *kērēna*; Ibrāhīm (1868: passim) has *kērana*.

*Aladdin* (von de Wall 1879a) with beautiful color pictures, as well as a number of reading books without illustrations. Some editions based on indigenous manuscripts are also noteworthy, i.e. the *Hikajat Bachtiar*, from a Malay manuscript (von der Wall 1980b), and *Hikajat Masjhoedoe 'lhakkoe*, based on several Malay manuscripts (von der Wall 1980c). These do not reflect the editor's language and style, but that of the indigenous authors, but the preparation of the editions may have influenced von der Wall's style of Malay in works like the aforementioned edition of *Robinson Crusoe*.

Nonetheless, features of that style can already be noted in an earlier edition, that of his *Bahwa ini Hikajat Djahidin*, translated from the Dutch. It is a contemporaneous story that begins with (von der Wall 1979b:1):

*Bahwa sesoenggohnja maka berapa ta-* {*Bahwa sesungguhnya maka berapa ta-*  
*hoen lamanja adalah seorang orang jang* *hun lamanya adalah seorang orang yang*  
*bernama Djahidin, orang bertjoetjoek* *bernama Djahidin, orang bercocok tan-*  
*tanam, doedoek didoesoen Pesaoeran, ma-* *nam, duduk di dusun Pasauran, masuk*  
*soek bilangan keresidenan Bantan.* *bilangan kerésidénan Banten.*}

'So it was that for some years a man named Djahidin, a man who farmed, was settled in the village Pasauran lying within the *Residency* of Banten.'

Many of the published translations of European and Oriental literature, as well as editions of indigenous literature, were apparently not aimed for schools alone. Only a few seem to have been meant exclusively for schools, for example the book of 'parable stories' (*Tjerita-Tjerita Peroepama-an*) of Gerth van Wijk (1865), from p. 21 of which the following sample text is taken:

*Adapon sa'ekor matjan toetoel bertemoe* {*Adapun se'ekor macan tutul bertemu*  
*sa'ekor andjing, maka lantas andjing itoe* *se'ekor anjing, maka lantas anjing itu*  
*hendak di bawa lari ka-oetan. Maka kata* *hendak dibawa lari ke hutan. Maka*  
*andjing itoe: "ampon, toeankoe, beriboe-* *kata anjing itu: "ampun, tuanku, be-*  
*riboe ampon, apakah goenanja pada toe-* *ribu-ribu ampun, apakah gunanya pa-*  
*ankoe djika toeankoe mau makan patek,* *da tuanku jika tuanku mau makan*  
*karana patek masih koeroes, dan tiada* *patik, karena patik masih kurus, dan*  
*tjoekoep patek poenja diri akan meloeas-* *tiada cukup patik punya diri akan me-*  
*ken toeankoe poenja kelaparan." Maka pi-* *luaskan<sup>127</sup> tuanku punya kelaparan."*  
*kir matjan toetoel itoe: "benar seperti per-* *Maka pikir macan tutul itu: "benar se-*  
*kata'an andjing ini; djika akoepoen akan* *perti perkataan anjing ini; jika akupun*  
*ber-oleh andjing ini kira-kira di dalem* *akan beroléh anjing ini kira-kira di*  
*antara doewa boelan, nistjaja gemoklah* *dalam antara dua bulan, niscaya ge-*  
*andjing ini." Maka katanja: "baiklah, aloe* *emuklah anjing ini." Maka katanya:*  
*membri hidop kapadamoe lamanja doewa* *"baiklah, aku memberi hidup kepada-*  
*boelan."* *mu lamanya dua bulan."}*

'Once a panther met a dog, whereupon it wanted to carry the dog off into the forest. But the dog said: "pardon, my master, a thousand pardons, what is the use to my master if my master wants to eat this humble slave, because this humble slave is still thin, and his body is not enough to satisfy my master's hunger." Then the panther thought: "It is true what the dog says; if I were to take this dog in about two months, surely the dog will be fat." So he said: "good, I will let you live for two months."'

<sup>127</sup> The word implied here is possibly not *meluaskan* 'widen, expand', but *meluweskan* 'smooth out' (a Javanism).

Here too, we find the already familiar deviations from literary “High” Malay: Bazaar Malay features such as schwa in the suffix of *meloaskan* {*meluaskan*} and in the base word ultimate syllable *dalem* {*dalam*} ‘inside’, interconsonantal schwa deletion in *membri* {*memberi*} ‘give’; the Ambon Malay “reversed” possessive construction with *poenja* {*punya*}. Other particularities in the passage are the loss of the initial aspiration in *oetan* {*hutan*} ‘forest’, lowering of high vowels in the ultimate syllable as in *ampon* {*ampun*} ‘pardon’, *gemok* {*gemuk*} ‘fat’, and *patek* {*patik*} ‘[your humble] slave’. The word *lantas* ‘then, thereupon’ is a vernacular synonym of literary *kemudian*.

To appreciate the chaotic language situation noted above in Malay schoolbooks, one should realise that it was not the result of unprofessionalism on the part of editors. Besides predictable problems for non-native speakers, there was almost exclusive contact with indigenous speakers of Malay vernaculars (Bazaar, Betawi, Manado, Ambon, and even Minangkabau Malay), but hardly any at all with local speakers in Johore or Riau.

## 7. Dutch-edited Malay newspapers

Freedom of the press was eyed with suspicion by the VOC, not for fear of political subversion, but of leakage of inside information about commercial matters, which would undermine the company’s trade monopoly (Adam 1995:3). In later periods, apprehensions about adverse political writings increased in parallel with increases in the local Dutch and Eurasian population, as well as “post-traditional” indigenes.

In the first half of the 19th century, modern socio-economic development had not yet advanced far enough to become generally noticeable. Campaigning for a laxening of the draconic censorship of the press in the colony, van Hoëvell (1849:110), already quoted above as stating that ‘the Javanese do not read’, concluded from this that:

Even if an unlimited freedom of press would prevail in Java, even if the country would be flooded with the fiercest opposition papers, on the Javanese themselves it would not make the slightest impression ...<sup>128</sup>

Drewes (1934:25) quotes the following prophecy that was made in the heat of the parliamentary debate over freedom of the press in the colony by Sloet tot Oldhuis<sup>129</sup> with regard to perspectives of a Javanese press:

The population can as a rule not read or write; one only comes across individual families, in which the art of reading and writing is transmitted from father to son; their only literature however consists of old mythological folk poetry. I can reassure, that it will take another hundred years before a newspaper in Javanese for the Javanese population appears.<sup>130</sup>

The first Javanese newspaper, the *Bromartani*, appeared in January 1855, but Sloet tot Oldhuis cannot be blamed for his grandiose misjudgement. He could not foresee the consequences of the economic reforms, which would intensify in the subsequent decades. Nonetheless, the Dutch-edited Malay and Javanese press that then emerged and

---

<sup>128</sup> *Al heerschte er op Java ook eene onbepaalde vrijheid van drukpers, al werd het land ook met de hevigste oppositie-bladen overstroomd, het zou op de Javanen zelve geen' den minsten indruk maken ...*

<sup>129</sup> Bartholomeus W.A.E. Baron Sloet tot Oldhuis (lived 1807–1884), a liberal politician in the Netherlands, collaborating with Thorbecke as well as with van Hoëvell.

<sup>130</sup> *De bevolking kan in den Regel niet lezen of schrijven; men treft alleen enkele familien aan, waarin de kunst van lezen en schrijven van vader tot zoon wordt overgeplant; hunne eenige lectuur bestaat echter in oude mythologische volkspoëzij. Ik kan gerust stellen, dat het nog wel honderd jaren zal duren, alvorens er eene courant in het Javaansch voor de Javaansche bevolking in het licht verschijnt.*

grew, did not pose any political threat, for, as one of the first indigenous journalists to publish an overview of the development of that time put it (Harahap 1924:116):

About news concerning the titulation of government officials, appointments and festive occasions, and results of examinations, all that likewise made up the principal contents. Criticism of government officials was not yet known ... and nobody dared, because the power of the officials at that time apparently frightened the journalists of old considerably, for indeed in those days their influence was great.<sup>131</sup>

Official appointments, festivities, public auctions, took up significant space in the papers. In addition to official announcements and commercial advertisements, newspapers also included enlightening or educational information of an entertaining nature.

The above-mentioned first *Bromartani*—there was a second one later—closed in December 1857. Earliest newspapers in indigenous languages did not last long (cf. Adam 1995:184). The public demand in the 1850s was marginal, particularly for newspapers with enlightening content like *Bromartani* and the already mentioned *Bintang Oetara*. Newspapers with commercial orientation were more successful: the *Selompret Melajoe* ('Malay trumpet', see Fig. 8 *middle*), appearing in Semarang, lasted from 1860 until 1911; the Surabayan *Bintang Timor*, renamed to *Bintang Soerabaia* in 1887 (Fig. 8 *top*), held out from 1862 until 1924; while the *Djoeroemartani* in Surakarta, renamed (second) *Bromartani* in 1871, appeared from 1865 until 1932 (Adam 1995:184–186).

Linguistic diversity in the 19th century Dutch-edited Malay press is particularly well documented in advertisement rate notices appearing on the front page of most newspapers. They reveal much variability in the expression of similar concepts:

(1) *Bintang Oetara*, Rotterdam, January 8, 1857:

*Pembrian tâoe. Hargânja sâtoe-sâtoe baris 25 Doeit dân lâgi 35 Doewit bâjar tjap pada tiap-tiap kali.*

{*Pemberian tahu. Harganya satu-satu baris 25 duit dan lagi 35 duit bayar cap pada tiap-tiap kali.*}

'Announcements. The price for each one line is 25 cents and further 35 cents to pay for the stamp<sup>132</sup> every time.'

(2) *Soerat Chabar Batawie*, Batavia, April 3, 1858 (see Fig. 9):

*Segala pembritaän jang di masok-ie di ieni soerat chabar, harga-nja 60 doewiet, tiap-tiap 5 perkata-an, dengan oelang-an tiap tiap 5 perkata-an 30 doewiet, lain lagi dari oewang tjap kompanie.*

{*Segala pemberitaan yang dimasuki di ini surat kabar, harganya 60 duit, tiap-tiap 5 perkataan, dengan ulangan tiap-tiap 5 perkataan 30 duit, lain lagi dari uang cap kompeni.*}

'All announcements that are entered in this newspaper, the price is 60 cents every 5 words, with repetition of each 5 words 30 cents, apart furthermore from money for the Company<sup>133</sup> stamp.'

<sup>131</sup> *Tentang kabar-kabar dari hal pergelaran pembesar negeri, keangkatan dan keramajan, dan poetoesan-examen, itoe ada mendjadi isi jang teroetama poela. Critiek kepada pembesar negeri orang beloem kenal ... dan tidak berani, sebab kekoesaan pembesar pembesar diwaktoe itoe roepanja amat menakoeti journalist tempo doeloe, jang memang dimasa itoe besar pengaroehnja.*

<sup>132</sup> Tax or fiscal stamp with seal, Dutch (*fiscal*-)zegel, presently referred to in Indonesian as *meterai* (a Tamil borrowing; see Jones 2007:201).

- (3) **Bintang Timor** (*Soerat Kabar Sumatra*), Padang, December 7, 1864:  
*Harga akan di taro dalam Soerat Kabar barang sabageinja 10 parkataän f 1,—; djikaloe tiap tiap kalie 50 Cent pada 10 parkataän. Lagie di baijer harga kartas tjap kapada Governement.*  
 {*Harga akan ditaruh dalam surat kabar barang sebagainya 10 perkataan f 1,—; jikalau tiap-tiap kali 50 sën pada 10 perkataan. Lagi dibayar harga kertas cap kepada gubernemén.*}  
 ‘The price for placing in the newspaper something or other 10 words is f 1.—; if [to appear] every time it is 50 cents for 10 words. Further is to be payed the price of the stamp paper to the government.’
- (4) **Selompret Melajoe**, Semarang, January 13, 1866 (see Fig. 8 middle):  
*Arganja adpertentie njang lima perkataan 50 Cent lain bajarannja tjap gouvernemen (Zegel). Adpertentie misti kirim hari Djoemaat.*  
 {*Harganya adverténsi yang lima perkataan 50 sën lain bayarannya cap gubernemen (ségel). Advertensi mesti [di-]kirim hari Jum’at.*}  
 ‘The price of an advertisement of five words is 50 cents besides payment of the government stamp ([Dutch] *Zegel*). Advertisements must be sent in on Friday.’
- (5) **Biang Lala**, Batavia, December 30, 1869:  
*Ongkosnja harga advertensie: Bakal 5 parkataän 50 Cent, lain dari harga Zegel Goebêrnemen. Siapa jang mahoe masoekin Advertensie boleh kirim pagi djam 8 sampé poekoel 12 pada hari Kemis.*  
 {*Ongkosnya harga adverténsi: Bakal 5 perkataan 50 sën, lain dari harga ségel gubernemén. Siapa yang mau masukkan adverténsi boléh kirim pagi jam 8 sampai pukul 12 pada hari Kemis.*}  
 ‘The cost of the advertisement fee: for 5 words 50 cents, besides the price of the government stamp. He who wants to enter an advertisement may send it in the morning [from] 8 o’clock till 12 o’clock on Thursday.’
- (6) **Bintang Barat**, Batavia, January 7, 1871 (see Fig. 8 bottom):  
*Ongkosnja kabar Advertensie: Boeat 5 parkataän 50 Cent, lain darie harga zegel Gouvernemen. Siapa njang maoe masokkin Advertentie, bole kirim pagie djam poekoel 8 sampe 12 tenga harie, pada harie Rebo dan Saptoe waktoe keloearnya inie Soerat Kabar.*  
 {*Ongkosnya kabar advertensi: Buat 5 perkataan 50 sën, lain dari harga ségel gubernemén. Siapa yang mau masukkan adverténsi, boléh kirim pagi jam pukul 8 sampai 12 tengah hari, pada hari Rebo dan Sabtu waktu keluarnya ini surat kabar.*}  
 ‘The cost of an advertisement notice: for 5 words 50 cents, besides the price of the government stamp. He who wants to enter an advertisement, may send it in the morning 8 till 12 o’clock time at midday, on Wednesday and Saturday when the news paper comes out.’

---

<sup>133</sup> Almost 60 years after the closure of the “Company”, i.e. the VOC, the word here still served as colloquial synonym for ‘government’.

(7) **Bintang Timor** (since 1871: *Bintang Soerabaia*), Surabaya, January 4, 1870:<sup>134</sup>

*Ongkos-nja kabar (Advertensie): Poor 5 perkata-an 50 Cent, lain dari arga-nja soerat-tjap (zegel-nja Goebnemement) itoe kabar di masoeken 2 kali sadja. Siapa njang maoe kasi masook kabaran (Advertensie), moesti kirim antara poekool satoe tengah hari, pada hari kaloewar-nja ini soerat kabar.*

{*Ongkosnya kabar (adverténsi): Voor 5 perkataan 50 sèn, lain dari harganya surat cap (ségelnya gubernemén) itu kabar dimasukkan 2 kali saja. Siapa yang mau kasih masuk kabaran (adverténsi), mesti kirim antara pukul satu tengah hari, pada hari keluarnya ini surat kabar.*}

‘The cost of a notice (advertisement): for 5 words 50 cents, besides the price of the stamp (government stamp) that news is entered 2 times only. He who wants to enter a notice (advertisement) must send it around one o’clock at midday on the day of issue of this newspaper.’

(8) **Bintang Soerabaia** (was *Bintang Timor* up to 1871), Surabaya, November 5, 1887 (see Fig. 8 top):

*Ongkosnja Advertentie. Dari 1 sampe 10 perkata’an f 0,75 maka di masoeken doewa kalie. Lebih dari doewa kali bajarnja naik separo harga. Djikaloe maoe bajar boelanan (madjegan) bolih dapet harga koerang. Siapa jang maoe kasi masoek Advertentie boleh kirim waktoe pagi djam 8 sampe djam 1 tengah hari.*

{*Ongkosnya adverténsi: Dari 1 sampai 10 perkataan f 0,75 maka dimasukkan dua kali. Lebih dari dua kali bayar-nya naik separuh harga. Jikalau mau bayar bulanan (majegan) boléh dapat harga kurang. Siapa yang mau kasih masuk adverténsi boléh kirim waktu pagi jam 8 sampai jam 1 tengah hari.*}

‘The cost of an advertisement. From 1 to 10 words *f* 0.75 and it will be entered two times. [For] more than two times the payment increases by half the price. If one wants to pay monthly (as regular payment)<sup>135</sup> one may get a lesser price. He who wants to enter an advertisement may send it in the morning time 8 till 1 o’clock midday.’

To begin with, the texts reveal a curious spelling problem. Standard Malay *masuk* ‘enter’ (modern spelling) has a derivation with the suffix *-kan* spelled *masukkan* ‘put in, enter [something] into’ with double *k*, the one *k* of the base, the other of the suffix. In Java Bazaar Malay, the suffix is *-ken*, and the verbform correspondingly *masukken*, again with double *k*. But the Betawi suffix is *-in*, without a *k*, so that the derived form is *masukin* with a single *k*. This makes for two distinct vernacular cognates, the one with double *k* and the other with single, *masukken* and *masukin*, a treacherous spelling pitfall for anyone writing in vernacular Malay. In the above texts, the Betawi derivation is spelled correctly in (5), but erroneously with double *k* in (6). In (7) and (8) we have conversely the Java Bazaar derivation spelled with only a single *k*.

Another problem was sequences of like vowels that are separated by a glottal stop in Malay. This occurs most frequently when a word base ending in *-a* is followed by the suffix *-an*. As the glottal stop is automatic in this position, it is not indicated in modern spelling, but up to the early 20th century one often either placed a dieresis over the second vowel, or inserted a hyphen or an apostrophe; cf. *perkataan* (4) ~ *perkataan* (5), (6) ~ *perkata-an* (2, 7) ~ *perkata’an* (8) {*perkataan*} ‘word’.

<sup>134</sup> Not the same newspaper as that of the same name cited under (3) above.

<sup>135</sup> Javanese *majegan* ‘by way of regular (periodical) payments’, from *majeg* ‘regular payment’ (rendered here with modern Latinization).

No. 254 Hari Saptoe tanggal 5 November 1887 Ka XXVII Tahoennja.

INI SOERAT KABAR HARGANJA.  
 f 10.— dalam 6 bulan boewat antero  
 negeri maka di kirim franco dan di  
 trima dari post.  
 Bajarannya boewat setengah taoen  
 atawa safoe taoen sama sekali di minta  
 lebih doeloe.

ONGKORNJA ADVERTENTIE.  
 Dari 1 sampe 10 perkatatan f. 10 maka di  
 maenoh sama halar lebih dari doewa tala  
 halarin nali sapara harga.  
 Jilid lain sama halar boewann (madjega) bolli  
 doek harga boewann. Saja jang maoe kar  
 manak Advertiser bolak kirim, makoe sja  
 djam 8 sampe djam 1 tengah hari.

# BINTANG SOERABAJA.

TERJITAK DAN TERBIT DI PERTJAKANNJA  
 GEBR. GIMBERG & Co.  
 Soerat soerat kiriman atawa kabaran di minta ataw di kirimna franco kapada Redactie.  
 Jang tanggoeur di badapan bukoem  
 F. C. E. BOUSQUET.

SOERAT KABAR DI SOERABAJA.  
 Kloewar saban hari, melainkan hari Mtinggoe dan hari Besar.  
 Agentnja soerat kabar ini boewat negeri Prasman dan negeri Belgie, ija itoe E. ELSHACH, Rue St. Quentin No 6,  
 Parijs dan agentnja di Proholinggo, Bezoek; dan Loemadjang Kwoe Hap Tik dan Han Klem Hwaaj, di Demak Sie Kluing Wan.

## SELOMPRET — MALAJOE,

Soerat kabar bahasa Malajoe rendah.  
*Kloewar Saban Hari Septoe.*

N<sup>o</sup>. 2. HARI SEPTOE 13 JANUARIJ A<sup>o</sup>. 1866.

Di Samarang ini Soerat Kabar arganja 4 Roepiah di dalam sa-tengah taoen. Di lain lain Negri 5 Roepiah, franco di pos. Bajarannya di minta lebih doeloe saban sa-tengah taoen sekali. Orang boleh dapat beli sama G. C. T. van Dorp, di Samarang, Gebr. Gimberg, en Co. di Soerabaja, H. M. van Dorp, di Betawi, P. W. Hornung, di Rembang, J. Lapré, di Banjoemas.

ARGANJA ADVERTENTIE NJANG LIMA  
 Perkataan 50 Cent LAIN BAJARANNJA  
 TJAP GOUVERNEMEN (Zegel) ADVERTENTIE  
 MISTI KIRIM HARI DJOEMAAT.

Tahon 1871. Harie SAPTOE 7 Januarij. N<sup>o</sup>. 2.

# BINTANG-BARAT.

KALOEAR DI BETAWI SABAN HARI REBO DAN SAPTOE.

HARGANJA INIE SOERAT KABAR:  
 di negri Betawi, dan belidng Tanah Djawa / 18.— roepia  
 pekat dalam safoe daban.  
 Di kirim dan trima dari Post dengan franco.  
 Bajarannya inie Soerat Kabar die minta lebih doeloe.

Die jtitak dan die kaloearikan sama toewan OGILVIE & Co.  
 Soerat-Soerat kiriman dan kabar-kabaran, die minta kirim franko sama ujang teresebeet die atas.

ONGKORNJA KABAR ADVERTENTIE:  
 Boewat 5 perkatatan 50 Cent, lain dazie harga segel Gouvernemen.  
 Saja ujang maoe manak Advertiser, bolak kirim negri djam  
 pekat 8 sampe 12 tengah hari, pada hari Hete  
 dan Saptoe makoe kaloearikan inie-Soerat Kabar.

Figure 8. Headers of three Dutch-edited Malay newspapers, respectively from: Surabaya (top); Semarang (middle); and Batavia (bottom)

The replacement of schwa by *a* in (3)—e.g. in *kartas* {*kertas*} ‘paper’, *kapada* {*kepada*} ‘to’—is an already familiar Minangkabauism that is not surprising for a publication issued in Padang, West Sumatra. The schwa in *baijer* {*bayar*} ‘pay’ is probably also the influence of Minangkabau which has *baiə* ‘pay’ (cf. Adelaar 1992:58).

The *a* instead of schwa in *kaloewar* {*keluar*} ‘go/come out’ in (7) is a Javanism, so too the compression of *ai* to *é* in *sampé* (5) ~ *sampe* (6, 8) {*sampai*} ‘until’. Alternation of initial *h-* and zero in *harga* (2, 3, 5, 6, 8) ~ *arga* (4, 7) ‘price’ also is Javanese influence. A similar word-internal alternation between unlike vowels—e.g. *mahoe* (5) ~ *maoe* (6, 7, 8) {*mau*} ‘want’—is a general feature of Malay, in which *h* in this environment is pronounced weakly, and alternates with hiatus. Loss (or also accretion) of a word-final *-h* seems to be a sporadic feature of various vernaculars of Malay in Java and elsewhere (cf. Robson 1969:2–3), and in the speech of Sino-Indonesians, Eurasians and Dutchmen, cf. *boleh* (5, 8) ~ *bole* (6) besides *bolih* (8) {*boléh*} ‘may, is allowed’, *tengah* (7, 8) ~ *tenga* (6) {*tengah*} ‘middle’, and *kasi* (7, 8) {*kasih*} ‘give’.

The texts also show various manifestations of the adaption of Dutch borrowings. The Dutch preposition *voor* ‘for’ is rendered with  $v^{136} > p$  shift as *poor* in (7). Dutch *advertentie* ‘advertisement’ is unaltered in (8), with more transparent spelling as *advertensie* in (5, 6, 7), and with  $v > p$  as *adpertsie* in (4). Dutch *gouvernement* ‘government’, unaltered in (6), undergoes multifarious adaptations to *goebnemen* (7), *gobnemen* (3), *gouvenemen* (4), and *goebêrnemen* (5). Dutch influence is also apparent in the spelling, for example in the rendering of non-final stressed or word-final /i/ as digraph *ie*, cf. *hari* (4, 5, 7, 8) ~ *harie* (6) {*hari*} ‘day’, *lagi* (1) ~ *lagie* (2, 3) {*lagi*} ‘further’, *kali* (1, 7, 8) ~ *kalie* (3, 8) {*kali*} ‘times’, *pagi* (5, 8) ~ *pagie* (6) {*pagi*} ‘morning’, *ini* (7) ~ *inie* (6) ~ *ieni* (2) {*ini*} ‘this’, *doeit* (1) ~ *doewiet* (2) {*duit*} ‘cent, money’.<sup>137</sup>

One must appreciate the editors’ efforts to adapt existing Malay expressions for concepts of “post-traditional” life. Besides variegatedly adapting the spelling of Dutch *advertentie* ‘advertisement’, the term is also glossed as *pembrian tâoe* {*pemberian tahu*} (‘letting be known’) in (1), *pembritaän* {*pemberitaan*} (‘report, announcement’) in (2), *kabar* (‘news’) in (6) or *kabar* ~ *kabaran* in (7), and even *barang sabageinja* ‘something or other’ in (3). Another problem was the preposition ‘for’, expressed as *bakal* in (5), *boeat* {*buat*} in (6), *poor* (Dutch *voor*) in (7), and simply dropped in (4). Note also the doublets *misti* (4) ~ *moesti* (7) {*mesti*} ‘must’. Another inconsistency is alternate spellings within the same text. Thus, text (1) has *lagi* and *kali*, but *harie* with *-ie*; text (2) has *perkataan* with hyphen, but *pembritaän* with dieresis; text (8) has *boleh* and *tengah*, but *kasi* without *-h*, and also *bolih* besides *boleh*. This was perhaps the result of successive reediting over time by different editors. Note, for example, that the spelling and formulations in text (8) differ from that in (7), in spite of being the continuation of the same newspaper that changed its name in 1871.

In texts of different origin or by different writers, the spelling could be quite variegated in one and the same newspaper, on one and the same page. Even a word as simple as {*beli*} ‘to buy’ has three different spellings, *belie* ~ *blie* ~ *bli*, on the front page of the *Bintang-Barat* of January 7, 1871. The spelling could also reflect different phases in the adaption of Dutch words. For example, all three phases in the spelling shift of the originally Dutch suffix *-tie* > *-sie* > *-si* are represented on the front page of the *Bintang Lala* of December 30, 1869: the original mode in *kwitantie* ‘receipt’ and *redactie* ‘editing board’; the intermediate one in *advertensie* ‘advertisement’; and the final rendering in *kondisi* ‘condition’ (Dutch *conditie*) still current in modern Indonesian.

One expects spelling within one individual article to be consistent, the more so in the *Bintang Oetara* of von de Wall, edited by one person, at first the father, and later the son. The following is a passage from a news report (the second one) on the front page of the *Bintang Oetara* of March 8, 1857:

*Bahoea sekârang ini segala órang Prasman*<sup>138</sup> *hèrân sekâli-kâli, sebab di dâlam negri Pâris ada sa'èkor mônjèt jang bisa sekâli main tjâtoer, brâni melâwan órang* {*Bahwa sekarang ini segala orang Perancis héran sekali-kali, sebab di dalam negeri Paris ada seèkor monyét yang bisa sekali main catur, berani melawan*

<sup>136</sup> The *v* is/was typically read as /f/ in Indonesia, i.e. the indicated shift is actually /f/ > /p/ which is quite frequent in colloquial Malay.

<sup>137</sup> Historically, a *duit* was a 17th and early 18th century copper coin in circulation in the Netherlands and parts of Germany, as also in Dutch oversea territories. The word was borrowed into Malay as name of the coin, then as colloquial term for a small coin in general, and finally for ‘cash, dough (money)’.

<sup>138</sup> A no longer used 19th-century Bazaar Malay borrowing from Dutch *Fransman* ‘Frenchman’.



*jang pâlîng pîntar taôe permainan itoe. Tetâpi mônjèt itoe ada toeannja jang oendjoeqkan dia boewah tjâtoer jang mâna misti di santapnja. Lâgi pengoendjoeqan itoe oléh pe-mandang matânja sâdja, djâdi semboeni sekâli djoega, sèrta órang jang trâda tâoe itoe djâdi kira itoe mônjèt main tjâtoer àqal sendirînja sâdja.*

*orang yang paling pintar tahu permainan itu. Tetapi monyét itu ada tuannya yang unjukkan dia buah catur yang mana mesti disantapnya. Lagi pengunjukan itu oléh pemandang matanya saja, jadi sembunyi sekali juga, serta orang yang tiada tahu itu jadi kira itu monyét main catur akal sendirinya saja. }*

‘That at present all Frenchmen are very astonished, because in the city of Paris there is a monkey that is very able to play chess, and dares to play against a person who is most clever at playing it. But that monkey has a master who indicates for it which chess piece it should move. While he indicates that just with a glance of his eyes, thus very secretly, the people who do not know get to think it is the monkey who plays chess by its own intelligence.’

The spelling is a transliteration of Jawi script “High” Malay with already familiar deviations in vowels (e.g. *bahoea* {*bahwa*} ‘that’, *sa[’èkor]* {*se[’èkor]*} ‘one [animal]’, *brani* {*berani*} ‘dare’, etc.). The negation *trada* (for standard *tiada*) occurred formerly in Betawi Malay.<sup>139</sup> The editor shows scholarly accuracy with *q* for Jawi *qaf*, as in *oendjoeqkan* ‘indicate’, underlined *h* for Jawi *ha*, as in *hèrân* ‘astonished’, a circumflex over formally long vowels (long /u:/ is spelled *ôe*), and differentiates between *e* for schwa and *è* for the lower front vowel /ɛ/. For unclear reasons, initial *o* is spelled *ó*. The complicated spelling probably did not contribute to popularity of the edition. This and the stilted style of the *Bintang Oetara*, in addition to its high price, caused it to have to close down in 1857.

One particular newspaper was the Javanese *Bromartani* which was printed in Javanese script. But whereas the first *Bromartani* (appeared 1855–1857) was almost exclusively in Javanese script, the second *Bromartani* (1865–1932) included short pieces in Latin-script Malay, and a supplement, the *Tambahan Bromartani*, almost completely in Malay. The Malay was not uniform, being written or edited by different persons.

Thus, in January 1894, the (second) *Bromartani* carried a lengthy article about the production, and sale of matchsticks, from which the following excerpt is taken:

*Tiadakan hairan jang geretan api pada masa ini boekan boewatan moerahnja. Dahoeloe di Hindia ini kebanjak-an orang memakai geretan api dari Zweden, sedang sekarng jang berlakoe sekali ja-itoe geretan api dari Djepang; itoe lah boekan disebabkan dari pada baiknja, melainken dari pada banjaknja geretan api Djepang jang dibawa kasini. Saorang jang menghimpoenkan gambar-gambar geretan api (etiquette) menjatakan kepada sahaja, bahwasa ija telah menghimpoenkan gambar geretan api jang dari Djepang sahadja lebih dari 400 matjam.*

*{Tiada akan héran yang gerétan api pada masa ini bukan buatan murahny. Dahulu di Hindia ini kebanjakan orang memakai gerétan api dari Swédia, sedang sekarang yang berlaku sekali yaitu gerétan api dari Jepang; itulah bukan disebabkan dari pada baiknya, melainkan dari pada banyaknya gerétan api Jepang yang dibawa ke sini. Seorang yang menghimpunkan gambar-gambar gerétan api (étikét) menyatakan kepada sahaya, bahwasa ia telah menghimpunkan gambar gerétan api yang dari Jepang sahaja lebih dari 400 macam. }*

<sup>139</sup> Parkinson (1773:235) has: *troda* ‘I have not’; *trada bai* ‘they are not good’.

‘One will not be surprised that matches are nowadays so very cheap. Formerly in these Indies most people used matches from Sweden, while now it is matches from Japan that sell very well: that is not because they are so good, but because of the quantity of Japanese matches that are brought here. Someone who collects match[box] pictures (labels) stated to me, that he had collected 400 match[box] pictures from Japan alone.’

The Malay is astonishingly “high”, even spelling *hairan* {*hêran*} ‘be surprised’ with a diphthongue. There is no Bazaar suppression of schwa in *geretan* ‘matches’ or *negeri* ‘city’. The missing *a* in *sekar[a]ng* ‘now’, or the suffix *-ken* in *melainken* ‘but’, instead of standard *-kan* as in *disebabkan* ‘be caused’, *menghimpunenkan* ‘gather’ (twice), and *menjatakan* ‘declare’, seem to be errors of the typesetter rather than of the author.

But the language of the Malay texts are varied. One finds an example with an immediately opposite level of language proficiency right below the article quoted above:

<p><i>Belum lama traada oepaja lawan penjakit hati dan dada; goewa mau bilang oepaja bekin bajiq, sebab ilmoe mengobati salamanja tra-ada koerang oepaja djadi lemboe, jang penjakit bekin tidor tapi salamanja trada bekin bajiq.</i></p>	<p>{<i>Belum lama tidak ada upaya lawan penyakit hati dan dada; gua mau bilang upaya bikin baik, sebab ilmu mengobati selamanya tidak ada kurang upaya jadi lembut, yang penyakit bikin tidur tapi selamanya tiada bikin baik.</i>}</p>
--	---

‘Not long ago there were no means against disease of the heart and breast; I want to tell [of] efforts to cure, because medical science never lacks efforts to soothe, which makes the ailment slumber but not always cured.’

The language brings to mind the term *brabbeltaal* ‘gibberish’ (see above), particularly because of its careless syntax.

Another experiment was the *Soerat Chabar Batawie* which appeared with the identical text in Latin script on the lefthand half of the page, and in Jawi script on the right (see Fig. 9). The language of the newspaper is declared on the front page as:

<p><i>Maka bahasa-nja ieni soerat chabar tiada terlaloe tinggie, tetapie tiada lagie terlaloe rindah, sopaija segala orang boleh mengarti, siapa djoega jang mengarti bahasa Malaijoe, ada-nja.</i></p>	<p>{<i>Maka bahasanya ini surat kabar tiada terlalu tinggi, tetapi tiada lagi terlalu rendah, supaya segala orang boléh mengerti, siapa juga yang mengerti bahasa Melayu, adanya.</i>}</p>
---	--

‘The language of this newspaper is not too high, but also not too low, so that every person may understand, who understands the Malay language.’

The language is not Betawi Malay. Bazaar and Dutch-speaker deviations involving the vocalization are only apparent in the Latin-script version, but vocabulary and syntax are apparent in both scripts, e.g. a preposed demonstrative in *ieni soerat chabar* ‘this newspaper’. Other features are *kasih kloewar* instead of *kloewarkan* ‘bring out, issue’, and the superfluous *-nja* in *djadie-nja dalam satoe tahun 16 roepiah* ‘and thus in one year 16 guilders’. These features are not numerous, and as most potential readers probably preferred “Low” Malay anyway, this could not have done any harm. Perhaps it was the parallel texts in two scripts that was considered superfluous by most readers.

TAHON 1858

تاھن ۱۸۵۸ \*

Nommer 1.

سورت خبر بتاوي

نومر ۱ \*

## SOERAT CHABAR BATAWIE.

BATAWIE, pada hari Saptoe, hari 3 boelan April.

بتاوي قد هاري سفتو هاري ۳ بولن افرل \*

Harga-nja di Batawie dan di koelilingan tanah Djawa dan poeloe-poeloe bilangan Hindia Nederland, dalam satengah tahun 8 roepiah;

Sagala pembrita-an jang di masok-ie di ini soerat chabar, harga-nja 60 doewiet, tiap-tiap 5 perkata-an, dengan oelang-an tiap tiap 5 perkata-an 30 doewiet, lain lagie dari oewang tjap kompanie.



هرگان د بتاوي دان د کليلين تانه جاو دان ولو بلاغن هندي نيدرلند دالم ستغه تاھن ۸ روپيه؛  
سگال فمبريتائين يغ د مسوکی د ايين سورة خبر هرگان ۲۰ دويت تيف ۲ ۵ فرکتائين دشن اونفن تيف ۲ ليم فرکتائين ۳۰ دويت لاین لاگي در اورغ چف کمفني \*

## P E M B R I E T A - A N .

Bahoewa kita Toewan LANGE dan sekoetoe-nja, jang memegang toko boekoe die Batawie, memrie chabar kepada segala orang di Batawie dan di koelilingan tanah djawa dan poeloe-poeloe bilangan tanah Hindia Nederland, jang kita nantie kasih kloewar satoe soerat chabar, ternama SOERAT CHABAR BATAWIE, tiap tiap harie saptoe.

Maka dengan ini kita kasih tjonto-nja.

Harga-nja 8 roepiah dalam setengah tahun, djadie-nja dalam satoe tahun 16 roepiah.

Ieni oewang harga-nja mistie di bajar lantas setengah tahun dahoeoe-nja, djikaloe siapa jang soeka dapat soerat chabar ieni.

Maka lagi segala orang boleh masok-ie di soerat chabar ieni segala pembrita-an, tetapi ia misti membajar harga pembrita-an.

Ieni harga pembrita-an tiap tiap 5 perkata-an harga-nja 60 doewiet.

Djikaloe ada jang soeka masok-ie pembrita-an-nja doewa kalie ja-ietoe di doewa nommer dari soerat chabar ieni, maka ia nantie mistie bajar tiap tiap 5 perkata-an 90 doewiet, lain dari oewang tjap kompanie.

Komidian lagi dengan ini kita kasih chabar dengan segala orang, jang kita kirim doewa nommer dari soerat chabar ieni dengan tiada bajaran, tetapi barangsiapa belom bajar djikaloe ia soedah dapat nommer jang ka-doewa maka ia tiada dapat lagi soerat chabar ieni.

Ieni soerat chabar nantie di tjitaj saparo dengan hoeroef Wailanda, saparo dengan hoeroef Malajoe.

Maka bahasa-nja ieni soerat chabar tiada terlaloe tinggie, tetapi tiada lagie terlaloe rindah, sopaija segala orang boleh ngarti, siapa djoega jang ngarti bahasa Malajoe, ada-nja.

Maka barang kalie kita masok-kam soerat pengadjaran, maka di sietoe kita nantie membahasa Malajoe tinggie, tetapi kita harap nantie menjatakan artie-nja di dalam bahasa Malajoe rindah.

Ieni soerat chabar nantie membrieta:

1. Segala pangkat-pangkat jang srio padoeka Toean Besar anoegrah-kan pada tiap-tiap orang;
2. Segala pembrita-an dari pada Gouvernement, ja-ietoe segala lejljang pacht dan lain-lain chabar, apa jang dari Gouvernement baij di tahoe oleh segala orang.
3. Segala chabar dari kantoer post;

## فمبريتائين:

بهو کیت تون لاغ دان سکون یغ ممیغ توکو بوکو د بتاوي ممبري خبر کغد سگل اورغ د بتاوي دان د کليلين تانه جاو دان فولو بلاغن تانه هندي نيدرلند یغ کیت نفتي کسه کلور سات سورت خبر ترنام سورت خبر بتاوي تيف ۲ هاري سفتو \* مک دشن ايين کیت کسه چونتون \*

هرگان ۸ روپيه دالم ستغه تاھن جدين دالم سات تاھن ۱۶ روپيه \* ايين اورغ هرگان مستي دباير لندس ستغه تاھن د هونون چکلو سياف یغ سوک دافت سورت خبر ايين \*

مک لاغ سگل اورغ بوله مسوکی د سورت خبر ايين سگل فمبريتائين تناق اي مستي باير هرگ فمبريتائين \*

اين هرگ فمبريتائين تيف ۲ ليم فرکتائين هرگان انم فوله دويت \* چکلو اد یغ سوک مسوکی فمبريتائين دو کال ياييت دو دو نومر

در سورة خبر ايين مک اي ننت مستي باير تيف ۲ ليم فرکتائين سميلين فوله دويت لاین در اورغ چف کمفني \*

کمدین لاغ دشن ايين کیت کسه خبر دشن سگل اورغ یغ کیت کیرم دو نومر در سورة خبر ايين دشن تياک بیازن تناق برسياف بلم باير چکلو سوده دافت نومر یغ کدو مک

اي تياک دافت لاغ سورة خبر ايين \* ايين سورة خبر ننتي د جيتن سفارو دشن حرف ولند سفارو

دشن حرف ملايو \* مک بهاسم ايين سورة خبر تياک ترانو تيفي تناق تياک

لاغ ترالو رنده سفاهي سگل اورغ بوله مفرتي سياف جوگ یغ مفرتي بهاس ملايو دن \*

مک بارغ کاني کیت مسکن سورة ففجانر مک دسيت کیت ننتي ممبهاس ملايو تيفي تناق کیت هارف ننتي

مپتاکي ارتين ددالم بهاس ملايو رنده \*

اين سورة خبر ننتي ممبريت \*

۱. سگل ففکت ۲ یغ سري فدوک تون بسر انگرهکن قد تيف ۲ اورغ \*

۲. سگل فمبريتائين در قد گوفرنمينت ياييت سگل ليغ

فخت دان لاین ۲ خبر اف یغ در گوفرنمينت بايق

د تاھو سگل اورغ \*

۳. سگل خبر در کفتور فوست \*

Figure 9. First page of the April 3, 1858, issue of the *Soerat Chabar Batawie*



{Yang suka kasih pada Dokter yang pinter sekali dari kota Paris, pada nyonya-nyonya buat bikin hilang di dalam **satu malam** penyakit kulit dari **panas matahari**, **penjakit koelit dari jalan di laut.**}

‘Which likes to be given by a very skilled doctor from the city of Paris to ladies to do away in just **one night** with skin ailment **from heat of the sun**, skin ailment **from walking at the sea.**’

Figure 10. A skin-cream advertisement in the *Bintang Soerabaia*, Nov. 5, 1887

Meanwhile, the press opened the readers’ eyes to an industrial-age cosmopolitan world with all its even most trivial collateral aspects. Advertisements filled a major part of the newspapers (Adam 1995: 3–4, 7–8), introducing all its cultural manifestations to the reading public, also the sales promoting effect of sex and crime and other features of tabloid sensationalism (see Watson 1971:424).

The skin-cream advertisement in Fig. 10 exploits the appeal of anything Parisian to the ladies. Its effectiveness—Paris as declared product origin was quite frequent—shows that this, once a European feature, was “infecting” the literate indigenous (and Eurasian) elite. At the height of the Victorian period, British manufacture had a high reputation, and the stationary store (in Fig. 11b) stresses that its iron pens were English.

Readers learned about consumer goods that one formerly never needed, but now often could not do without, e.g. ice (in Fig. 11a) that was not known in all the preceding ages, and then became indispensable in the tropics. This required the advertiser to furnish a name for it: *ajer batoe* {*air batu*} lit. ‘stone (petrified) water’. However, the speech community later decided instead for the loanword *és* ‘ice’ (from Dutch *ijs*) that persists until this day.

Advertisements also introduced new units of measure and quantity. The ‘nice writing paper’ (in Fig. 11b) was priced per *satoe riem* {*satu rim*} ‘one ream’ (being at that time 480 sheets);<sup>140</sup> iron pens per *doos* {*dus ~ dos*} ‘box’ (Dutch *doos* ‘id.’); ink came in a *botol jang besar* ‘big bottle’ or *ketjilan* {*kecilan*} ‘smaller’ one, the latter featuring Betawi Malay comparative-degree suffix *-an*. The *potlood* ‘pencil’ (Dutch spelling, modern {*potlot*}), was quantified in *doezin* {*lusin*} ‘dozen’ (Dutch *dozijn*, from French *douzaine*). Ice was sold by the *pond* (Dutch for ‘pound’, Fig. 11a, modern {*pon*}), that still featured the original Dutch spelling with final consonant cluster. Not only had the reformed economic relations introduced new products and manners of marketing, it also brought its own system of measures that needed to be reflected in the language.

<sup>140</sup> Now known as ‘short ream’, after the ‘ream’ was internationally upgraded to 500 sheets. The term apparently derives via Spanish *resma* ‘ream’ from Arabic *rizmah* (رِزْمَةٌ), plural of *rizam* ‘bundle, ream (of paper)’, which does not seem to have influenced the Indonesian Malay rendering.

- (a) **ICE**  
(*ajer batoe* {*air batu*}, lit. ‘stone water’)  
Behind the Javasche Bank 5  
cents a pound.  
At the Willem Bridge 7 cents  
a pound.
- 
- (b) ‘Bookstore of Mr. H.M. van Dorp  
Batavia  
*One can get:*  
Nice writing paper  
of the price of *f* 4.— or *f* 5.— for one ream.  
**ENGLISH IRON PENS**  
of *f* 1.— a box, containing 144 pieces.  
**INK**  
a big bottle *f* 0.75, or smaller *f* 0.35.  
**PENCILS** *f* 0.75 a dozen.  
Red and blue pencils  
*f* 3.— a dozen.  
**ENGLISH STATIONERY PAPER**  
and various other *f* 1.— *f* 2.— *f* 3.— for one  
ream. The paper as wished or with name  
or whatever other.  
**WRITING SLATE**  
of the price of *f* 0.50 and  
**STYLUS** 100 pieces  
for *f* 0.50.  
All kinds of printed items, such as bill forms,  
receipts, visiting cards, wedding invitations printed  
with gold or silver dye, just as how one likes it.’

**IJS.**  
**(Ajer Batoe)**  
**Di blakang Javasche Bank 5**  
**cent satoe pond.**  
**Di Djambatan Willem 7 cent**  
**satoe pond.**

(120) D. A. BREDERO, qq.

---

**Toko Boekoe toewan H. M. van Dorp,**  
**Batavia.**  
*Boleh dapat:*  
**Kertas toelis jang bagoes**  
dari harganja *f* 4.— ataoe *f* 5.— satoe riem.  
**PENNA BESI INGGRIS**  
dari *f* 1.— satoe doos, 144 bidji isinja.  
**TINTA**  
botol jang besar *f* 0,75, ataoe ketjilan *f* 0,25  
**POTLOOD** *f* 0,75 satoe doezin.  
**Potlood merah dan biroe**  
*f* 3.— satoe doezin.  
**KERTAS POST INGGRIS**  
dan roepa-roepa jang lain *f* 1.— *f* 2.— *f* 3.— satoe  
riem. kertasuja bagimana mahoe ataoe paké nama  
ataoe lain-laiu roepa.  
**BATOE TOELIS**  
dari *f* 0,50 harganja dan  
**GRIFFEL 100 bidji**  
bakal *f* 0,50.  
Segala roepa-roepa tjitakan, ija itoe rekening-rekening,  
kwitautie, visite-kaartjis, soerat-soerat oendangan orang  
kawin di tjitak dengan aér mas ataoe aér pèrrak, ba-  
gimana sadja orang poerjja soeka. (95)

**Figure 11. Newspaper advertisements in the *Bianglala*, December 30, 1869**

Finally, the novel commercial system also brought new formalities and corresponding expressions to name them. At the bottom of the stationery and writing utensils advertisement in the *Bianglala* (Fig. 11b) one finds some formal terms, in particular *rekening* {*rèkening*} ‘bill’, and *kwitantie* {*kuitansi*} ‘receipt’ (Dutch *rekening* and *kwitantie* respectively). Another commercial formality was the question of brands and trademarks, and everything soon was *tjap* this or *tjap* that (*tjap* {*cap*} ‘brand, stamp’).

The *eau de Cologne* {*odekolonye*} advertisement in the *Bintang Soerabaia*, that is shown in Fig. 12, not only cites a registered trademark, but explicitly acquaints the reader with its legal implications. For ‘registered’ (modern *tercatat*), one found nothing better than {*dititipkan*} ‘entrusted, deposited’.

Thus, seen from its various sides, advertisement apparently had a greater share in the general contribution of the press to “post-traditional” culture for the Malay-reading public than one may have anticipated, introducing new lexical terms for novel commodities and collateral aspects such as quality, quantification, legal formalities, etc.

‘Factory brand (stamp) that is registered in the law’

<name and address>

**H&S**

‘only this factory of  
EAU DE COLOGNE  
IS OFFICIAL {ceria}’

‘it is reminded that the German highest court in Leipzig has declared this brand as only belonging to the factory owner MÜLHENS alone.

In order that there will not be confusion or deception for everybody, each crate is given, besides the brand as above, also his house number.

N<sup>o</sup>4711. The brand that is registered

and the name that may only be entered by

<name and address>

People beware not to copy it.

**Tjap fabriek njang di titipken dalem hoekoem**

**FERD. MÜLHENS DI KEULEN**  
„GLOCKENGASSE No. 4711”

**H&S** tjoema ini fabriek dari  
EAU DE COLOGNE  
NJANG TJEREE

di bri inget, njang oleh Pengadilan Duitsoh paling tinggi di Leipzig ini tjap di njataken tjoema poenjanja toean fabriek MÜLHENS sena diri.

Soepaia djangan bisa mendjadi penoekaran dan oerdja’an aken sekalian orang, maka masing masing peti di bri, melainken tjap seperti di atas, djoega dia poenja nommer roemah.

**N<sup>o</sup>4711.** tjap jang di titipken

dan namanja jang tjoema bolih masoeken sendir  
**ENGELHARD & Co.**  
Batavia & Samarang

Orang mendjaga lah djangan meniroe. 190

Figure 12. From the *Bintang Soerabaia*, November 5, 1887

## 8. Popular literature for an indigenous reading public

Besides newspapers as public reading material in Malay, there was a growing supply of popular literature. Remarkable were Malay translations of a Dutch edition of *One Thousand and One Nights*, Arabic *’Alf laila wa-laila* (ألف ليلة وليلة). An early translation appeared in 1856–1857 in the newspaper *Bintang Oetara*.<sup>141</sup> It was, of course, in the same Malay as the other articles in that newspaper.

Publication as a series in a periodical was particularly effective for reaching a large readership, as was publication in serial installments. A richly illustrated edition of *One Thousand and One Nights*, edited at least partly by Gijsbert Francis, appeared in 32 intallments (Francis 1891–1902), translated from the Dutch edition of Keller (1889) as noted on the title page, and also including more than 3000 illustrations (cf. Fig. 13)<sup>142</sup> The language is so non-uniform, that it is perhaps a just as effective illustration of existing linguistic diversity as the above list of eight newspaper advertisement tariffs.

Of the following two passages, the first is from p. 7:

*Inilah badan jang amat tjilaka, mening-  
galken roemah beloem sebrapa djaoeh-  
nja, tiba-tiba orang soedah brani ber-  
boewat hal demikian ini.*

*{Inilah badan jang amat cilaka, mening-  
galkan rumah belum seberapa jauhnya,  
tiba-tiba orang sudah berani berbuat hal  
demikian ini.}*

‘This body [of mine] is very unfortunate, having hardly gone some distance from home, already people dare to do such things.’

<sup>141</sup> Apparently from the Dutch edition of Frijlink (1829–1831). There seems to have already been a Javanese translation by C.F. Winter, published by Taco Roorda in two parts in 1847–1849 (not seen).

<sup>142</sup> The illustrator is named as Gustave Doré in the Dutch edition that also shows his portrait on the frontispiece of the first installment.

*Bermoela di tjeriterakanlah oleh  
Seherazad soewatoe hikajat ja'ni:  
(ibid.: 36)*

‘In the beginning, a story was told  
by Sheherazade, and this was:’



**Figure 13. Image of the first of the ‘one thousand and one’ nights, as Sheherazade proceeds to tell her story to King Shahriar (Francis 1891–1902: 37)**

The next one is from p. 9:

<p><i>Maka setelah Sahzeman sampe di deket- nja negerinja Sahrijar maka Sahrijar pon datang dengngan sekalian menteri- menteri dan hoeloebalang-hoeloebalang- nja menjamboet atawa menerima soe- daranja itoe.</i></p>	<p>{Maka setelah Syahzeman sampai di deket- nya negerinja Syahriar maka Syahriar pun datang dengan sekalian menteri- menteri dan hulubalang-hulubalangnya menyambut atau menerima saudaranya itu.}</p>
--	--

‘After Shahzeman reached the vicinity of Shahriar’s country, Shahriar thereupon came with all his ministers and commanders to greet or receive his brother.’

The two quoted sentences were picked out because they featured Bazaar Malay particularities that were not characteristic of the text environment. In the former there is the vernacular suffix *-ken* in *meninggalken* ‘leave behind, go away from’, while that installment otherwise had standard *-kan*. In the latter sentence there is a schwa in the ultimate syllable of *deket[nja]* {*dekat[nya]*} ‘near [it, the]’, though not in *datang* ‘come’ (vernacular *dateng*).

Other vernacular features are shared by the surrounding text, e.g. the suppression of interconsonantal schwa in *sebrapa* {*seberapa*} ‘some, how many’ and *brani* {*berani*} ‘dare’, or the fusion of a diphthongue in *sampe* {*sampai*} ‘reach, until’ and *soedara* {*saudara*} ‘sibling, relative’. The gemination of a base-internal intervocalic consonant after schwa is a feature of Jawi-script spelling, indicating to the reader that the preceding syllable should be vocalized with a schwa. In the presently reviewed publication, however, it was only implemented for nasals, as in *dengngan* ‘with’.

The Malay style changed markedly during the mid 30-s nights. The following excerpt is from p. 222, towards the end of the 37th night. The Bazaar Malay *-ken* suffix (in *tinggalken* ‘leave’) that was exceptional in the preceding installments (e.g. on p. 7) now became typical for the rest of the serial. The Ambon Malay possessive with *poenja* ~

*ampoenja*,<sup>143</sup> and Bazaar *orang* as plural formant for personal pronouns (in *kita orang* ‘we, us’), were new features which did not, however, show up in the sub-sequent installments of the serial:

<p><i>Baeklah kita orang tinggalken astana ini, oleh sebab angkau ampoenja kahendak. Bawalah kita orang poenja anak-anak ka prahoe, soepaja dengan sigrah kita orang boleh pegi dari sini. Akan tetapi, ach! bageimanakah doekanja Radja Tjina itoe, djikaloe ia mendapat dengar akan kita orang ampoenja kahendak!</i></p>	<p>{<i>Baiklah kita orang tinggalkan istana ini, oléh sebab engkau empunya kehendak. Bawalah kita orang punya anak-anak ke perahu, supaya dengan segera kita orang boléh pergi dari sini. Akan tetapi, ah! bagaimanakah dukanya Raja Cina itu, jikalau ia mendapat dengar akan kita orang empunya kehendak!</i>}</p>
---	--

‘Well then let us leave this palace, because of your wish. Take our children to the boat, so that we can immediately go from here. But, woe! How the Chinese King will despair, if he gets to hear of our wish!’

Note that the medial nasal after schwa in *dengar* is no longer geminated. Meanwhile, *pegi* the vernacular variant of {*pergi*} ‘go’ is used. The expression *mendapat dengar* is a mechanical calque of Dutch *krijgt te horen* ‘gets to hear’ (Malay: *sampai dengar*). *Sigrah* ‘soon, immediately’ was a feature of the Malay of Dutch and Sino-Indonesian speakers in Java, corresponding to indigenous-speaker *segera* ~ *segra*.

The style in the serial then changes again, undergoing other equally extreme deviations from the literary norm. But the Ambon Malay features of the latter quoted passage no longer persist. The ‘Story of the Three Oranges’, relating an episode in the reign of Harun ar-Rashid,<sup>144</sup> begins on the 96th night on p. 561 with:

<p><i>Pada soewatoe hari Chalifah bertitah kapada ferdana mantri Giafar, soepaja di malam jang aken dateng, mantri itoe nanti mengadep kapadanja. “Akoë maoë berdjalan-djalan di dalam kota,” kata Chalifah: “aken mendapat taoë apa katanja rahajat negri dan lagi apa marika itoe soeka aken ponggawa-pongawakoe atawa tida. Saände dari antara pembesar-pembesar ada jang menjoesahi pada rahajat kita nanti petjatken dia dari djabatan dan ganti dengan lain orang, jang bisa lakoëken dengan baik sekalian kaharoesannja. ...”</i></p>	<p>{<i>Pada suatu hari Khalifah bertitah kepada perdana menteri Jafar, supaya di malam jang akan datang, menteri itu nanti menghadap kepadanya. “Aku mau berjalan-jalan di dalam kota,” kata Khalifah: “akan mendapat tahu apa katanya rakyat negeri dan lagi apa meréka itu suka akan punggawa-punggawaku atau tidak. Seandai dari antara pembesar-pembesar ada yang menyusahi pada rakyat kita nanti pecatkan dia dari jabatan dan ganti dengan lain orang, yang bisa lakukan dengan baik sekalian keharusannya. ...”}</i>}</p>
--	---

‘One day, the Khalif ordered prime minister Jafar, that in the coming night he was to show up, “I want to take a walk in town,” said the Khalif: “in order to get to know what the people say and furthermore whether they like my officers or not. In case amongst the officials there is one who disturbs the people we shall dismiss him from his function and replace with someone else who is capable of performing all his duties well. ...’

<sup>143</sup> Shortened to *pung* in modern Ambon Malay.

<sup>144</sup> Named *Chalifah Haroen Al-Rasjid* on p. 560, but with Dutch rendering of the title as *Kalief Haroen Al-Rasjid* on p. 1105.



The spelling of *ferdana* ‘prime [minister]’ with *f* is a hypercorrection of *perdana* (from Sanskrit *pradhāna*).<sup>145</sup> Note the final-syllable schwa in *aken* {*akan*} ‘will’, *dateng* {*datang*} ‘come’, *mengadep* {*menghadap*} ‘to face, appear before’, and in the suffix in *petjatken* {*pecatkan*} ‘fire, dismiss’ and *lakoeken* {*lakukan*} ‘fulfill, perform’. But for explicit expression of the possessive as in *katanja rahajat* {*katanya rakyat*}, lit. ‘the talk of the people’, the Bazaar Malay construction with *-nja* is used, rather than the Ambon Malay with *poenja* and “reversed” word order. Note also *marika* {*meréka*} ‘they’, instead of *dia orang*.

In the following excerpt from p. 1063—it is the 345th night, and Sindbad is recounting his first voyage—the Bazaar suffix *-ken* (in *melaenken* {*melainkan*} ‘but, to the contrary’ and *di tinggalken* {*ditinggalkan*} ‘be left behind’) alternates with the corresponding Betawi suffix *-in* in *di maenin* {*dimainkan*} ‘be played around with’:

*Maka akoe ini masih ada ketinggalan di atas poelo ikan tatkala ikan itoe silem maka akoe tiada ada laen aken per-toeloengankoe melaenken satoe papan lebar jang ada di ampir koe. Itoe papan tadi di bawa aken di boewat oempan api. Samantara itoe maka ada dateng angin bagoes djadi anachoda kapal, kapaksa boewat bongkar djangkar dengan memboeka lajar hingga akoe ini tiada sempat aken sampe di kapal.*

*Djadi akoe di tinggalken di maenin ombak, terboewang kasana kamari; satoe malem akoe melawan hingga pada kadoewa harinja, akoe rasa dirikoe terlaloe amat lemas dan akoe kira nistjaija sampe-lah malaik al moeat aken mengambil akoe.*

{*Maka aku ini masih ada ketinggalan di atas pulau ikan tatkala ikan itu selam maka aku tiada ada lain akan per-tulunganku melainkan satu papan lebar yang ada di hampir ku. Itu papan tadi dibawa akan dibuat umpan api. Sementara itu maka ada datang angin bagus jadi nakhoda kapal, terpaksa buat bongkar jangkar dengan membuka layar hingga aku ini tiada sempat akan sam-pai di kapal.*

{*Jadi aku ditinggalkan dimainkan ombak, terbuang kesana kemari; satu malam aku melawan hingga pada kedua harinya, aku rasa diriku terlalu amat lemas dan aku kira niscaya sampailah malaikat ul-maut akan mengambil aku.*}

‘I was still left on the fish island when the fish dived so I had nothing else to help myself than a broad plank that was near me. That plank had been brought to be used as firewood. Meanwhile there came a nice wind so the ship’s captain was forced to haul the anchor and open the sail so that I did not have a chance to reach the ship.

So I was left behind as the playball of the waves, thrown to and fro; one night long I resisted until the second day, I felt myself too very weak and thought surely the time had come that the angel of death would fetch me.’

A European speaker of Malay reveals himself with the literal translation of ‘to be’ by *ada* in *ada ketinggalan* ‘was left behind’ and *jang ada di ampir* ‘that was near’. By *akoe rasa diriku* ‘I felt myself’ the translator meant ‘I felt’, which is expressed in Dutch by the reflexive *ik voelde me*, lit. ‘I felt me’; with *kasana kamari* for Dutch *heen en weer* ‘to and fro’ he narrowly misses native-speaker *kian kemari* ‘id.’ Instead of *dekat* ~ *deket* ‘near’ of the preceding passages, the translator resorts to *ampir* {*hampir*} ‘almost’ (cf. modern *menghampiri* ‘to approach’), apparently more familiar to him from the Indies-Dutch Malayism *amper* ‘almost’. For ‘fuel, firewood’ we find *oempan api*, lit. ‘fire bait’,

<sup>145</sup> Jones (2007:239 sub *perdana*).

instead of simply *kajoe api* {*kayu api*} ‘firewood’. Instead of {*terpaksa*} ‘be forced to’ a corresponding vernacular form *kapaksa* is used. This style was retained with but slight variation until the last published installment.

In view of the over-all inconsistency in dialect and style, the translation was apparently not the work of a single person. Indeed, Gijsbert Francis is only named as translator in the first few installments, and as was noted above, there was a complete change of style in the later course of the 30s nights: gemination of base-internal nasal after schwa (*dengngan*) was discontinued; the suffix *-kan* was replaced by its Bazaar cognate *-ken*, occasionally even by Betawi *-in*; the Bazaar and Betawi Malay use of schwa in the ultimate syllable became frequent (but neither exhaustive nor consistent).

The “secret” behind this stylistic reorientation is lifted when one inspects another, earlier edition of the *1001 Nights*: Seriboe Soewatoe (1874), which was not illustrated, and of which only two parts were issued (up to the 33rd night). The wording and spelling was almost identical with that in the 1891 edition reviewed above. The passages quoted above from Francis (1891–1902:7, 9) had appeared in the 1874 edition respectively on:

- p. 4: *Hei, akoe ini sangatlah tjilaka, akoe meninggalkan roemahkoe belom seberapa djaoehnja, orang soedah berani berboewat hal demikian ini.*
- p. 5: *Maka setelah Sahzeman sampe di deketnja negerinja Sahrijar maka Sahrijar pon datang dengngan sekali-an menteri-menteri dan hoeloebalang-hoeloebalangnja menjamboet atawa menerima soedaranja itoe.*

In the first of these two quotations, the beginning is different, and there are less Bazaarisms, especially in the choice of vowels, than in the later installments (*meninggalken/meninggalkan, sebrapa/seberapa, beloem/belom*). The second passage is completely identical, including the spelling of *deket* with two schwas, and *dengngan* with a geminated nasal. It is worth noting the identical spelling of *koemidian* {*kemudian*} ‘after that’, consistent throughout the 1874 edition and in the corresponding 1891 installments. In later installments it was spelled differently (e.g. *komoedian* on p. 569).

The textual part of the first installments of the richly illustrated complete edition of 1891–1902 was apparently copied with few modifications from the 1874 edition, and only the subsequent installments were new translations. That earlier translation could not have been from the later Dutch edition of Keller (1889), but must have been from Frijlink (1829–1831) which, in the passages relevant for the 1874 Malay translation, was copied almost word-for-word in Keller (1889).

Gijsbert Francis, only named as translator in the first issues of 1891, was apparently not the (anonymous) translator of the 1874 Malay edition, but the editor of the 1891 re-edition. Indeed, the subtitle text in the title pages of Francis (1891–1902) and that of Francis (1892) reveal several common features, including the spelling of *bahasa* ‘language’ and *Olanda* ‘Dutch’. The unique instance of suffix *-ken* in *meninggalken* in the quotation from p. 7 of Francis (1891–1902) must have been introduced by him as editor. Although the example texts in Francis (1892) were from various sources, the respective entry headers were from the editor, and the suffix used there is also *-ken* (e.g. *menetapken* on p. 6, *menjataken* on p. 62).

The subsequent installments of the 1891–1902 edition, after the part reprinted from the 1874 edition, were apparently translated by alternating translators, leading to significant stylistic and spelling variety. Just like in the advertisement-fee notices quoted from different newspaper headers in section 7, they serve as mirror of the variation in the language of Dutch-edited Malay publishing of that time. As we have observed

above, honest attempts to produce a so-called “pure” Malay produced widespread linguistic inconsistencies in the publication of scholarly schoolbooks, so one could not expect more consistent results from non-academic authors, editors, and journalists, and a closer inspection of the Malay *1001 Nights* above indeed makes this quite clear.

In spite of the numerous vernacularisms, the translators resorted to sometimes complex “High” Malay derivations, perhaps indicating their actual stylistic intentions. Thus, in the quotation from p. 561 we find *menjoesahi* ‘disturb’ (instead of vernacular *bikin soesah*). In the quotation from p. 1063 we find *terboewang* ‘be or get thrown’ with prefix *ter-*, instead of perhaps *kelémpar*, in spite of *ketinggalan* ‘get left behind’ and *kapaksa* ‘be or get forced to’ with prefix *ke-/ka-* in the same passage. Note also that the literary negation *tiada*, not *tidak*, is used consistently throughout the serial.

The *1001 Nights* was not the only item of popular literature of that time, of course, but was merely chosen for its remarkably non-uniform language, serving as an illustration of existing dialect variety. Besides titles that were chiefly designed for schoolchildren (such as von de Wall’s *Hikajat Robinson Crusoe* reviewed in section 6), many translations of European as well as Asian works aimed for the literate public.

Some authors and translator used a scholarly perfectionist spelling with an almost tit-for-tat transliteration of Jawi-script Malay, for example J.R.P.F. Gonggrijp, some of whose editions were already considered above. In his edition of *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina* (Gonggrijp 1876),<sup>146</sup> apparently adapted from the Jawi-script *Pandja Tandarana*, a translation by Abdullah Munsyi of the Tamil version of the Sanskrit book of fables *Pancatantra* (published 1866 in Leiden by van der Tuuk).<sup>147</sup> The following is from Gonggrijp (1876:3):

<p><i>Hhatá berapa lamanja, maka pada sawatoe hari berkata pandita Hindoe itoe: Hé Barzoejèh, telah adalah angkaw berçohhat dengan dakoe sakijan lamanja ini. Sekarang apa kahendaqmoe katakanlah kapadakoe sekalipoen, nistjaja koetjarikan djoega kahendaqmoe itoe.</i></p>	<p>{Hatta berapa lamanya, maka pada suatu hari berkata pendéta Hindu itu: Hai Barzuyéh, telah adalah engkau bersobat dengan daku sekian lamanya ini. Sekarang apa kehendakmu katakanlah kepadaku sekalipun, niscaya kucarikan juga kehendakmu itu.}</p>
---	---

‘Some time passed, then one day the Hindu priest said: Oh Barzuyeh, you have been a friend to me for so long. Now what is your wish do tell me for one, surely I will seek out that which you want.’

As already familiar from other texts above, a *ç* with cédille was used for Jawi-script *şad* (ص), a doubled *hh* for Jawi *ħa*, and the letter *q* for Jawi *qaf*. Somewhat simpler (but with *ç*) was the spelling in the anonymous Malay translation of *Baron von Münchhausen* (Munchhausen 1890), cf. on p. 38:

<p><i>... lantas dapet lah sahaja tambah ingetan lagi jang bikin çahnja sahaja poenja fikiran tadi, maka sebab itoe tiada lah sahaja melandjoetken sahaja poenja ka niattan.</i></p> <p><i>Apa bila sahaja melihat peloeroe ma-</i></p>	<p>{... lantas dapatlah sahaya tambah ingatan lagi yang bikin sahnya sahaya punya fikiran tadi, maka sebab itu tiadalah sahaya melanjutkan sahaya punya ke niattan.</p> <p><i>Apabila sahaya melihat peluru me-</i></p>
---	---

<sup>146</sup> There was a second edition in 1892 (not seen). An explicit schoolbook edition was published by van Ophuijsen (1913), cf. Mahdi (2006:91).

<sup>147</sup> Seen as 2nd edition: van der Tuuk (1875); the 1st edition is cited in Daftar (1872a:7 no. 38).

*riem jang dilepaskan oleh moesoeh, dan antaranja peloeroe itoe tiada djaoeh dari pada peloeroe jang sahaja kendarai, maka sahaja lantas melompat pindah mengendarai peloeroe moesoeh itoe, hingga sahaja bisa kembali poela di pesanggrahannya bala tantara Rusland.*<sup>148</sup>

*riam yang dilepaskan oléh musuh, dan antaranya peluru itu tiada jauh daripada peluru yang sahaya kendarai, maka sahaya lantas melompat pindah mengendarai peluru musuh itu, hingga sahaya bisa kembali pula di pesanggrahannya bala tentara Russia.* }

‘... then I could remember more, which confirmed my thoughts of just now, so I therefore did not continue my intentions.

When I saw a canonball that was shot by the enemy, and the distance of that canonball was not far from the cannonball that I was riding, I thereupon jumped over to ride that enemy canonball, so that I could return to the camp of the Russian army.’

It does not seem to be an exact translation of either the Dutch<sup>149</sup> or German<sup>150</sup> editions I could access. Towards the end of the 19th century many editors abandoned would-be High Malay altogether in favor of the outright vernacular.

A remarkable Low Malay edition was that of Alexandre Dumas’ *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* by Lie Kim Hok and F. Wiggers, apparently from the Dutch, as *Graaf de Monte-Cristo*, published in 25 installments in 1894–1899 (see Jedamski 2002:30, 46). The title page states explicitly: *tjeritaken dalam bahasa Melajoe rendah dengan menoeroet djalan jang gampang* ‘recount in Low Malay by following an easygoing way’.

As noted by Watson (1971:419), F. Wiggers also translated Melati van Java’s (1887–1888) *Van slaaf tot vorst* (a literary version of the legendary history of Untung Surapati) with explicit declaration of the language as Low Malay (*bahasa Melajoe renda*; Wiggers 1898). But although elements of Betawi and Bazaar Malay are ubiquitous throughout the text, there also is an admixture of the language style of traditional Malay folklore and literary fiction, resulting once more in a mix of “High” and “Low” Malay. In occasional passages, literary features even tend to prevail, cf. on pp. 3–4:

*Hata maka obor itoe di pegang oleh temannja saorang setengah toewa, ada poen soedah beroeban. Sikepnja ketjilan dari jang moeda, matanja ketjil, maka roepanja tjerdik dan berakal;*

{*Hatta maka obor itu dipegang oléh temannya seorang setengah tua, adapun sudah beruban. Sikapnya kecilan dari yang muda, matanya kecil, maka rupanya cerdik dan berakal;*}

‘Now then, the torch was held by his companion a middle aged man, yet already gray haired. His posture was shorter than [that of] the younger one, his eyes were small, so his appearance was smart and intelligent;’

<sup>148</sup> *Rusland* is ‘Russia’ in Dutch.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. the Dutch text: *Na deze overweging, die door verschillende andere van denzelfden aard werd gevolgd, zag ik een kogel, die uit de vesting naar ons kamp was geschoten en die mij op korten afstand passeerde. Ik sprong er op en kwam te midden der mijnen terug, ...* (Keller 1880:54).

<sup>150</sup> The German text: *Nach diesen und ähnlichen Betrachtungen entschloß ich mich kurz, nahm die glückliche Gelegenheit wahr, als eine Kanonenkugel aus der Festung einige Schritte weit vor mir vorüber nach unserm Lager flog, sprang von der meinigen auf diese hinüber, und kam, zwar unverrichteter Sache, jedoch wohlbehalten bey den lieben Unsrigen wieder an.* (Bürger 1786:53).

... lantas ija pandjat poehoen pisang itoe, dan ija potèsin satoe-satoe pisang, ija masoekin kedalem karoeng, tetapi lolos dari lobangnja teroes djato kebawa, dan si koera-koera poengoet, dimakannja. Tetapi hal itoe si Monjet tida liat sebab ija bergijet memotèsin pisang itoe.

(*ibid.*: 5–6)

‘... then he climbed into the banana tree, and he plucked one banana after another, which he placed into the sack, but slipped through the hole and fell below, and the turtle picked up, it ate [them]. But the monkey did not see that, because he was busy plucking the bananas.’



**Figure 14. An image from the Betawi Malay edition of the fable of the monkey and the turtle, edited by von de Wall (1885: between pp. 6 & 7)**

Typical features of the language of traditional literature (*hata maka, ada poen*) and High Malay vocabulary (*tjerdik, berakal*, instead of Bazaar *pinter* or colloquial *pandé* ‘smart, clever, intelligent’), are interspersed with Betawi features such as the root-final schwa (*sikep* ‘attitude, demeanor’) and the comparative suffix *-an* (*ketjilan* ‘smaller’).

An early example with explicit preference for the vernacular is the Malay edition of K.F. Holle’s fable of the monkey and the turtle (von de Wall 1885), published in Betawi Malay (*bahasa Melajoe Betawi*), see the text passage in the caption for Fig. 14. Vernaculars do not place less demand on fluency of non-native speakers. And indeed, as the English gloss shows, one loses track of the identity of actor and undergoer towards the end of the long, many-phrased first sentence of the quoted passage.

The 1895–1896 serial edition of twelve Jules Verne titles, translated from the French by W.N.J.G. Claasz (cf. Jedamski 2002:23; Sykorsky 1980:503, 513 nos. 9–12), was subtitled: *tertjaritaken di dalem bahasa Melajoe renda*, ‘recounted in Low Malay’. One noteworthy edition was the *Tjerita Aboe Nawas dengan Radja Haroenarrasid di negri Bagdad* ‘Stories of Abu Nuwas to King Harun ar-Rashid in the city of Baghdad’, which appeared in 1870, after running as serial in the *Bintang Barat*, then again as *Aboe Nawas* (1891) with reprints in 1894 and 1898 (Sykorsky 1980:514 no. 30).

In the last third of the 19th century, editors and publishers tended to outrightly publish in the vernacular, particularly Betawi or Java Bazaar. That this mainly happened in privately published popular literature and in the press is significant: These depended more directly on the wishes of their customers, the readers. With their choice of Malay dialect and style, they thus reveal to us the preferences of these readers. New technical terms in Malay were ultimately assimilated not primarily by the Dutch-educated elite. Their language of daily discourse was Dutch. Neologisms were chiefly assimilated by persons with no, or only elementary, education, for whom the phonetic constraints of vernacular Malay were relevant.

In texts for the literate elite, Dutch spelling (e.g. *pond* ‘pound’ and *post* ‘mail’ with word-final consonant clusters) was retained, even after adaption of Dutch *post kantoor* ‘post office’ to Malay syntax as *kantoor post* — cf. on the bottom line of the *Soerat Chabar Batawie* reproduction in Fig. 9, in which the word-final consonant cluster *st* is retained even in the Jawi-script text that has *post* spelled *p-w-s-t* (ڤوسٲ). The spelling with *st* persisted quite long. Thus, *Soerat-soerat post* ‘mail letters’ occurred in a report from Hongkong in the *Bintang Soerabaia* as late as July 15, 1887.

Only when words became mainstream in the vernacular were word-final clusters simplified, so that for example *pon* and *pos* displaced the “etymologically correct” spellings.<sup>151</sup> For words that were less frequently used by non-educated speakers (e.g. *advertentie* ‘advertisement’, *gouvernement* ‘government’), the adaption of the spelling proceeded more gradually (see in section 7 above).

## 9. Epilogue

In the publication of popular literature and newspaper press we found a development which was opposite to that in church publications, official documents and school-books. Questionable attempts at a Malay standard based on an assumed dialect of Riau and/or Johore gave way to an increasingly frank preference for the vernacular.

Lack of agreement amongst the experts as to what “pure” or Riau Malay was supposed to be like on the one side (cf. van der Tuuk 1886:974), and the vernacular environments in which editors learned Malay on the other, probably explains the observed situation to a considerable extent. The extreme disparity between the demand on language of the officials (“pure” High Malay) and the majority of the reading elite (“easy-going” Low Malay) must have been decisive at least in publication of popular literature and newspapers. Indeed, early (pre-Balai Poestaka)<sup>152</sup> editions were ‘far more in touch with the spoken language and down to earth than the sometimes very artificial language to be found in the later [Balai Poestaka] novels’ (Watson 1971:427).

The discrepancy had been partly masked by the circumstance that one did not have a writing personnel with native-speaker fluency. Official publications were in a vernacularized rendition of the prescribed Standard-Malay ideal, while the declared vernacular of private publications was frequently interspersed with features of “High” Malay.

Balai Poestaka was later able to introduce a High Malay standard that became known as “School Malay” precisely because indigenous editors became available, mostly of Sumatran (chiefly Minangkabau) origin, who were less influenced by Betawi, Java Bazaar, Ambon or Manado Malay. The grammars of Gerth van Wijk (1890; adapted into Malay by Koewatin 1910) and van Ophuijsen (1910), and the reader of van Ophuijsen (1912), provided the basic guidelines. This was an artificially conserved late medieval classical Malay. Neither were the Sumatran-born editors native speakers of that Malay, nor were the Dutch authors of the Standard grammars. One had established a standard “School Malay” that was not “pure” or “Riau Malay” (whatever that may have been) but an artificial language, not native to any natural speech community.

---

<sup>151</sup> Roorda van Eysinga (1877:98 sub *pon bâroe*, 50 sub *kantor*) already cites “Low” Malay *pon* and *pos*, the latter also attested to in the *Gambar-gambar* (1879) reproductions in Fig. 1-above. Neither of the words is noted in van Ophuijsen (1901) or Klinkert (1902), but Fokker (1919:104) already gives *pon* and *pos* as (mainstream) Malay glosses for Dutch *pond* and *post* respectively.

<sup>152</sup> Actually even pre-1920. Earlier Balai Poestaka publications did not strictly follow the standard of van Ophuijsen (see Mahdi 2006:97–101).

A vernacular Malay literature and press continued to exist in parallel to Balai Poestaka. Alongside the very popular and successful Chinese Malay literature which continued to develop and grow in the 20th century (see Salmon 1981:15–91), the turn of the century saw the emergence and growth of an indigenous literature and press.<sup>153</sup> The language of that indigene-edited press, also having to cater to language preferences of the reading elite, was not genuine Bazaar Malay or Betawi, much less literary High Malay, but the apparent continuation of the pre-1900 informal vernacular formed in the discourse between Dutch editors of Malay publications and the indigenous Latin-script Malay-reading elite. It became known as “Modern Malay”, so named by Henri van Kol in 1918 in the Dutch parliament,<sup>154</sup> noting that it was rapidly becoming the common language of the Archipelago. It developed as language of the intellectual elite in which one could say anything one needed to express (Drewes 1932:326), also becoming the language of the movement for independence (Anderson 1966:104).

The official reputation of propriety attached to School Malay strongly influenced the intellectual public, and Modern Malay gradually lost its more conspicuous vernacular features. Thus, the schwa in base-final syllable and in the suffix *-ken* was gradually replaced by *a* in political publications around 1918–1920.

The Dutch-schooled indigenous elite was more literate in Dutch than in Malay,<sup>155</sup> with the predictable consequence that their Malay speech was interspersed with borrowings and calques from Dutch (cf. Mahdi 2012b:417–418). All schooling and literature that formatively influenced the intellectual development of educated Indonesians had been in Dutch (in part also in English, French, German). To express themselves on any technically or intellectually demanding subject in Malay was just as adventurous for them as it had been for 19th century Dutch editors and writers of Malay.

The literate Dutch and colloquial Malay bilinguality of the Indonesian elite also had the effect of continuing the separation between the 19th-century “traditional” and “post-traditional” culture (cf. Mahdi 2012a). On the one side, European elements were now represented in indigenous culture in parallel with inherited tradition, and Indonesian culture now appeared to unite “Eastern” and “Western” traditions. On the other side, the new culture appeared to represent a superimposed “imported” tradition instead of a further development of indigenous tradition under novel socio-economic conditions (the way these changes had been culturally absorbed in Europe, Japan, and more recently in China, India, etc.). The return to medieval monarchy under Mataram, and the culturally isolating policy of the VOC, separated the country’s progressive development from its indigenous cultural heritage by more than two centuries.

19th-century Dutch writers had only little means to gain insight into the indigenous material and technical culture of bygone centuries.<sup>156</sup> This did not change much when

---

<sup>153</sup> There is a brief overview with bibliographic references in Mahdi (2006:88). For some pre-1900 examples of indigenous fiction, cf. Sykorsky (1971:513–514 nos. 34 & 40).

<sup>154</sup> *Handelingen van de Staten Generaal, Eerste Kamer 1917–1918:569*.

<sup>155</sup> In an article on p. 5, cols. 1–3, of the Dutch newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* (Amsterdam) of July 16, 1903, A.A. Fokker even suggested that Dutch-schooled Indonesians, though still referred to as ‘natives’ (*inlanders*), should be named “Indo-Netherlanders” (*Indo-Nederlanders*); see also in the *Indische Gids* 25:1378–1380 (1903).

<sup>156</sup> Dutch academic scholars did gain insight beyond classical and mythological literature, but at first only into agricultural and geographical tradition. Only gradually did one learn about the textile traditions, architecture, hydrological construction, metallurgy, etc., particularly after 1900.

indigenous writers and editors appeared on the scene. Graduating from Dutch schools, they hardly knew more than their Dutch teachers about their cultural past. European researchers studying the traditional cultures of China or India consulted indigenous scholars. But it is characteristic that the first publication of Balai Poestaka (then still Commissie voor de Volkslectuur) was a (New) Javanese translation of the Old Javanese version of *Mahābhārata*, translated by a Javanese indigene, Djojopoespito (1911), not from the original Old Javanese, but from the Dutch edition of Juynboll (1893). Indonesians learned about their ancient cultural heritage from Dutch and other European scholars. Leading early 20th-century scholars like Hoessein Djajadiningrat and Poerbatjaraka studied and did their doctoral theses<sup>157</sup> in Leiden, the Netherlands.

The indigenous elite developed very gradually. Only nobility was at first taken up into the administration under the governor-generalship of Daendels. Access to education beyond elementary school was restricted to children of the gentry. In the late 19th century, their social origin became more complex, including persons from Sumatran nobility. We saw the interaction between Dutch and indigenous intellectuals above, leading to publications in “High” Malay in Roti, or in Javanese, Sundanese, and Mandailing Batak in other places. There were indigenous Christians from Banda, Ambon, and Manado (discussed by van Minde n.d.). An indigenous middle class grew in the 19th century: a rural faction with traditional culture (typically Jawi-script literate); and an urban faction of merchants and craftsmen with a greater tendency towards Latin-script literacy and Dutch language fluency. But that middle class only became politically articulate in the 20th century, when an association of batik-cloth manufacturers was reorganized in 1911 into a merchants association, the Sarékat Dagang Islam, renamed Sarékat Islam in 1912.<sup>158</sup> But a significant part of the elite continued to have aristocratic roots (cf. Sutherland 1979), suggesting a far-going failure of the indigenous middle class (cf. Dobbin 1994). One consequence was retention of a decadent view on work ethics (Mahdi 2012a:125) until long after independence.

In all this, developments of the 19th century evidently served as a basis for those of the 20th. With regard to the Malay language and the underlying economic and social developments, one may probably conclude that the 19th century, especially its second half, was pivotal not only for the history of colonial Indonesia. As a consequence of the complex relationship between the locally resident Dutch population and an emerging indigenous “modernistic” society, that period also played a determining formative role with regard to Indonesia’s national resurrection in the 20th century.

## References

- [Aboe Nawas]. 1891. *Tjerita Aboe Nawas dengan Radja Harroenarrasid di Negri Bagdad*. Batavia: Albrecht & Rusche.
- Adam, Ahmat B. 1995. *The vernacular press and the emergence of modern Indonesian consciousness (1855–1913)*, Studies in Southeast Asia No. 17. Ithaca NY: Cornell Southeast Asia Program.
- Adelaar, K. Alexander. 1992. *Proto Malayic: The reconstruction of its phonology and parts of its lexicon and morphology*, Pacific Linguistics series C 119. Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.

<sup>157</sup> Djajadiningrat (1913) and Poerbatjaraka (1926).

<sup>158</sup> The organization’s general statutes were published in the journal *Hindia Serikat* 1:173ff. (May 1913).



- Ahmad, A. Samad, (ed.). 1987. *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Anderson, Ben[edict]. 1966. The languages of Indonesian politics. *Indonesia* (Ithaca) 1: 89–116.
- [Atoeran]. 1888. *Atoeran tanah mardika disebelah koelon kali Tjimanoek. Ja itoe tanah-tanah jang ada didalem residentie Banten, Betawi, Krawang dan Priangan* [...]. Betawi: Alex. Regensburg.
- Bachtiar, Harsja W. 1976. Raden Saleh: aristocrat, painter and scientist, *Majalah ilmu-ilmu sastra Indonesia* 5:31–39.
- Barros, João de. 1777. *Da Asia. Dos feitos, que os Portuguezes fizeram no descubrimento, e conquista dos mares, e terras do Oriente*. Decada segunda, parte segunda. Lisboa: Regia Officina Typografica.
- Becker, C.H. 1959. Bahr al-Ḳulzum. In B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat & J. Schacht (eds.), *The encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. I, fasciculus 15, *Baghdād – Bakkā*, pp. 931–933. Leiden: Brill / London: Luzac.
- Berg, J.Z. van den. 1880. *Boekoe parintah njang bergoena kapada segala orang njang ada di bawah parintahnja Kompeni Ollanda*. Soerabaya: Gimberg.
- Berge, Tom van den. 1993. Karel Frederik Holle, een Hollandse Soendanees (1829–1869), *Jambatan* (Tijdschrift voor de geschiedenis van Indonesië) 12/3:134–146.
- Besar, Raihoel Amar *Datoek*, & Roelof Roolvink, 1953, *Hikajat Abdullah*, diterbitkan lagi dengan anotasi. Djakarta – Amsterdam: Djambatan.
- [Biblia malaica]. 1731. *'Elkhawlu-'Lājadīd, 'īja 'ītu, Segāla sūrat perḍjandjī'an bahāruw*. 'Ātas tītah fegaġa tuwān pemārentah kompanijā tersālin kapaḍa bahāfa malājuw. 'Amīsterdam (= Amsterdam): R. dān DJ. Wet<sup>4</sup>istejn.
- . 1733. *'Elkitāb, 'īja 'ītu, Segala sūrat perḍjandjī'an lāma dān bahāruw*. 'Ātas tītah fegaġa tuwān pemārentah kompanijā tersālin kapaḍa bahāfa malājuw. 'Amīsterdam (= Amsterdam): R. dān DJ. Wet<sup>4</sup>istejn.
- . 1835. *Segala soerat perḍjandjian bahroe maha Toehan kita-orang Jesus Kristus*, tersalin kapada Bahasa Malajoe. Tertera dengan balandja Segala Orang Pemarentah Hal Pasoeroehan Indjil, yang berkoempoel dibendar Soerabaija. Batawija: n.n.
- . 1861–1863. *Kitab Indjil jang Soetji*. [I] terkarang oleh Matthéoes, Markoes, Loekas dan Johannes. Tersalin djadi bahasa Malajoe Rendah. / [II] Bagian jang kadoewa jang moewat *Kitab Perboewatan segala Rasoel, dan segala soerat kiriman Rasoel-Rasoel dan Kitab Wahjoe*. Tersalin kapada bahasa Malajoe Rendah. Semarang: G.C.T. van Dorp.
- . 1875. *Segala soerat perḍjandjian bahroe maha Toehan kita-orang Jesus Kristus*, tersalin kapada Bahasa Malajoe. Dekaloearkan menoeroet parentah deri Nederlandsch Indisch Bijbel- en Zendeling Genootschap di Batawia. Batawia: H.M. van Dorp (a slightly re-edited re-issue of the 1835 first edition).

- . 1879. *Wasijat jang lama, ija-itoe segala kitab perdjandjian lama ataw kitab Torat dan Zaboer dan Nabi-Nabi*. Amsterdam: Nederlandsche Bijbelgenootschap.
- . 1888. *Wasiat jang bēharoe, ija-itoe sēgala kitab pērdjandjian bēharoe ataw indjil Toehan kami Isa alMasih*. Tweede verbeterde druk. Amsterdam: Nederlandsche Bijbelgenootschap (first edition 1870, not seen).
- Bickmore, Albert S. 1868. *Travels in the East Indian Archipelago*. London: John Murray.
- [Boekoe Peratoeran]. 1888. *Boekoe peratoeran negri hal djalannja Policie. Menoeroet Oendang oendang tanggal 5 April dari tahoen 1848*. Staatsblad angka 16. Serta segala perobahannja itoe. Soerabaia: Gimberg.
- Boetzelaer van Asperen en Dubbeldam, Carel W.Th. Baron van. 1941. De geschiedenis van de maleische bijbelvertaling in Nederlandsch-Indie. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* **100**:27–48.
- Boogman, J.C. 1977. De periode 1840–1848 & De ‘revolutie’ van 1848 en haar nasleep. In Th. van Tijn, E. Scholiers, J.C. Boogman, L. Wils (eds.), *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* **12**. *Nederland en België 1840 – 1914*, eerste helft, pp. 306–332 & 333–352. Haarlem: Fibula – Van Dishoeck.
- Borschberg, Peter. 2010. *The Singapore and Melaka Straits: Violence, Security and Diplomacy in the 17th Century*. Leiden: KITLV Press / Singapore: NUS Press.
- Bosch Kemper, J. de. 1875. *Geschiedenis van Nederland na 1830*. 4e deel. Amsterdam: Witkamp.
- Boxer, C.R. 1965 *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600–1800*. London: Hutchinson (American edition – New York: Knopf).
- Breman, Jan. 1987. *Koelies, planters en koloniale politik*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde **123**. Dordrecht – Providence RI: Foris.
- Brumund, J.F.G. 1853. De Maleische Christenen hebben geen Bijbel. In J.F.G. Brumund, *Indiana. Verzameling van stukken van onderscheiden aard, over landen, volken, oudheden en geschiedenis van den Indischen archipel*, 1e stuk, pp. 169–180. Amsterdam: van Kampen.
- Bruyn, R. le. 1828. *Kitâb NJânjipan, jang suḍah detambâhij dergan Bârang Mazmûr ṽ dâṽ Tahlîl ṽ 'Indjil, 'Âkan depâkejkan dâlam Pakompôlan Hhâl Pasurôhan 'Indjil Wolandâwij, peṽarâṽan jang kaduṽa*. BatâwiĴah: Paṽarâṽan KaraḍĴâṽan.
- [Buning, H]. 1879. *Boekoe masak masakan roepa-roepa*, mengoendjoeken bagimana bikinnja: makanan tjara blanda, makanan tjara djawa, koeweeh-koeweeh tjara blanda, koeweeh-koeweeh tjara djawa, manissan, stroop, likeur en lain minoeman, assinan, atjar en sosijs besar, ketjil, roepa-roepa. Samoeanja lebih dari 600 warna. Djokdjakarta: H. Buning.
- Burger, D.H. 1975. *Sociologisch-economische geschiedenis van Indonesia*, deel 1. Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen / The Hague: Nijhoff.

- [Bürger, Gottfried August]. 1786. *Wunderbare Reisen zu Wasser und Lande, Feldzüge und lustige Abentheuer des Freyherrn von Münchhausen, wie er dieselben bey der Flasche im Cirkel seiner Freunde selbst zu erzählen pflegt*. Aus dem Englischen nach der neuesten Ausgabe übersetzt, hier und da erweitert und mit noch mehr Kupfern gezieret. London: n.n.
- Campe, J[oachim] H[einrich]. 1780. *Robinson der Jüngere, zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder*, Erster Theil. Verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Mit Chursächsischer Freiheit. Hamburg: beim Verfasser und in Commiſion bei Carl Ernst Bohn (2nd ed.; the 1st ed., 1779, was seen as 2000 reprint, Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun.; of which the title page had differently spelled *Commiſſion* instead of *Commißion*).
- Campo, J.[N.F.M.] à. 1994. Steam navigation and state formation. In Robert Cribb (ed.), *The late colonial state in Indonesia: Political and economic foundations of the Netherlands Indies 1880-1942*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde **163**, pp. 11–29. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Capellen, V.D. 1895. *Hindia Code, ija itoe Kitab Kawat akan goenanja Soedagar-Soedagar dan orang-orang lain jang hendak kirim kabar kawat dengan memakei sedikit perkataän dan dengan bahasa rahasia*. Batavia – Solo: Albrecht & Rusche.
- Chaer, Abdul. 1998. *Kamus dialek Melayu Jakarta – Bahasa Indonesia*. Cetakan ke-2. Ende: Nusa Indah.
- . 2009. *Kamus dialek Jakarta*. Cetakan ke-2. Jakarta: Masup Jakarta.
- Chambert-Loir, Henri, & Siti Maryam R. Salahuddin, (eds.), 1999, *Bo' Sangaji Kai: catatan kerajaan Bima*. Naskah dan Dokumen Nusantara, Seri **18**. Jakarta: École française d'Extrême-Orient / Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Chijs, J.A. van der. 1864. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het inlandsch onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië, I & II. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* **14**:212–323.
- . 1879. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het inlandsch onderwijs in Nederlandsch-Indië (vervolg.): Inlandsch onderwijs in de residentie Timor in 1871. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* **25**:1–71.
- [Daftar]. 1872a. *Daftar kitab-kitab jang didapati di kantor Tjitak Gubernement pada hari 1 boelan Junij tahoen 1872 / Opgave der leer- en leesboeken in inlandsche talen ter Landsdrukkerij voorhanden (1 Junij 1872)*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- . 1872b. *Daftar kitab-kitab jang didapati di kantor Tjitak Gubernement pada hari 1 boelan November tahoen 1872 / Opgave der leer- en leesboeken in inlandsche talen ter Landsdrukkerij voorhanden (1 November 1872)*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- . 1877. *Daftar kitab-kitab jang ada di kantor Tjitak Gubernement dan berbagai-bagai benda akan di pakai pada midras-midras Goebnemen (pada hari 1 boelan Januari 1877) / Opgave der leer- en leesboeken ter landsdrukkerij voorhanden en van andere leermiddelen ten behoeve van de gouvernements inlandische scholen (1 Januari 1877)*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.

- . 1882. *Daftar segala kitab-kitab dan barang sebagajnja jang terpakaj kapada pengadjaran anak negeri / Catalogus van leer- en leesboeken en andere leermiddelen ten behoeve van het Inlandsch onderwijs*. Batawi: n.n.
- . 1883. *Daftar kitab-kitab jang terkarang dalam bahasa-bahasa negeri ataw jang bergoena akan beladjar bahasa-bahasa itoe jang dapat di beli pada Kantor Pertjitakan Goewernemen di bandar Batawi / Catalogus van boeken in en over Inlandsche talen verkrijgbar ter Landsdrukkerij te Batavia*. Batawi: Pertjitakan Goewernemen.
- . 1884. *Daftar segala kitab-kitab dan barang sebagajnja jang terpakaj bagi pengadjaran anak negeri / Catalogus van leer- en leesboeken en andere leermiddelen ten behoeve van het Inlandsch onderwijs*. Batawi: Pertjitakan Goewernemen.
- . 1888. *Catalogus van boeken, kaarten, atlassen en andere drukwerken in voorraad bij 's lands depot van leermiddelen te Batavia*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- . 1889. *Supplement op den Catalogus van het jaar 1888 van boeken, kaarten, enz. in voorraad bij 's lands depot van leermiddelen te Weltevreden, aangevende de sedert uitverkochte en nieuw verschenen boeken, enz. / Daftar pada menjatakan nama den harga kitab-kitab jang baharoe kloear, lagi menjatakan nama kitab-kitab jang tiada lagi, ja-itoe akan menambahi kitab-kitab dari tahun 1888*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- . 1890. *Catalogus van hetgeen verkrijgbaar is bij 's lands depot van leermiddelen te Weltevreden of voor gouvernements inlandsche scholen aangevraagd kan worden ter verstrekking van Batavia / Daftar Segala barang jang dapat dibeli pada kantor kitab Gouvernement di Weltevreden (Batawi) dan lagi boleh dipinta bagei sekola Goevernement*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- . 1891. *Daftar goedang kitab goebnemen di Batawi tahun 1892*. Djilid I. *Menjatakan segala barang jang boleh dipinta bagi sekola anak negeri goebnemen di tanah Hindia Nederland*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- . 1892. *Kitab dari goedang kitab goebnemen di Batawi tahun 1893*. Djilid I. *Menjatakan segala barang jang boleh dipinta bagi sekola anak negeri di tanah Hindia Nederland*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- Danckaerts, Sebastiaen. 1623. *Catechismus attau Adjáran derri agamma Christáon*. Bersalin derri bahasa Hollanda dalam bahasa Maleya [...]. 's Gravenhaghe: Erfg v. Hillebrandt Jacobszoon van Wouw.
- Dijk, Cees van. 1986. *Gezanten, Slaven, een Schilder en Enkele Scholieren*. In Harry A. Poeze (ed.), *In het Land van de Overheerser: I. Indonesiers in Nederland, 1600–1950*, 2e druk, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde **100**, pp. 1–22. Dordrecht – Cinnaminson NJ: Foris.
- Djajadiningrat, Hoesein. 1913. *Critische beschouwing van de Sadjarah Bantěn: bijdrage ter kenschetsing van de Javaansche geschiedschrijving*. Academisch proefschrift, Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden. Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé.

- Djojopoespito (= Jâyâpuspitâ) [no surname], *Raden Ngabéhi*. 1911. *Serat Mahabarata*, bâsâ Kawi, ingkang ing ngajeng sampun kasantunna bâsâ Walandi déning tuwan doktor Hendrik Herman Yuinbol, ing mangké kasantunna bâsâ Jawi déning Raden Ngabéhi Jâyâpuspitâ, wahunipun juru bâsâ Jawi ing Surâkartâ. [in Javanese script], serie uitgaven door bemiddeling der Commissie voor de Volkslectuur No. 1 / *Serat Mahabharata*, uit het Oud-Javaansch in het Hollandsch overgebracht door Dr. H.H. Juynboll, en in het Modern-Javaansch vertaald door wijlen Rn. Ng. Djojopoespito, in leven inlandsch translateur te Soerakarta. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- Dobbin, Christine. 1994. Accounting for the Failure of the Muslim Javanese Business Class: Examples from Ponorogo and Tulungagung (c. 1880–1940). *Archipel* 48: 87–101.
- Douglas, Carstairs. 1899. *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy*, with the principal variations of the Chang-chew and Chin-chew dialects. New edition. London: Presbyterian Church of England.
- Drewes, G.W.J. 1929. The influence of Western civilisation on the languages of the East Indian archipelago. In B. Schrieke (ed.), *The effect of Western influence on native civilisations in the Malay Archipelago*, pp. 126–157. Batavia: Kolff.
- . 1932. Oud en nieuw in de hedendaagsche Indonesische literatuur. *De Gids* 54:316–336.
- . 1934. De strijd om de persvrijheid en de oudste Inlandsche couranten. *Koloniale Studiën* 18:1–36.
- . 1948. *Van Maleis naar Basa Indonesia*, Rede uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van hoogleraar in de Maleise taal- en letterkunde aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden op 16 April 1948. Leiden: Brill.
- Ferrand, Gabriel. 1918. A propos d'une carte javanaise du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Journal asiatique*, sér. 11, 12:158–170.
- Fokker, A.A. 1919. *Kitap-tjonto-soerat-soerat Melajoe / Maleisch Brievenboek en Woordenlijst*, 4e druk. Leiden: Brill.
- Francis, Gijsbert, [et al.]. 1891–1902. *Hikajat 1001 Malam*. ja-itoe tjeritera-tjeritera Arab, disalin kepada bahasa Melajoe [oleh toean Gijsbert Francis, redacteur dari soerat kabar “Pembrita Betawi”] dengan menoeroet karangan Toean Gerard Keller di dalam bahasa Olanda. Terhias dengan lebih daripada 3000 gambar jang bagoes-bagoes, djilid 1 (nos. 1–11), 2 (nos. 12–22), 3 (nos. 23–32). Betawi: Albrecht & Rusche (Gijsbert Francis is named on the front covers of nos. 1 and 2, not of nos. 3–32; (front covers of nos. 3 and 4 not seen); the title text of no. 1: *Alflailah Walailah*, ja-itoe Tjeritera-Tjeritera Arab dikarangken dalam bahasa Melajoe serta memake bebrapa Gambar).
- Francis, G. 1892. *Atoeran soerat-soerat*, terisi bebrapa tjonto soerat-soerat kiriman dan perdjandjian dan permehoenan dan laen-laen sebageinja, jang bergoena pada sekalian orang jang bitjara bahasa Melajoe di Hindia-Olanda. Batawi: Albrecht & Rusche.
- Freijss, J.P. 1859. *Proeve ter beantwoording der vraag: wat ter bevordering van beschaving in Nederlandsch-Indië kan worden gedaan*. Amsterdam: H. Hoveker.

- Frijlink, Hendrik. 1829–1831. *Duizend en één nacht*. Arabische Vertellingen. De nieuwste en volledigste Fransche en Hoogduitsche uitgaven gevolgd. Amsterdam: Hendrik Frijlink.
- Gaastra, Femme S. 1991. *De geschiedenis van de VOC*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers.
- [Gambar-gambar]. [1879]. *Gambar-gambar akan peladjaran dan kasoekaän anak-anak dan iboe-bapanja*. Betawie – Bandoeng – [Leiden]: Kolff.
- Gelder, W[illem] van. 1897. *Atlas sêkolah Hindia-Nederland*. tjitakan jang kaëmpat. Groningen: Wolters.
- . 1911. *Atlas sekolah Hindia Nederland*. tjetakan jang kedelapan. Groningen: Wolters.
- Gerth van Wijk, D. 1865. *Tjerita-tjerita peroepama-an*. Batavia: Lands-Drukkerij.
- . 1890. *Spraakleer der Maleische taal*. Batavia: Kolff.
- Gonggrijp, J.R.P.F. 1861. *Ilmoe hitoengan*. Batavia: Lands-Drukkerij.
- . 1866. *Kitab pengadjaran boenjinja deri pada hal tanam djagoeng, oebi, padi, dan pijara ikan*. Menoeroet karangannja toewan K.F. Holle di Garoet. Batavia: Lands-Drukkerij
- . 1876. *Hhikajat Kalila dan Damina*, als leesboek voor den Inlander bestemd / tersalin dari pada noschat Malajoe. Leiden: Gualth Kolff.
- Graaf, H.J. de. 1980. Cephass, de Fotograaf. *Moesson* (onafhankelijk Indisch tijdschrift) **24/20**:6–8.
- Gräbner, G.A. 1866. *Robinson Crusoe*. Mit Unterstützung von Gelehrten und Schulmännern. 2. Auflage. Leipzig: Verlag für erziehenden Unterricht.
- Grijns, C.D. 1991. *Jakarta Malay. A Multidimensional Approach to Spatial Variation*, Part II, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde **149**. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- . 1996. Van der Tuuk and the Study of Malay. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* **152**:353–381.
- Groeneboer, Kees. 1993. *Weg tot het Westen: Het Nederlands voor Indië 1600–1950; een taalpolitieke geschiedenis*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde **158**. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij.
- . 1994. The Dutch Language in Maluku under the VOC. *Cakalele. Maluku Research Journal / Majalah Penelitian Maluku* **5**:1–10, iii–v.
- Groneman, J[zaac], 1885, Het Waterkasteel te Jogjakarta. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* **30**:412–434.
- . 1888. *In den Kedaton te Jogjåkartå: Oepåtjårå, ampilan en toneeldansen*. Met Fotogrammen van Cephass. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1895. *De Garebeg's te Ngajogyåkartå*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- . 1899. *De wajang orang Prëgiwå in den Kraton te Jogjåkartå in juni 1899*, met lichtbeelden op last van Z.H. den Sultan Hamëngkoe Boewånå VII; vervaardigd door K. Cephass. Semarang: Van Dorp.

- Guillermo, Ramon, 2014, Themes of Invention, Help, and Will: Joachim Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere* in Tagalog and Bahasa Melayu Translations. *Southeast Asian Studies* 3:3–47
- Guillot, Claude. 1981. Un exemple d'assimilation à Java: le photographie Kassian Cephas. *Archipel* 22:55–73.
- Guillot, Claude, & Pierre Labrousse. 1997. Raden Saleh, un artiste-prince à Paris. *Archipel* 54: 123–152.
- Harahap, Basyral Hamidy. 2007. Sati Nasution Willem Iskander (1840-1876): Pelopor pendidikan dari Sumatera Utara. Presented at *Seminar dalam rangka Hari Pahlawan 10 November 2007*, Pusat Studi Sejarah dan Ilmu-ilmu Sosial Universitas Negeri Medan.
- Harahap, Parada. 1924. *Journalistiek (Pers- en Spreekdelicten)*. Weltevreden: Bintang Hindia.
- Harmsen, L.K. 1875 *Bahoewa ini Ilmoe Boemi*, ija-itoe pada menjatakan perihal tanah Kepulauan Hindija di Sabelah Timor jang di bawah perentah Goewernemen Holanda. Batawi: Ogilvie.
- Hesselink, Liesbeth. 2011. *Healers on the colonial market. Native doctors and midwives in the Dutch East Indies*. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 276. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- [HIO-Commissie]. 1930. *De sociale en geografische herkomst van de Westersch opgeleide Inlanders*, Publicaties Hollandsch-Inlandsch Onderwijs-Commissie No. 5. Weltevreden: Kolff.
- Hoëvell, W[olter] R. van. 1849. *Reis over Java, Madura en Bali in het midden van 1847*, 1e deel. Amsterdam: van Kampen.
- . 1854. *Idem*, 3e deel, 1e aflevering. Amsterdam: van Kampen.
- Holle, K[arel] F[rederik]. 1871–1879. *De vriend van den Javaanschen landman*, parts 1–7. Batavia: Ogilvie.
- . 1874–1879, *Mitra nu Tani*, nos. 1–7, karanganana tuwan K.F. Holle, disalin tina basa Walanda kana basa Sunda ku Raden Kartawinata [in Sundanese script]. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- . 1876. *Bahoewa inilah kitab menjatakan hal bertanam padi dan lain-lain tanam-tanaman*. Terkarang K.F. Holle. Tersalin pada bahasa Malajoe oleh D. Gerth van Wijk. Batawi: Pertjitakan Goewernemen. (2nd ed. 1886).
- . 1877. *Bahwa īnī suwātu per'ingātan pada menyatākan ḥāl bertānam pādī terkārang oleh K.F. Holle / penōlong membicarākan segala ḥāl ihwāl orang būmī putrā ter'ātūr ākan pergunā'an orang melāyū dipūlaw perca dipasīsir sebelah bārat oleh E.Th. Van Delden / serta disālin kapada bahāsa melāyū oleh D. Gerth van Wijk. Tercītaq dibandar batāwī pada percitākan guwernemēn* [in Jawi script, the non-italicized words in Latin script].
- Houben, Vincent J.H. 1999. Introduction: The coolie system in colonial Indonesia. In Vincent J.H. Houben and J. Thomas Lindblad (eds.), *Coolie Labour in Colonial Indonesia. A Study of Labour Relations in the Outer Islands, c. 1900–1940*, pp. 1–23. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Hussain, *Hj.* Khalid Muhammad, (ed.). 1986. *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain*, 2nd ed. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa.
- Ibrāhīm [no surname], *Hādji*. 1868. *Tjākap-2 Rampai-2 bahāsa Malājoe Djōhor*, jāitoe dengngan p̄ertoelōengan dān p̄ngatōeran H. von de Wall, djilid I. Batāwi: p̄rtjetākan Goewernemen.
- . 1877. *Pantoen-2 Malājoe*, maka jang m̄ndlāhirken dīja s̄rta m̄m̄b̄etoelken edjānja, jāitoe H. von de Wall. Batāwi: W. Bruining.
- [Ichtisar]. 1894. *Ichtisar dari atoeran parintah hal orang-orang bangsa anak negeri jang masoek bilangan bala tentara Hindia*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij. (translated by J.L. Rhemrev).
- Ikram, Achadiata, 1980, *Hikayat Sri Rama*. Suntingan naskah disertai telaah amanat dan struktur. Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Indonesia.
- Jansen, Jeroen. 1999. Purity and the Language of the court in the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Netherlands. Presented to the University of Western Ontario Medieval and Renaissance Seminar Annual Conference *Vernacularity: the Politics of Language and Style*, London (Ontario), March 4-7, 1999.
- Janssen, C.W. 1888. *K.F. Holle: Wat een Nederlander in Indië doen kan*, eene schets, met portret. Amsterdam: J.H. de Bussy.
- Jedamski, Doris. 2002. Popular literature and postcolonial subjectivities. Robinson Crusoe, the Count of Monte Cristo and Sherlock Holmes in Colonial Indonesia. In Keith Foulcher & Tony Day (eds.), *Clearing a Space: Postcolonial readings of modern Indonesian literature*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde **202**, pp. 19–47. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Jones, Russel (gen. ed.). 2007. *Loan-words in Indonesian and Malay*. Compiled by the Indonesian Etymological Project. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Juynboll, H.H. 1893. *Drie boeken van het Oudjavaansche Mahābhārata in Kawi-tekst en Nederlandsche vertaling, vergeleken met den Sanskrit-tekst*. Academisch proefschrift, Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden. Leiden: Brill.
- Kartawinata [no surname], *Raden*. 1874. *Carita Tuwan Kapitan Willem IJsbrandts-zoon Bontekoe*, tina Basa Walanda dipindahk̄en kana Basa Sunda ku Rad̄en Kartawinata [in Sundanese script]. Batawi: Kangjeng Gupernem̄en.
- Keller, Gerard. 1880. *Avonturen van den Baron van Munchhausen*, opnieuw bewerkt, geïllustreerd met 162 platen door Gustave Doré, 4e herziene druk. Nijmegen – Arnhem: Cohen.
- . [c. 1889]. *Duizend en één nacht*, met meer dan 3000 illustratiën van Gust. Doré. Nijmegen – Arnhem: Cohen.
- Keppel, Henry. 1846. *The Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido for the Suppression of Piracy*, vol. 2. London: Chapman & Hall.
- Klinkert, H.C. 1902. *Nieuw Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, met Arabisch karakter, naar de beste en laatste bronnen bewerkt, 2e verbeterde en vermeerderde druk. Leiden: Brill.
- Knaap, Gerrit. 1999. *Cephas, Yogyakarta. Photography in the service of the Sultan*. Leiden: KITLV Press.



- Koewatin, Sasrasoegonda. 1910. *Kitab jang menjatakan djalan Bahasa Melajoe*, terkoetip dari bahasa Belanda. Semarang – Soerabaia – Den Haag: van Dorp (School Malay adaption of Gerth van Wijk 1890).
- Koper, Jacob. 1956. *Enkele aspecten van het vraagstuk der missionaire Bijbelvertaling in het bijzonder in Indonesië*, Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht.
- Kraack, D.A. 1996. Flensburg, an early modern centre of trade. In Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma van Voss (eds.), *The North Sea and Culture (1550-1800)*. Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren.
- Kraus, Werner. 2004. *Raden Saleh – Ein Malerleben zwischen zwei Welten*, Rund um den Finckenfang 4. Maxen / Müglitztal: Niggemann & Simon.
- . 2012. *Raden Saleh. The beginning of modern Indonesian painting*, edited by Werner Kraus & Irina Vogelsang. [Jakarta]: Goethe-Institut Indonesien.
- Kroeskamp, H. 1974. *Early schoolmasters in a developing country*. A history of experiments in school education in 19th century Indonesia. Assen: van Gorcum.
- Lasminingrat [no surname], *Raden Ajoë*. 1875. *Carita Èrman*, tina basa Walanda dipindahkeun kana basa Sunda ku Radèn Ayu Lasminingrat [in Sundanese script]. Batawi: Kangjeng Gupernemen (Latin-script alternative title page: *Tjarita Erman (Hendrik van Eichenfels)* uit het Nederlandsch in het Soendaasch overgebracht. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij).
- Leydekker, Melchior. 1685. Uitlegging van eenige woorden/ die in het voorgaande traktaatje invloeien/ en misschien niet/ of kwalyk van eenige verstaan zullen worden. Supplemented to Melchior Leydekker, *Ichtit Saar Catechismoe, atau Risalet jang simpan pangadjaran agama Messehhi, ija itoe agama Natsareni, jang di adjarkan pada barang sijapa mau masoek pada djamowan malam*. Batavia: Abraham van den Eede.
- (Seen as 1708 reprint, appended on pp. 283–286 to F. Gueynier, *Vocabulaer, of-te Woorden-Boek, Nae Ordre van het Alphabeth, in 't Duytsch ende Mallays*, being section III in: Tweede deel van de *Collectanea Malaica Vocabularia*, Batavia: Andries Lambert Loderus)
- Limburg Brouwer, van. 1877. Javaansche Zang. *De Gids* 41:286–311.
- Macknight, C.C. 1976. *The voyage to Marege'. Macassan trepangers in northern Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Mahdi, Waruno. 2006. The beginnings and reorganization of the *Commissie voor de Volkslectuur* (1908 – 1920). In Fritz Schulze & Holger Warnk (eds.), *Insular Southeast Asia: Linguistic and Cultural Studies in Honour of Bernd Nothofer*, pp. 85–110. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2008. Yavadvipa and the Merapi Volcano in West Sumatra. *Archipel* 75: 111–143.
- . 2012a. Bifurcation of commercial tradition in West Indonesia, 1850–1930, as Reflected in Contemporaneous Malay Print Publishing. *Asian Journal of Social Science* 40:100–132.
- . 2012b. Distinguishing cognate homonyms in Indonesian. *Oceanic Linguistics* 51:402–449.

- Manafe, D.P. 1889. Akan Bahasa Rotti. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* **38**: 634–648 (foreword by Hendrik Kern on p. 633: “Proeve eener beknopte spraakkunst van het Rottineesch”).
- Matheson Hooker, Virginia. 1991. *Tuhfat al-Nafis: Sejarah Melayu-Islam*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Melati van Java [pseudonym of Nicolina Maria Sloot]. 1887–1888. *Van slaaf tot vorst: historisch romantische schets uit de geschiedenis van Java*. Culemborg: Blom & Olivierse.
- Minde, Don van. n.d. Motley Malay. Central Moluccan contributions to the development of standard Malay. Unpublished manuscript [non-finalized version, June 2001].
- Mooij, J[akob]. 1923. *Geschiedenis der Protestantische Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië*, In opdracht van Zijne Excellentie den Minister van Koloniën, op voorstel van het Bestuur over de Protestantische Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië, 1e boek, *Van de stichting der Oost-Indische Compagnie tot het optreden van den Gouverneur-Generaal Antonio van Diemen (1602–1636)*. Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij.
- Moriyama, Mikihiro. 1995. Language Policy in the Dutch Colony: On Sundanese in the ‘Dutch East Indies’. *Southeast Asian Studies* **32**:446–454.
- Mulyadi, S.W.R., 1983, *Hikayat Indraputra: A Malay Romance*, KITLV: Bibliotheca Indonesica **23**. Dordrecht – Cinnaminson NJ: Foris.
- [Munchhausen]. [c. 1890]. *Boekoe Tjerita-an Hikajatnja Baron van Munchhausen*, ter-salin bahasa Melajoe. Soerabaia: Gimberg.
- Nas, Peter J.M., and Pratiwo [no surname]. 2002. Java and De Groote Postweg, La Grande Route, the Great Mail Road, Jalan Raya Pos. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* **158**:707–725.
- Nieuwenhuys, R. 1962. Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk. In R. Nieuwenhuys (ed.), *Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk: De pen in gal gedoopt*, brieven en documenten, STOA-Reeks, pp. 5–8. Amsterdam: van Oorschot.
- Ophuijsen, Ch[arles] A[driaan] van. 1901. *Kitab logat Melajoe / Woordenlijst voor de spelling der Maleische Taal met Latijnsch karakter*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- . 1910. *Maleische spraakkunst*. Leiden: van Doesburgh.
- . 1912. *Maleisch Leesboek*. Leiden: van Doesburgh.
- . 1913. *Hikajat Pandja Tanderan*, jaïtoe jang dinamai olēh orang Melajoe *Hikajat Galilah dan Daminah*. Kitab batjaan bagi moerid sekolah Melajoe. Leiden: Trap. (2nd ed. 1927, Zalt-Bommel: Van de Garde)
- Parkinson, Sydney. 1773. *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in His Majesty’s Ship, the Endeavour*. Faithfully transcribed from the papers of the late Sydney Parkinson, Draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq. on his late Expedition, with Dr. Solander, round the World. London: Richardson and Urquhart; Evans; Hooper; Murray; Leacroft; and Riley. [quoted from online 2004 edition of South Seas, beginning at <http://southseas.nla.gov.au/journals/parkinson/contents.html>]
- Paulus, J. 1917. *Encyclopædie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 2e druk, 1e deel A – G. ’s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff / Leiden: Brill.

- Pijnappel, J[an]. 1865. Laag-Maleisch. *De Gids* 29:148–159.
- . 1875. *Maleisch-Hollandsch woordenboek*. Tweede, geheel nieuwe uitgaaf. Haarlem: Enschedé / Amsterdam: Frederik Muller.
- Poerbatjaraka (Lesya). 1926. *Agastya in den Archipel*, Academisch proefschrift, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden. Leiden: E.J. Brill
- Poerwadarminta, W.J.S. 1976. *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia*. Diolah kembali oleh Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa. Balai Pustaka No. 1866, cetakan V. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Poeze, Harry. 1986. 1898–1913: Van enkelingen tot groep. In Harry A. Poeze (ed.), *In het Land van de Overheerser: I. Indonesiers in Nederland, 1600–1950*, 2e druk, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 100, pp. 23–90. Dordrecht – Cinnaminson NJ: Foris.
- Prentice, Jack. 1994. Manado Malay: Product and agent of language change. In Tom Dutton & Darrell T. Tryon (eds.), *Language Contact and Change in the Austro-nesian World*. Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 77. Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Prick van Wely, F.P.H. 1906. *Neerlands taal in 't Verre Oosten, eene bijdrag tot de kennis en historie van het Hollandsch in Indië*. Semarang – Soerabaia: van Dorp.
- Putten, Jan van der. 2001. *His Word is the Truth. Haji Ibrahim's Letters and Other Writings*, CNWS Publications 104. Leiden: Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies.
- Robson, S.O. 1969. *Hikajat Andaken Penurat*, Bibliotheca Indonesica 2. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- , [Stuart instead of S.O.] (translator). 1995. *Désawarjana (Nāgarakṛtāgama)* by Mpu Prapañca. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Rodgers, Susan. 2002. Compromise and contestation in colonial Sumatra. An 1873 Mandailing schoolbook on the Wonders of the West. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 158: 479–512.
- Roorda van Eysinga, P[hilippus] P[ieter]. 1824. *Nederduitsch en Maleisch woordenboek*, onder goedkeuring en begunstiging der Hooge Regering van Nederlandsch Indië / *Kitāb loġhat ya'itu kitāb mengatākan bahāsa nederland dān bahāsa melāyū* [in Jawi script]. Batavia: Lands Drukkery.
- . 1839. *Beknopte Maleische spraakkunst en chrestomathie, met Italiaansch en Arabisch karakter, benevens een volledig Hoog en Laag Maleisch en Nederduitsch woordenboek met Italiaansch karakter*. Breda: Broese & Comp.
- . 1855. *Algemeen Nederduitsch-Maleisch woordenboek, in de hof-, volks- en laage taal, met aanduiding der woorden, welke uit oostersche en westersche talen ontleend zijn; voorafgegaan van eene beschouwing over de Maleijers, hunne geschiedenis, taal en haare verwantschap met Indische en andere talen; verrijkt met aanhalingen uit geschriften en vertalingen van volzinnen; gevolgd door een alphabetische register van voorname plaatsen en personen*. 's Graven-hage: van Cleef.

- Roorda van Eysinga, Jr. [= W.A.P.]. 1866. *Verzameling van eene menigte noodzakelijke zamenspraken met Inlanders van allerlei klassen, in de Laag Maleische Taal, voorafgegaan van eene beknopte spraakkunst van dier taal, zoo als dat alles door den laagere Maleijer wordt gesproken en verstaan, en zulks tot gemak van hen, die naar Indië vertrekken*. 2e Druk. Amsterdam: G. Theod. Bom.
- (1st ed. 's-Gravenhage 1857; 3rd ed. Amsterdam 1879; 4th ed. Schoonhoven: S. & W.N. van Nooten, c. 1880).
- Roorda van Eysinga, W[illem] A[ndries] P[hilip]. 1877. *Maleisch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek, ook ten dienste van hen, die geen Arabisch karakter gebruiken*. Veel verbeterde en aanmerkelijk vermeerde uitgave. Amsterdam: G. Theod. Bom.
- Rouveroy van Nieuwaal, M.C. van. 1891. *Het Maleisch in de Kazerne*. Breda: P.B. Nieuwenhuijs (there was a 2nd augmented ed. in 1904).
- Roux, C.C.F.M. le. 1935. Boegineesche zeekaarten van den Indischen Archipel. *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 2e serie, **52**:687–714 & Kaart N° VI.
- Ruyl, Albert. 1611. *Sourat. ABC*. Akan meng ayd'jer anack boudack/ seperty de ayd'jern'ja capada segala manusia Nassarany: daen berbagy sombahayang Christaan. Amsterdam: n.n.
- Salmon, Claudine. 1981. *Literature in Malay by the Chinese of Indonesia: a provisional annotated bibliography*, Études Insulindiennes **3**. Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
- Schuchardt, Hugo. 1891. *Kreolische Studien, IX. Über das Malaioportugiesische von Batavia und Tugu*, Sitzungs-berichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Classe 72, Abhandlung **12**. Wien: F. Tempsky.
- [Seriboe Soewatoe]. 1874. *Hikajat Seriboe Soewatoe Malam*, ja-itoe tjeritera-tjeritera Arab, di tjeriterakan pada bahasa Malajoe dengngan mengikoet karangan bahasa Wolanda. Nos. 1–2. [Batavia]: Bruining & Wijt.
- [Soerat Parintah]. 1891. *Soerat Parintah bagi Sekalian Orang Pompa Peadem Api dalem bilangan Kota dan Kota-kota Moeka Betawi*. Betawi: Pertjitakan Goeberrnemen (translated by J.L. Rhemrev).
- Spieghel, Hendrik Laurenszoon, [et al.]. 1584. *Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche Letterkunst/ ofte Uant spellen ende eyghenscap [sic] des Nederduitschen taals*, uytghegheven by de Kamer In Liefd Bloeyende, t'Amstelredam. Leiden: Christoffel Plantyn (facsim. in: Dibbets, G.R.W., 1985, *Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche letterkunst (1584)*, pp. 49–321. Assen – Maastricht: Van Gorcum).
- State, Paul F. 2008. *A brief history of the Netherlands*. New York: Facts On File.
- Steingass, F. 1976. *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary, including the Arabic words and phrases to be met with in Persian literature*, fourth impression. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Steinhauer, H. 1980. On the history of Indonesian. In A.A. Barentsen, B.M. Groen, R. Sprenger (eds.), *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics*, vol. 1, pp. 349–375. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi.

- Stoppelaar, L.P. de. 1897. *De petroleum industrie, in het bijzonder die van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië*. Overzicht bewerkt ten behoeve van Houders van Petroleumwaarden. Amsterdam: de Bussy.
- Sutherland, Heather. 1979. *The Making of a Bureaucratic Elite: The Colonial Transformation of the Javanese Priyayi*, ASAA Southeast Asia Publications Series 2. Singapore – Kuala Lumpur – Hong Kong: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Swellengrebel, J.L. 1974. *In Leijdeckers Voetspoor, anderhalve eeuw bijbelvertaling en taalkunde in de Indonesische talen I, 1820–1900*, Verh. van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 68. 's Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- Sykorsky, W.V. 1980. Some additional remarks on the antecedents of modern Indonesian literature. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 136:498–516.
- Tello [no surname], 1890, Perkataan Orang Rottë (Termanu), jang Diërtikan dengan Perkataan Mëlaju. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 39:2–26 (with foreword by Hendrik Kern on p. 1).
- [Timmer, C.]. 1806. *Robinson de Jonge, beschrijving zijner reize naar Otaheite, en de Zuidzee-Eilanden*. Een nuttig en niet min aangenaam leesboek voor de jeugd: bewerkt volgens de leerwijze van den Heer Campe. Amsterdam: C. Timmer.
- Toorn, J[ohannes] L. van der. 1887. Het Minangkabausch tegenover het Riausch. *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur* 1:35–49.
- . 1894. *Oendang-Oendang-Hoekoem tarsalin kadalam bahasa Malajoe*. Batawi: Kantoer partjitakannya Kandjang Goebnemen.
- . 1904. *Oendang-oendang Poelisi*. Tersalin Kadalam Bahasa Malajoe. Batavia: Partjitakan Gouvernement.
- Toorn, J[ohannes] L. van der, & L.K. Harmsen. 1891. *Pada Menjatakan Peladjaran Berhitoeng jang akan ditjahari didalam pikiran dan dibatoe-toelis oleh sakalian kanak-kanak jang beladjar ditempat-pengadjaran jang dipoelau-poelau Hindia ini adanja*. Betawi: Pertjitakan Goebnemen.
- Tuuk, Hendrik Neubronner van der. 1856. Hoog-Maleische Bijbelvertaling. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, n. volg. 1:171–183.
- . 1875. *De Pandja-Tandaran*, Tamilsche omwerking van het Indische fableboek: De Pantja-Tantra, vermaleischt door Abdullah ben Abdulqadir, bijgenaamd “De Munsji” (De Tolk), Maleisch leesboek voor eerstbeginnenden en meergevorderden. Leiden: Kolff. (1st ed. 1866, Leiden: Brill).
- (ed.). 1877–1884. *Maleisch-Nederlandsch woordenboek op last van het gouvernement van Nederlandsch-Indië*, samengesteld door wijlen H. von de Wall, en met weglating van al overtollige uitgegeven, deel 1–3. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij (each of the three parts have independent page numeration)
- . 1886. Klassiek Maleisch? *Indische gids* 8: 947–980.
- Valentyn, Francois. 1698. *Deure der Waarhyd, voor 't ooge der Christen-wereld geopend, waar door klaar te sien is, wat Tale voor alle Malytse Christenen in Oost-Indien, [...]*. Dordregt (Dordrecht): Cornelis Willegaarts
- [Verslag]. 1898. *Verslag der exploitatie van den Staatsspoorweg ter Sumatra's Westkust en van de Ombilin-Kolen-velden over 1897*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.

- Versteeg, W.F. 1875. *Atlas ja itoe Kitab jang Isinja Gambar-Gambar Doenia dan Sekaliën Tanah*. Leiden: Gualth. Kolff.
- Veth, P.J. 1850. *Over den toestand en de behoeften van het onderwijs der jeugd in Nederlandsch Indië*. Aanspraak gehouden bij de opening van de algemeene vergadering der maatschappij: Tot nut van 't algemeen, 13 Aug. 1850. Spin & zoon.
- Vlekke, Bernard H.M. 1965. *Nusantara – A History of Indonesia*, 6th impr. (1st impr. 1943). The Hague: W. van Hoeve.
- Vries, Jan de. 1992. *Nederlands etymologisch woordenboek*, met aanvullingen, verbeteringen en woordregisters door F. de Tollenaere; 3e druk. Leiden: Brill.
- Wall, A[dolf] F[riedrich] von de. 1878a. *Hikajat Robinson Crusoë*, terkarang pada bahasa Melajoe dengan mengikoet karangan bahasa Wolanda. Den Haag: Pertjitakan Goewernemen (3rd ed. 1882, 4th revised ed. see below at 1891).
- . 1878b. *Kesah pelajaran seorang perampoewan mengoelilingi boemi*, terkarang daripada bahasa Wolanda. Betawi: van Dorp.
- . [1879a]. *Hikajat Aladdin*. Batawie: Kolff.
- . 1879b. *Bahwa ini Hikajat Djahidin*, terkarang pada bahasa Wolanda oleh J.A. Uilken dan dikarangken pada bahasa Melajoe oleh A.F. von de Wall. Betawi: Kolff.
- . 1880a. *Ilmoë Alam*. Terkarang pada behasa Belanda oleh Dr. J.A. Oudemans, dan dikarangken pada behasa Melajoe. Tjitakan jang kadoea. Betawi: Pertjitakan Gouvernement.
- . 1880b. *Hikajat Bachtiar*, naar een Maleisch handschrift bewerkt, Maleische Leesboek voor Inlanders, 1e stuck. Batavia: Kolff.
- . 1880c. *Hikajat Masjhoedou'lhakkoe, diichtisarken*, naar een paar Maleische handschriften bewerkt, Maleisch Leesboek voor Inlanders, 2e stuck. Batavia: Kolff.
- . 1885. *Dongeng monjet dengan koera-koera*, karangan K.F. Holle, dikarangken dalem bahasa Melajoe Betawi ole A.F. von de Wall. Betawi: Kolff.
- . 1888. *Kesah pelajaran kepoelau Kelemantan*, tjitakan jang kedoewa kali. Betawi: Pertjitakan Goewernemen.
- . 1891. *Hikajat Robinson Crusoë*, terkarang pada bahasa Melajoe dengan mengikoet karangan bahasa Belanda (tjitakan jang kaämpat dan jang diperbaiki olehnja). Betawi: Pertjitakan Goewernemen (1st ed. see above at 1878a).
- Wap, Jan J.F. 1857. Levensberigt. Van Dr. Philippus Pieter Roorda van Eysinga. *Handelingen der jaarlijksche vergadering van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden 1857*, pp. 9–34. Leyden: s.n. (seen at Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren).
- Warnk, Holger. 2007. The role of translations in the development of modern Malay literature, 1850–1950. *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 80: 91–113.
- Watson, C.W. 1971. Some preliminary remarks on the antecedents of modern Indonesian literature. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 127: 417–433.

- Werndly, George Henrik. 1736. *Maleische spraakkunst, uit de eige schriften der Maleiers opgemaakt; Met eene voorreden, behelzende eene inleiding tot dit werk, en een dubbeld Aanhangel van twee Boekzalen van boeken, in deze tale zo van Europeërs, als van Maleiers geschreven*. Amsterdam: R. & G. Wetstein.
- . 1826. *Sûrat segāla Mazmûr Terşjîr, Bârang pûđji an jaŕg lâjin; dán Tax lîmu- 'lDîni- 'lMesêhîjî, lagi bârang sombahjaŕg dán Faṣal Mesêhîj*. Hârlem: Jah jā 'Enşjedej dán 'Ānakḥ nja.
- Wertheim, W.F. 1978. *Indonesië: Van vorstenrijk tot neo-kolonie*. Meppel – Amsterdam: Boom.
- [Wetboek]. 1866. *Wetboek van Strafrecht voor Nederlandsch-Indië. Wetboek voor de Europeanen*. Batavia: Lands-Drukkerij.
- . 1889. *Boekoe kaädilan hoekoeman atas bangsa Djawa dan sebrang di Hindia-Nederland*. Menoeroet salinan jang telah di oendang-oendangkan oleh Kandjeng Goebnemen, dengan di pindahken kapada hoeroef Olanda / *Wetboek van Strafrecht voor de Inlanders in Ned.-Indië* (Volgens de officiële vertaling). Batavia: Albrecht & Rusche.
- [Wieringa, B.]. 1914. *Posts, telegraphs and telephones in Netherlands East India*, [Essays Published by the] Netherlands-East-Indian San-Fransisco-Committee No. IX. Semarang – Soerabaia – Den Haag: van Dorp.
- Wiggers, F. 1898. *Dari boedak sampe djadi radja*, menoeroet karangannya Melati van Java, tersalin dalem bahasa melajoe renda. Djilid I–II. Batawi: Albrecht
- . 1904. *Boekoe Inlandsch-Reglement Blanda-Melajoe dengan Beberapa prentah-prentah jang perloe boeat pemarentah anak negeri pake Tjonto-Tjonto*. Batavia: F.B. Smits.
- Wilkinson, R.J. 1901–1903. *A Malay-English dictionary*. Singapore: Kelly & Walsh.
- Winstedt, Sir Richard. 1966. *An Unabridged English-Malay Dictionary*. Fourth edition, enlarged. Kuala Lumpur: Marican & Sons.
- Wolff, John U. 2010. *Proto-Austronesian Phonology*, with Glossary. Ithaca NY: Cornell Southeast Asia.
- Zain, Sutan Muhammad. 1957. *Kamus moderen Bahasa Indonesia*. Djakarta: Penerbit Grafica.
- Zoetmulder, P.J. 1982. *Old Javanese-English dictionary*. with collab. of S.O. Robson. Parts I–II. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- Zollinger, H. 1845. Een uitstapje naar het eiland *Balie*. *Tijdschrift voor Neêrland's Indië* 7/4:1–56.