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1. Introduction

Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk (1824-1894) owes his international fame mainly to his pioneering work in the field of Austronesian historical linguistics and his fundamental studies of the Batak, Old Javanese and Balinese languages. The majority of his writings have appeared in Dutch, but some of his work is now available in English. Especially important is the translation of his *Tobasche Spraakkunst* (Grammar of Toba [Batak]), which was edited by A. Teeuw and R. Roolvink (Van der Tuuk 1971), and the wealth of material from his *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch woordenboek* (Van der Tuuk 1897-1912) as incorporated in P.J. Zoetmulder's *Old Javanese-English dictionary* (Zoetmulder 1982). Throughout his productive career as a scholar, Van der Tuuk also pursued the study of Malay. His first and last (posthumously published) articles were on the Malay language. As his Malay studies are scattered over a large number of minor publications, most of them moreover written in Dutch, it seems not inappropriate to give an English summary of his work and ideas on the Malay language and its literature more than a century after his death.

I shall first consider when and under what circumstances Van der Tuuk engaged in the study of Malay (Section 2). Next I shall briefly discuss his method of collecting data and his linguistic insights (Section 3), and after that give a survey of his publications and collected materials on Malay (Section 4). Finally I shall discuss the ideas he formed on the Malay language (Section 5).

¹ This article is a slightly revised version of a paper presented at the Seventh International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, organized in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Van der Tuuk's death by the Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania of the University of Leiden at Noordwijkerhout from 22 to 27 August 1994. Also in commemoration of this centennial, A. Teeuw wrote an article on Van der Tuuk as lexicographer (Teeuw 1996). I am indebted to K. Groeneboer, who is preparing the publication of Van der Tuuk's letters to the Netherlands Bible Society (Groeneboer, forthcoming), for valuable comments and additions.

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2. *Periods and circumstances*²

Van der Tuuk was born on 23 February 1824 in Malaka and until the age of ten or eleven lived with his parents in Surabaya. His father was a high government official, so the use of correct Dutch will have been the rule at home. But through contacts with servants and playmates Van der Tuuk certainly familiarized himself with Javanese and the local *pasar* Malay. After his *gymnasium* (grammar school) years in The Netherlands, he enrolled as a student of Law at Groningen University. However, he soon threw himself into the study of various languages, including Portuguese, English, Arabic, Javanese and Malay. In late 1845 he moved to Leiden, where his studies of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian were guided by, among others, Th.W.J. Juynboll. I do not know whether he studied Malay only with the aid of the existing publications and without the assistance of a teacher.

His first publication in the field of Indonesian languages dates from 1846. It is a long review of J.J. de Hollander's edition of the story of Johor Manikam (De Hollander 1845c; Van der Tuuk 1846). De Hollander had been appointed Reader of Oriental Languages at the Royal Military Academy in Breda in 1845 and had just published both an elementary and a comprehensive textbook for the study of Malay (De Hollander 1845a, 1845b). Perhaps out of respect for the already prestigious Reader, the 22-year old Van der Tuuk replaced his name with the pseudo-initials 'S.B.', which stand for 'Surabaya' (K. Groeneboer, personal communication). I will deal with the content of the review in Section 4. Here it should be noted, however, that with this first publication Van der Tuuk already testified to an amazing competence in the field of Malay literature.

On 8 December 1847 the Netherlands Bible Society appointed Van der Tuuk as an *afgevaardigde voor het Bataksch* (delegate for the Batak language) and assigned him the task of studying the Batak language and translating the Bible into that language. He visited London in mid-1848 (ca May-September) in order to study the Batak manuscripts kept there. He took advantage of the opportunity to compile a catalogue of the Malay manuscripts belonging to the collection in the East-India House (Van der Tuuk 1849a).

On 2 September 1849 Van der Tuuk arrived in Batavia, travelling on to Surabaya to visit his relatives a week later. From late 1849 until early 1851 he stayed in Batavia, owing to a serious illness, in spite of which he

² The story of Van der Tuuk's life is known mainly from the publication of some of his letters, as well as some other documents, by Rob Nieuwenhuys (Nieuwenhuys 1982; see also Nieuwenhuys 1988), and from J.L. Swellengrebel's study of Van der Tuuk's work with the Netherlands Bible Society (Swellengrebel 1974-1978 I:112-46). Teeuw's 'Foreword' to the Batak grammar includes a concise biography (Van der Tuuk 1971:XIV-XX). A fuller biography is to appear in Groeneboer forthcoming.

continued to study intensively. In about August 1850 he wrote a treatise on what he called *Centralisatie-Maleisch*, for which the reader is referred to Section 5 below. During this period he must have acquired a thorough knowledge of the Malay dialect of Batavia, which enabled him many years later to publish J.D. Homan's word lists (Homan 1867, 1868) and to make numerous annotations to these, as will be described in Section 4. These were also months during which he was preoccupied with thoughts about and plans for his future task and, among other things, the linguistic position of the Malay language, as will be discussed in Section 5.

Early in 1851 he was finally able to continue his journey to Padang and Sibolga. As he discovered that the Batak language in Sibolga had been profoundly affected by Malay, he settled in early 1852 in Barus, which is located to the northwest of Sibolga and was directly administered by the Netherlands Indies Government. There he collected the material for his brilliant description of the Batak language, which he was to publish in The Netherlands after 1858.

As his knowledge of the Batak language developed, he increasingly applied himself to comparative studies. Still in Barus, he was able to obtain some works on various languages of the Philippines. As a result of his reflections on the position of Malay he published a treatise in 1856 on [Leijdecker's] 'High-Malay' Bible translation, which was in fact an attempt to make a clear distinction between the different varieties of Malay (Van der Tuuk 1856). At the end of his period of field research in the Batak region, in April 1857, he walked all the way to Padang. This trip (and several others he made) must have given him ample scope to broaden his knowledge of the Minangkabau language and of local Malay.

He returned to The Netherlands via Batavia. It is not known exactly how long he stayed in Batavia, or elsewhere in Java, but he arrived in The Netherlands in October 1857. The next ten years were devoted to study and writing. He first published his Batak reader (in four volumes, Van der Tuuk 1860-1862a) and his Batak dictionary (Van der Tuuk 1861), followed by the Toba Batak grammar in two volumes (Van der Tuuk 1864c and 1867a). His fundamental criticism of Taco Roorda's theories was set out in a pamphlet against the Delft/Leiden professor that appeared before the grammar (Van der Tuuk 1864b). The polemic was continued through 1864 and 1865 (Van der Tuuk 1864d and 1865a, e).

In the meantime Van der Tuuk also published an outline of the grammar of the Malagasy language (Van der Tuuk 1865b). After the Bible Society decided to send him to Bali for his future study, he explored the relationship between Kawi (Old Javanese) and Javanese, which he discussed in an appendix to the Malagasy grammar. From October to December 1860 or 1861 he taught Batak to the later famous German missionary L.I. Nomnensen. Other German missionaries who studied Batak with Van der Tuuk include A. Schreiber, the author of a German-language concise Batak grammar that was based on Van der Tuuk's notes for these lessons (see

Swellengrebel 1974:143). During the years 1862-1864 Van der Tuuk guided W.H. Engelmann, who was preparing for linguistic research in the Sunda area, in the service of the Bible Society.

Particularly during the last years of his 'furlough' in The Netherlands he returned to the study of Malay. After a three-week visit to London in mid-1865 (K. Groeneboer, personal communication), he published an English-language catalogue of Malay manuscripts of the Royal Asiatic Society (Van der Tuuk 1866d). This was followed by an extended Dutch version of the same work, in which he pointed out the typically Malay character of the Hang Tuah story, qualifying it as real Malay life presented in real Malay (Van der Tuuk 1866e:2). He also published some Malay texts (Van der Tuuk 1866a and b; 1868b) and discussed another one (Van der Tuuk 1866c). He further reviewed or criticized some recently published Malay dictionaries and other linguistic works in the field of Malay studies (Van der Tuuk 1865c and d). He intended compiling a new Malay dictionary, but the prospectus for this yielded very few subscriptions, if any, so that he gave up this plan (Van der Tuuk 1864a; Nieuwenhuys 1982:114, 120).

His ambitious plans are reflected in the announcements in Trübner's catalogues of some works that never appeared. In March 1865, for instance, Trübner announced: 'Dr. H.N. van der Tuuk has nearly ready for publication "A Malay and English dictionary, including the dialects of Menangkabaw and Batavia, together with references to the cognate languages". It will form a volume of about 800 pp. and be published in large 8vo, price 30 s. The same gentleman has in hand also a Malagasy dictionary, of the publication of which we shall give due information.' (Trübner's 1865:19.) Two months later Trübner announced: 'Dr. H.N. van der Tuuk is engaged on the compilation of a Descriptive Catalogue of the Malay manuscript[s] in the Great Libraries of Europe.' (Trübner's 1865: 57.) Another notification, of July 1866, ran: 'We hope soon to be able to announce the publication of a Malayo-English grammar by the same distinguished scholar' (Trübner's 1866:294).

Towards the end of this period in The Netherlands, in 1868, Van der Tuuk found an opportunity of editing a collection of Lampung texts in a facsimile edition. At the last moment he delayed his departure for Batavia in order to comply with a request by A.B. Cohen Stuart to publish the work on Batavian Malay by J.D. Homan posthumously (Homan 1867, 1868).

On arrival in Batavia (23 July 1868) Van der Tuuk learned that he could not proceed to Bali immediately due to the current local wars (and later, due to an epidemic that afflicted the island). During the first half of August he made a trip to the Preangan regencies, visiting Buitenzorg (Bogor), Cianjur (where, in the company of Cohen Stuart, he met the missionary S. Coolsma), Bandung (where he stayed with Engelmann), and Garut, and also K.F. Holle's tea estate Waspada (Nieuwenhuys 1982:137-40).

As Van der Tuuk was unable to take up his work for the Bible Society in

Bali, he was temporarily employed by the government. He moved to the Lampung district, where he did some in-depth research into the local dialects while travelling across the area. In September 1869 he returned to Batavia, physically exhausted, and immediately went on to Buitenzorg to recuperate. Here he took Sundanese lessons three times a week and had regular, friendly contact with Coolsma (Van den End 1991:139). He encouraged Coolsma to sort out his lexicographic notes for the purpose of compiling a dictionary, and subsequently read through the first drafts. Partly on Van der Tuuk's recommendation, the Bible Society assigned the Sundanese translation of the New Testament (and later also of the Old Testament) to Coolsma (Swellengrebel 1974:207-10).

By December 1869 Van der Tuuk was back in Batavia, and probably in late December he travelled on to Surabaya, where he prepared his transfer to Bali. From Bali he occasionally visited Batavia again to examine candidates for the Civil Service, namely in the years 1873, 1874, and 1875. His last visit to Batavia took place in 1889 (see Noorduyn 1988).

Early in 1870, again in the employment of the Bible Society, Van der Tuuk settled permanently in Bali, at Bulèlèng, where until his death on 17 August 1894 he worked on his huge *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch woordenboek*, posthumously published by J.L.A. Brandes (and the fourth volume partly by G.A.J. Hazeu, D. van Hinloopen Labberton, and D.A. Rinkes) (Van der Tuuk 1897-1912). As Teeuw points out, it seems that during the last ten years of Van der Tuuk's life, from 1884 on, 'little substantial new information was added to the manuscript of the dictionary', due to technical, administrative and health problems (Teeuw 1996:127).

In 1873 Van der Tuuk left the Bible Society and entered government service. The government charged him with the posthumous publication of H. von de Wall's voluminous Malay-Dutch dictionary, the third volume of which appeared in 1884, with Ph.S. van Ronkel publishing an *Aanhangsel* (Appendix) in 1897 (H. von de Wall 1877-1884 and 1897). Various other publications give evidence of Van der Tuuk's continuous engagement in the study of Malay (Van der Tuuk 1873, 1875c, 1876 [?], 1878, 1879a, 1879b and 1881a, 1881b, 1881c, 1886, 1892-1893). He made himself heard for the last time in his posthumously published, and as always rather polemical, supplement to Malay lexicography (Van der Tuuk 1894).

The above brief survey of Van der Tuuk's life and work clearly demonstrates that it is hardly possible to think of any period in his life when he did not occupy himself with the study of Malay. Nor would it be possible to isolate this study from the general development of his linguistic insights or from his contacts – mostly by mail or via rather controversial publications – with other scholars or interested laymen. In the next Section, I shall briefly discuss the linguistic background of Van der Tuuk's work.

3. *Methods of collecting data and linguistic insights*

In the 'Foreword' to the English version of Van der Tuuk's Toba Batak grammar, Teeuw describes Van der Tuuk's methodology with respect to his linguistic research and analyses certain aspects of Van der Tuuk's linguistic background (Van der Tuuk 1971: XX-XXXIV). He observes that it is characteristic of Van der Tuuk's methodology that on the one hand he studied the language through intimate and long-standing contacts with its speakers, while on the other he based his analysis not on oral information but primarily on written materials, which he either purchased in the form of existing manuscripts or had committed to writing by native speakers.

In 1856, while he was living in Barus and was fully occupied with field research in the Batak region, Van der Tuuk wrote an article on the Malay Bible translation, in which he argued that 'Consultation of the natives about their language is very risky and may be useful only for verifying the pronunciation; the meaning of words is better learned from an assiduous application to the study of Malay writers than from speaking to people with insufficient education to understand questions about linguistic problems' (Van der Tuuk 1856:179). What he wrote from Lèhan thirteen years later, towards the end of 1868, after travelling all over the Lampung area, is wholly in agreement with this statement: 'I do not want to stay here [in the Lampung area], for there is hardly any literature here, so that I have to pick up everything from the mouths of the Natives' (Nieuwenhuys 1982:145). He wrote from Tarabanggi, in the Lampung area, half a year later that he was looking forward to leaving for Bali, 'where I will be able to accomplish infinitely more than I can here, for there one has a civilized nation and a well-established literature' (Nieuwenhuys 1982:149).

So it is not only the availability of a tape recorder that distinguishes the modern fieldworker from Van der Tuuk, for whom the only really reliable basis for the description of a language was language as committed to writing. Teeuw points out that 'in this respect there is a curious ambivalence in his attitude: he quite intensively and successfully exerted himself to become fluent in the language he investigated, by using every opportunity to talk with the native speakers ... But unlike a modern fieldworker he did not compose his vocabularies by eliciting oral lexical information and noting this down in the form of a card index or some other documentation. Written texts, either those which he already found or which he had especially noted down for him, formed the basis of his dictionaries.' (Teeuw 1996:124.)

As Teeuw observes, the description of Van der Tuuk's linguistic background turned out to be a much more complicated task than anticipated (Van der Tuuk 1971:XXII). Although Van der Tuuk fiercely challenged the theories of others, he was never very explicit about his own theoretical standpoint. One particular target of his attacks was Taco Roorda, with his philosophical approach to language and his claim that 'the logical analysis

of language should serve as a basis for all scholarly study of language' (Van der Tuuk 1971:XXVIII).³

Uhlenbeck concluded (Uhlenbeck 1964:53) that the study of Javanese was not exactly furthered by the dispute between the two. However, Van der Tuuk has convincingly demonstrated that many of Roorda's etymologies were untenable due to his ignoring the results of comparative linguistics. Van der Tuuk further refuted the suggestion that Javanese, as a kind of 'basic' language (especially as it was described in Roorda's Javanese grammar), should serve as a model for the description of other Indonesian languages (Van der Tuuk 1971:XXV-XXVI).⁴

Typical of the linguistic theory of his time was Van der Tuuk's belief that every language in fact constituted a degenerated system. In the Preface to Part Two of his Batak grammar he writes: 'I do not believe that anyone will ever be able to represent a language well if he does not disabuse himself of the striving for a complete system, for every language is more or less a ruin, in which the plan of the architect cannot be discovered, until one has learned to supply from other works by the same hand what is missing in order to grasp the original design' (see Van der Tuuk 1971:XXVIII and XLIII). It is in this light that we should interpret Van der Tuuk's pronouncement that the adequate description of Malay had to await that of the more ancient Kawi language (Van der Tuuk 1864b:48, note 1).

However, Van der Tuuk also emphasized the *practical* value of comparative studies of the Malayo-Polynesian languages (in which for him Malay always played an important part). Just before his departure for Bali he wrote to the Bible Society: 'It is my ambition to develop the comparative study of these sister languages to such an extent that in future each of them will be easier to learn' (3 July 1870; Nieuwenhuys 1982:151-2). Seventy years later J. Gonda regularly repeated this argument to propagate the study of Austronesian comparative linguistics, in which he lectured extensively.

³ Teeuw indicated some striking correspondences between Van der Tuuk's linguistic principles and K.W.L. Heyse's *System der Sprachwissenschaft* (Heyse 1856), a copy of which was included in Van der Tuuk's library. This applies particularly to Van der Tuuk's ideas about the origins of language and the metaphorical nature of language (for theories about 'gesture sounds' and sound symbolism, and so on, see Van der Tuuk 1971:XXX-XXXI). Curiously enough, Heyse's book is not infrequently mentioned appreciatively by his antagonist Roorda (see Noordegraaf 1985:347-9, 351, 353, 396, 403). L. van Driel fully endorses this discovery of Teeuw's, and moreover observes that Van der Tuuk's linguistic ideas also have affinities with K.E. Becker's *Organism der Sprache* (Van Driel 1984:286, 288; 1988:252; Becker 1841).

⁴ For the controversy between Van der Tuuk and Roorda, see also Uhlenbeck 1964:51-3, Van Driel 1984 and 1988:8, 252-3, and Noordegraaf 1985:294-6, 397 and 409.

4. Publications on Malay and collection of Malay materials⁵

In Section 2, I mentioned all of Van der Tuuk's publications which represent a direct contribution to our knowledge of Malay. Here I will discuss only some of his Malay literary and lexicographic works which I consider typical of his oeuvre. I shall not deal with all of his minor polemical writings; in fact, practically all of Van der Tuuk's writings include some controversial statements, these polemics in most cases giving us an insight into his views on the form and function of different varieties of Malay. These views will be the subject of Section 5. At the end of the present Section, I will add some notes on the Malay manuscripts left behind by Van der Tuuk.

The first example I would like to discuss is Van der Tuuk's review of De Hollander's Johor Manikam edition (De Hollander 1845c; Van der Tuuk 1846). His criticisms can be summarized as follows. Under the motto *Apa guna pasang pelita/jikalau tidak dengan sumbunya* (What use is it lighting a lamp if the wick is missing), he censured De Hollander for choosing a trivial text from the rich and almost virgin stock of Malay manuscripts. He testifies in several annotations to his intimate knowledge of the existing publications on Malay and to his familiarity with the available manuscripts. He observes that the major studies on Malay have been carried out by French and English scholars.

Van der Tuuk refuted De Hollander's assumption that the text was a direct translation of an Arabic original by comparing it with other Malay versions and fragments of the story found in the publications of P.P. Roorda van Eysinga and Raffles. He explained the differences between these versions as being the result of their forming part of an oral tradition, giving examples of the same kind of variation between other texts which all go back to the same Indian or Perso-Arabic original (Van der Tuuk 1846:790, note 1). He further pointed out that it was necessary to consult the Malay manuscripts kept in London.⁶

Van der Tuuk additionally argued, on the basis of the meanings of the proper names in the original languages (Arabic and Persian), that there is no sense in looking for any actual historical background of the story, as De Hollander tried to do. He also reproached De Hollander for the many errors he made in the vocalization of Arabic words, due to an inadequate knowledge of Arabic. Van der Tuuk concluded by adding an extensive list

⁵ Van der Tuuk's publications are most of them listed by H.H. Juynboll in the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* (*Encyclopaedie* IV, 1921:456-7) and, in a rather scattered way, in the bibliographies of P. Voorhoeve, A. Teeuw and E.M. Uhlenbeck (Voorhoeve 1955, Nos. 37-39, 41, 53, 54, 113, 144 (see also Nos. 145 and 146, and p. 22), and 152; Teeuw 1961:149-50, 153; Uhlenbeck 1964:103-4, 170). K. Groeneboer's publication of Van der Tuuk's letters to the Netherlands Bible Society will include a biography and a full bibliography (Groeneboer forthcoming).

⁶ Apparently manuscripts were lent out by the London libraries at the time and could even be consulted abroad, as we can gather from p. 792, note 1.

of textual, lexicographic and other observations and criticisms. These were formulated in a constructive tone, now and then praising De Hollander's achievement. This review of no less than 19 pages shows how Van der Tuuk, as a young student, already pursued the study of Malay language and literature at a high level of scholarship, independently and innovatively.

Presumably not long after his 1848 visit to the London libraries, Van der Tuuk reviewed J.C. Fraissinet's *Geschiedenis van vorst Bispoe Radja* (Story of the ruler Bispoe Radja) (Fraissinet 1849; Van der Tuuk 1849b and 1850). He expressed his appreciation of the fact that here was a missionary seriously studying the language while still in Europe. It becomes clear from Fraissinet's edition of the text that a comparison of different manuscripts is necessary for a proper edition of any Malay text. This is a theme on which Van der Tuuk constantly harped when discussing the work on Malay texts of others. Here again he made a good many critical remarks and corrections.

These two early reviews set the pattern for almost all of Van der Tuuk's later writings on Malay philology: they are always amply annotated and comprise a mixture of grammatical and lexicographic observations, with much attention being given to problems posed by the *jawi* spelling and to the origins of borrowed words. The comments are sometimes written in in the text in the form of sudden exclamations; in other cases they are accommodated in long footnotes.

Unfortunately many of Van der Tuuk's writings are marred by the abrasive tone in and the needlessly offensive remarks with which he attacked his adversaries. He was apt to vent his anger especially on the incompetence of missionaries, officials, and academic teachers. Hence the title of Nieuwenhuys' book, *De pen in gal gedoopt* (A pen dipped in bile), based on a letter from Van der Tuuk himself (Nieuwenhuys 1982:49), is very appropriate. On the other hand, Van der Tuuk was always ready to help anybody who seriously tried to study a language, whether they were scholars or lay persons. He was a complex and intriguing character. However, this is not the place to enlarge upon his personal sympathies and antipathies.

It would be an overstatement to say that Van der Tuuk was *the* pioneer in the field of literature in Indonesia, for much spadework had already been done, especially on Javanese. However, the study of Malay literature was raised to a higher standard by his very first publications, and his own editions of various texts are of a high quality. The most important Malay texts edited or summarized and discussed by him are, in chronological order: Abdullah's Malay version of the Pancatantra (known among the Malays as *Hikayat Kalilah dan Dimnah*) (Van der Tuuk 1866b); the story of Boma (Van der Tuuk 1875a); the story of the Pandawas (Van der Tuuk 1875b); and some Malay wayang stories (Van der Tuuk 1879b and 1881a). The earlier published seventh volume (*stukje*) of the Malay reader (Van

der Tuuk 1868b) was also meant (like the *Pandja-Tanderan*) as a reader for Indonesians. It comprises the following stories: *Hikayat Siti Hasanah*, *Hikayat raja benua Yaman*, *Hikayat anak raja mengasihani katak*, *Hikayat seorang raja yang lalim dimurkai Allah swt*; in addition some proverbs have been added as a space filler.

It was of course not by chance that Van der Tuuk published the article on Malay wayang stories in the course of his work in Bali on Old Javanese. The receipt of this article is mentioned in the minutes (*Notulen*) of the Bataviaasch Genootschap of August 5th, 1879. The articles on the stories of Boma and of the Pandawas were originally written in English; receipt of the Dutch translation is reported in the *Notulen* of 6th July 1869; see also *Notulen* 4-1-1870 and 5-4-1870.

In his treatise on the Malay wayang stories, Van der Tuuk observes that the majority of these stories appear to be translations of works which no longer exist in Java. This explains the striking correspondence with the poems that were still current in Bali, which must be older than the Malay versions, as influence of Balinese on Malay literature is hardly imaginable (Van der Tuuk 1879b:489).

It is one of Van der Tuuk's merits that he had an eye for the autochthonous elements in the Javanese and Malay literary works that are based on Indian or Perso-Arabic originals. About Kawi (Old Javanese) he stated unambiguously that its grammar is Malayo-Polynesian in spite of the high percentage of Indian elements in its vocabulary. One should not call it a *daughter* of Sanskrit, he said, but rather 'a Javanese woman dressed in Indian garb' (Lassen 1862:54, note 1). He formulated his views on the relationship between the Malay and Perso-Arabic literatures as early as 1846, as was pointed out in the above discussion of his first book review.

We can observe Van der Tuuk's 'Indonesia'-oriented stance in the systematic way in which he always compared similar texts and versions of particular stories in the 'Malayo-Polynesian' world with their sources from the Indian or Perso-Arabic world. In other fields of Indonesian cultural history, especially archaeology and the history of religion, where the Indian element is also often dominantly present, the approach to the ancient cultures of Java for a long time was from the perspective of the expansion history of Indian culture.⁷

In the context of Van der Tuuk's specifically linguistic contributions to the study of Malay, his lexicographic work is most prominent. As early as 1864 he conceived a plan for compiling a Malay dictionary, but, as he wrote to Engelmann, there were too few subscriptions, so that he gave up the project (Van der Tuuk 1864a; Nieuwenhuys 1982:120). In 1865, apparently using the materials he had already collected for this abortive under-

⁷ The 'Greater India' debate was recently summarized by J.D. Legge (Legge 1992:8-9) and also in D. Lombard's reflections on 'les limites de l'indianisation' (Lombard 1990 III:9-14).

taking, he wrote a critical article on the existing Malay dictionaries (Van der Tuuk 1865c). Here he discussed especially J. Pijnappel's *Maleisch-Nederduitsch woordenboek* (Pijnappel 1863), which is largely an adaptation of W. Marsden's *A dictionary of the Malayan language*, which appeared in 1812 (while a Dutch/French translation was published by C.P.J. Elout in 1825), combined with J. Crawford's Malay dictionary, which, together with his Malay grammar, appeared in 1852 and at the time was regarded in Britain as the standard work (Marsden 1812; Elout 1825; Crawford 1852).

Van der Tuuk had discovered many errors here, copied from both Marsden and Crawford, and argued that there was an urgent need for a new Malay dictionary. He also formulated some criteria which a good Malay dictionary should meet: words from literary texts (in *jawi*) of which the pronunciation was not known should not be Romanized; and words borrowed from Arabic should be entered according to their Malay pronunciation and with the meanings they had acquired in Malay. In order to avoid unnecessary repetition, a Malay dictionary should moreover be preceded by 'an outline of the grammar and phonetic system of the language' (Van der Tuuk 1865c:183; this article contains an English version of the *proeve* (sample) included in the *Prospectus* of 1864, see Van der Tuuk 1864a). He ended by giving a list of some 60 missing or incorrect words (Van der Tuuk 1865c:184-6).⁸

In a review published in *De Gids* of 1866, Van der Tuuk praises H.C. Klinkert, who was the first to publish a collection of Malay proverbs. From these one can glean many details about the life and customs of the Malays, while Klinkert's treatise constitutes a worthwhile complement to the existing Malay dictionaries. Inevitably, Van der Tuuk also made a number of critical comments here. He regretted that Klinkert had not mentioned his sources, so that it was impossible for the reader to know whether these proverbs came from the language of Riau or belonged to 'a kind of spoken language that does not deserve to bear the name Malay' (Klinkert 1866a; Van der Tuuk 1866h:174). Van der Tuuk also agreed with Klinkert's critical comments about Malay textbooks and reading materials published by the government (Van der Tuuk 1866h:177-9; Klinkert 1866b).

Van der Tuuk's appreciation of Klinkert's merits later decreased. From his home in the Lampung area he wrote to the Bible Society: 'I am afraid that Klinkert, who spent only two years in Riau, and never studied Malay before that, applied himself to the translation of the Bible too soon' (9 June 1869; Nieuwenhuys 1982:148). In a letter in the *Padangsch Handelsblad* of 1873 he censures De Hollander for relying overmuch on Klinkert's dictionary, which he qualifies as grossly superficial, saying that, of Klinkert's

⁸ I have compared this list with the Indonesian standard dictionary, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Kamus 1991), where most of these words appeared to be listed.

two main informants, one is 'conceited', while both are 'stupid' (Van der Tuuk 1873⁹).

Among Van der Tuuk's linguistic studies of Malay, the study of Batavian Malay always occupied a special place. He must have acquired his thorough knowledge of this dialect of Malay during his stay in Batavia between late 1849 and early 1851, and (probably) also during his stay there on his way to The Netherlands in mid-1857 – he did not need many months to familiarize himself with a new language.

In his above-mentioned article on the 'High Malay' Bible translation (Van der Tuuk 1856:182), Van der Tuuk lists some twenty Batavian Malay words which are completely different from what he styled *Centralisatie-Maleisch* (authentic, educated, standard Malay, see Section 5 below). In addition, he identified eight words as also belonging to the Malay of Batavia in Raffles' list of Balinese words (see Raffles 1817 II:LXXI-CLXI). It seems, he writes, 'that the Malay of Batavia includes more elements from Javanese than from *Centralisatie-Maleisch*. However, also many Sundanese words, as well as Balinese words, have crept into this dialect, as is explainable from the large number of Balinese slaves who used to live in Batavia. Since many of the Malay manuscripts that are in the possession of Dutch persons have been copied in Batavia, and have thus been considerably affected by the locally spoken form of Malay, it would be desirable for some linguist to familiarize himself better with this Malay dialect.' (Van der Tuuk 1856:182-3.)

The fourth volume of Van der Tuuk's *Bataksch leesboek* (Van der Tuuk 1862a) contains some remarks about Batavian Malay. On page 109 the following *pantun* is quoted:

<i>Dari mana nja-i datêngnja lintah</i>	('From where, my dear, comes the leech?
<i>dari sawah turun kakali</i>	It goes down from the rice field to the river;
<i>dari mana nja-i datêngnja tjinta</i>	From where, my dear, comes love?
<i>dari mata turun ka-ati</i>	It goes down from the eye to the heart.')

Van der Tuuk observes that this *pantun* must have been made up in Batavia, since only there is final -h not pronounced, so that *lintah* (leech) rhymes with *tjinta* (love). He further observes that [H.] von de Wall pronounced the Malay suffix *-kan* as *-kân* or *-kên*, which is at variance with the pronunciation rules of Malay. 'This pronunciation is usual in Batavia, where Javanized Malay is spoken, but is not heard in other places' (Van der Tuuk 1862a:124-5). Some further remarks about the pronunciation of Batavian Malay are made on page 163.

Only months later did a qualified linguist apply himself to the systematic study of Batavian Malay. He was the classicist Dr. J.D. Homan. He began

⁹ An offprint is kept in the Leiden University library, cat. No. 868E 39/16, the existence of which here for some time has remained unknown; see Teeuw 1961:149.

collecting Batavian Malay words probably around mid-1863. Unlike Van der Tuuk, he recorded only spoken language material during lessons with two different informants and interviews with other speakers. He very soon discovered the essential difference between the *spreektaal* (spoken language) and the *Bataviasche schrijftaal* (Batavian written language) (Homan 1868:62-6). From the many lexical and morphological examples listed by him it is clear that this 'Batavian written language' is general literary Malay interspersed with elements from the local Batavian vernacular. It is the same type of Malay as that found in the Malay manuscripts that were copied in Batavia, which had 'been considerably affected by the locally spoken form of Malay', as Van der Tuuk put it (see above).

Thus Homan's fieldwork method appears to be more modern than that applied by Van der Tuuk in the course of his work in the Batak area. However, we should bear in mind that Homan had no choice, and also that the relationship between the spoken and the written language among the Batak was essentially different from the situation in Batavia, as their literature had its roots in their own speech community. In Batavia almost every written text, and, I should say, even every performance based on some written text, invariably bore some relation to 'high' Malay, that is, to a speech variety that was different from the local vernacular.¹⁰

Homan's untimely death on 14 July 1864 put an end to his undeveloped project of great promise. The Javanist A.B. Cohen Stuart, with whom he had been in regular contact, thereupon requested Van der Tuuk to publish Homan's word lists. Van der Tuuk, who was still in The Netherlands at the time, knew that he was the only person capable of doing this and agreed, although he had to finish the job in great haste because of his departure for Batavia. In fact, he was able to spend only twelve days on the second part (K. Groeneboer, personal communication).

The products of his efforts were two small books containing some 600 words collected by Homan, to which Van der Tuuk had added many notes and an alphabetically arranged index of Batavian words in Roman script. Homan had not included words that already occurred in the dictionaries of J.F.C. Gericke (of 1847, 'with the Appendix', i.e., the *Supplement* by Roorda and Meinsma of 1862), J. Rigg (of 1862), W. Marsden (of 1812, though possibly Elout's Dutch and French translation of 1825 is meant here), and P.P. Roorda van Eysinga (of 1855 and/or 1863). Van der Tuuk, however, added the words indicated as Batavian in Rigg (Homan 1867 and 1868; on the words taken from Rigg, see Homan 1868:V). The correspondence between Homan and Cohen Stuart was also published. Van der Tuuk, in his introductory notes, emphasized the importance of Batavian Malay for the knowledge of Balinese, Javanese and Old Javanese (Homan 1867:VI, 1868:VII; see also Nieuwenhuys 1982:154), and explicitly

¹⁰ For a definition of 'vernacular', and on Jakarta (Batavian) Malay as an independent vernacular, see Grijns 1991 I:14-53.

stated that it was a local variety of Malay and not some kind of 'brabbeltaal' ('gibberish', Van der Tuuk's term for highly unstable forms of pidginized Malay) (Homan 1867:V).

After many deliberations about the need for a new Malay dictionary, the government in 1855 commissioned H. von de Wall to compile such a work. The vocabulary was based on the Malay of Riau, where Von de Wall went to live for some years. The first volume appeared in 1872. It ran to 1102 pages and comprised only words beginning with a vowel (*alif* in *jawi* script) (H. von de Wall 1872) as well as with the letter *b* up to *bakijjah*. When the author died in 1873, he left behind a manuscript of more than 125 handwritten fascicles.

Van der Tuuk, now in the service of the government, was charged with the task of publishing the dictionary. The bulky manuscript was sent to him in instalments, so that he was unable to move compounds to different entries in the many cases where he disagreed with the arrangement chosen by Von de Wall. The book was published in three volumes in Batavia (H. von de Wall 1877-1884; with an appendix by Ph.S. van Ronkel 1897). Correctly, though not exactly courteously, the title page contained the statement that 'all redundancies have been left out' from the text. In fact, the content of Von de Wall's first (and only) volume, that of 1872, was reduced to 20% of the original.

When one runs through the original volume, the need for drastic reduction becomes immediately apparent. With every basic form Von de Wall had included every potential derivative, whether it actually occurred in the language or not, also where the meaning was perfectly predictable from the meaning of the base, and without giving examples testifying to the existence of the word. Another kind of redundancy was that resulting from the inclusion as separate headwords of different spellings of the same word in many cases and of Arabic plural forms.

Van der Tuuk added many useful notes, such as references to parallel forms or to the source languages of loanwords. He seldom added new entries, because he had never lived in Riau himself and wanted to make clear that Riau Malay deviated considerably from the language of Malay literature, which was 'almost completely ignored' by Von de Wall (H. von de Wall 1877-1884 I:VII). In agreement with Van der Tuuk's own principles were Von de Wall's inclusion and explanation of frequently occurring proper names, such as Arjuna, Asmara, Betawi, and so on. He commends Von de Wall's work for 'the numerous hitherto unknown words and precise explanations of meanings. As long as Malay will be studied, Von de Wall should be gratefully remembered.' (H. von de Wall 1877-1884 I:VII.)

Unfortunately the results of Von de Wall's big project did not come up to the high expectations entertained of it. In spite of the fact that his work was never completely superseded by later dictionaries – partly due to the notes added by Van der Tuuk – the few remaining copies of which the

Batavian paper has not crumbled away are now seldom consulted. Teeuw could only conclude that 'in spite of all the time, care and money spent, this dictionary did not become the standard and lasting work as had been hoped and expected, mainly as Von de Wall took virtually no account of literary source material (which was not, anyway, available in sound, critical editions). There are practically no text references or illustrative examples and its unattractive get-up certainly did not promote the use of this dictionary.' (Teeuw 1961:24.)

Von de Wall's son, A.F. von de Wall, protested against the way Van der Tuuk had abridged his father's work. He especially disagreed with the elimination of the large number of derivatives (A.F. von de Wall 1878). In my own comparison of some twelve entries in Von de Wall 1872 with Van der Tuuk's edition, this reproach proved to be unjustified. The principle of conciseness, for that matter, had already been applied by Van der Tuuk to his own Batak dictionary (Van der Tuuk 1861:VI), and he stuck to this principle in the edition of Von de Wall's work.

In spite of its many shortcomings, H.C. Klinkert's dictionary became the most commonly used Malay-Dutch dictionary (Klinkert 1893). In his last, posthumously published, treatise, the supplement to the Malay dictionaries (Van der Tuuk 1894), Van der Tuuk fiercely inveighed against Klinkert in his usual blunt way, accusing him of plagiarism (p. 19), lack of balance, and unreliability on account of the many errors. The acerbity of its tone does not detract from the quality of this treatise as another solid piece of work; the lexical index comprises no fewer than 440 entries.

In fact, this last, 60-page work by Van der Tuuk was directed once more against everything about the way Malay was studied and used by others that gave him cause for worry. What lay at the root of his unease was the way in which the relation between the Malay of the literature, the Malay of Riau, local varieties of Malay such as that of Batavia, and various kinds of '*brabbeltaal*' Malay was viewed and valued. This problem will be the subject of the final Section of this essay.

Here a few words should be said about the Malay manuscripts collected by Van der Tuuk. Thanks to the fact that he bequeathed all his specialist books and his manuscripts to the University of Leiden, his complete collection is now generally accessible in the Leiden University library. J.L.A. Brandes had all the books and papers at Van der Tuuk's home in Bali listed and catalogued his (Old) Javanese, Balinese and Sasak manuscripts in Batavia (Brandes 1901-1926). Because H.H. Juynboll was compiling a catalogue of Malay and Sundanese manuscripts in The Netherlands at the time (Juynboll 1899), Brandes proposed that Van der Tuuk's Malay manuscripts should be shipped to Leiden without delay. Juynboll managed to describe a large number of them, while the remaining ones are listed, not entirely completely, in Ph. S. van Ronkel's *Supplement-catalogus* (Van Ronkel 1921). A collection of Malay letters that forms part of LOR 3388, for example, is not described.

The list which Brandes had drawn up in Bali is kept in the Leiden University library (Douza room, L23). As far as Malay is concerned, this provisional list includes about 65 titles of *kitab-kitab* and 12 of *syair-syair* in *jawi* script, and some 70 titles of works in Roman script. By way of comparison I would indicate that the Old Javanese, Javanese, and 'Bali-Javanese' manuscripts from Van der Tuuk's legacy as described again, after Brandes, by Th.G.Th. Pigeaud, come to about 850 items, many of which include more than one text (Pigeaud 1968:19, 112-244).

In this provisional list Brandes comments that many of the Malay manuscripts are badly damaged and often worn at the spine, so that the leaves are loose, while many texts have their beginning and end missing. This is a consequence of the fact that most of the Malay manuscripts were *bought* by Van der Tuuk, whereas almost all his manuscripts from Bali are copies made on his special order.

5. Van der Tuuk's view of Malay

Van der Tuuk occupied himself with Malay in a typical love-hate relationship throughout his lifetime. His love for Malay is apparent from all his efforts to promote the use of a pure, original form of Malay. His hatred and scorn for everything and everybody who threatened that purity is expressed in his many polemical writings. When Van der Tuuk first stated his position vis-à-vis the various kinds of Malay in his inimitable style (Van der Tuuk 1856:11), the old debate about 'high' and 'low' Malay that went back to the days of François Valentijn (ca 1690) was still topical (see, for example, Roorda 1856; De Hollander 1864; Pijnappel 1865; an excellent survey is given in Hoffman 1979).

Van der Tuuk rejects the terms 'high' and 'low' Malay and also avoids the confusing term *spreektaal* (spoken language). He distinguishes three sorts of Malay: *Centralisatie-Maleisch*, *Locaal-Maleisch*, and *Conventie-Maleisch* (Van der Tuuk 1856:172-3). '*Centralisatie-Maleisch* is the language generally read and understood by educated Malays. It has been used in writing in, among other places, Aceh, the Malay Peninsula, Palembang, Pasei, Bantên (Bantam), and even Mecca; its home territory is the Malay Peninsula, where it is still correctly spoken by Malays in places where the Chinese are not yet dominant.'

'*Locaal-Maleisch* is Malay as it is used, with greater or lesser differences between the various dialects, by Muslim Malays in everyday life ... In letter-writing and in religious works every Malay makes use, to the best of his ability, of *Centralisatie-Maleisch*; however, since at present most Malays are not sufficiently educated to avoid particular words that are used only in their own dialect and replace them with words that are in current use in the Peninsula, one may safely assume that *Centralisatie-Maleisch* is now written exclusively in the Peninsula.'

'*Conventie-Maleisch* is the language that is related to *Locaal-Maleisch*

and to *Centralisatie-Maleisch* in the same way as was the lingua franca [Van der Tuuk spells it '*lingua Franca*'] to Italian. It lacks linguistic rules, as, being spoken by foreigners, it adopts such rules as everyone sees fit to provide it with according to his own lights; it deserves the qualification *brabbeltaal* (gibberish) or *linguaccio*. 'The more educated the Malay, the less use he will make of *Conventie-Maleisch* in his dealings with co-religionists; whereas uneducated Malays will not infrequently use words which they have never come across in writing but have only heard used by foreigners'.

As was mentioned in Section 2 above, Van der Tuuk was attacked by a very serious illness in Batavia in 1850. He had to be admitted to the Military Hospital before he was able to leave for the Batak area. At one stage his illness drove him to the verge of insanity. A few days before this crisis, he wrote two very incoherent letters to the Bible Society (the first of which is dated 20 August 1850, while the second (undated) was written some days later). He realized himself that these letters were strange, but urged the secretary not to treat them as the 'mad ramblings of a disordered brain' and to forgive him their disjointedness, which was due to 'an ailing body' (see for this whole episode Nieuwenhuys 1982:45-54, and the facsimile of the first letter on page 50).

If we respect Van der Tuuk's own wish and try to grasp the real sense of what he wrote in near-fatal exhaustion, we find that he had given much thought during his forced stay in Batavia to the position of Malay and the spread of contaminated Malay as a result of the ongoing expansion of Islam.¹¹ He felt that there was an urgent need for a description of pure Malay, and that the government must change its policy, which encouraged the spread of impure Malay.

While still in hospital, he wrote a treatise on *Centralisatie-Maleisch*. He wanted to demonstrate the feasibility of creating a language which, with the support of education, would be fit to 'express the intentions' of the Bible Society 'in an intelligible language that could be understood to as far as the east coast of Africa and the west coast of America'. For the development of pure Malay, the cleansing of the Augean stables of 'quackery' with this treatise was preconditional. He refers repeatedly to subjectivity and objectivity and to the notion of 'system' (*stelsel, systeem*), saying, for instance, that 'a system is blurred by the destruction of any of its constituent parts'. Behind these words we perceive an inner protest against the amateurish way in which Malay was studied and against the power of all the unsystematic and subjective variation which he encountered in what he called later, in 1856, *Conventie-Maleisch*.

Van der Tuuk read part of this treatise to his friend E. Netscher, as the latter wrote in a letter to the Bible Society of 25 September. Netscher, who

¹¹ The other subjects he dealt with in both these letters will not be discussed here.

himself later published some Malay texts in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, was of the opinion that this work 'one day will be appreciated as one of the cornerstones of our knowledge of Indonesian (*Indische*) languages' (Nieuwenhuys 1982:45). According to Netscher, the manuscript had been sent to the Bible Society 'a month ago'. However, Van der Tuuk only writes in his letter of 20 August that he intended sending it along with this letter. In the second letter he refers in a very obscure passage to 'the first sections' of his '*Centralisatie-Maleisch*', but immediately goes on to say that he is unable to send off 'the first sections with the indexes'. Thus, while we may safely assume that the work did exist at the time, it is uncertain whether it was actually sent. The Bible Society informed Van der Tuuk more than once that the manuscript had not arrived, and in fact it has never been found (K. Groeneboer, personal communication).

Van der Tuuk saw the expansion of Islam as a channel via which Malay might push aside or influence the local vernaculars, as he was to observe soon after arriving at Sibo(l)ga (see below). In the two letters under discussion he refers twice to Islam. In connection with the aim of his treatise on *Centralisatie-Maleisch* he wrote: 'The banner of Islam is the column of fire for the student of languages in these regions', naming 'the anti-Christian administrative system ... and the centralizing religion of conquest of the centralizing Mohamed' as the adversaries frustrating the Bible Societies' and his own purposes.

As an example of Van der Tuuk's critical comments on the impurities of Malay as found in published texts, dictionaries and grammars, I would refer to his review of the third edition of De Hollander's *Handleiding* (Text-book) (De Hollander 1864; Van der Tuuk 1865d). Here he observed that De Hollander, in his grammatical description of Malay, was too much influenced by Roorda's Javanese grammar (Van der Tuuk 1865d:528). He also argued once more against the distinction between 'high' and 'low' Malay. His criticism is relatively mild, however, apparently because he discerned in De Hollander's work a serious attempt to study the Malay of the literature. He nevertheless considered the *geraamte* (skeleton, framework) by Pijnappel – namely Pijnappel's 26-page mini-grammar – a much more reliable grammar of Malay for the beginning student (Pijnappel 1862; Nieuwenhuys 1982:118).

Because Van der Tuuk delimited his *Centralisatie-Maleisch* rather narrowly, the sources of new literature in good Malay were not very abundant. P.J. Veth, in his discussion of Van der Tuuk's 1856 article on the 'High Malay' Bible translation in *De Gids* as late as 1864, seems to agree entirely with Van der Tuuk on this point. He writes: 'One may safely assume that *Centralisatie-Maleisch* now is only written in the Peninsula' (Veth 1864:601). And further: 'Every Malay dictionary and grammar should be focused on *Centralisatie-Maleisch*, and one should "not rest" until "*Conventie-Maleisch*" or the high or low *brabbeltaal* introduced by

Europeans is completely banished from the circle [of the dictionaries and grammars] and replaced by pure Malay'. He moreover felt that it was unnecessary for Europeans to receive training in this '*brabbeltaal*' (Veth 1864:602).

Nevertheless, Veth (who never visited the Indies) seems to have noticed that in Van der Tuuk's classification of the various kinds of Malay, the relation between the written and the spoken language was insufficiently taken into account, and he did not know what to make of the twelfth(!) edition (1863) of P.P. Roorda van Eysinga's *Noodzakelijk handwoordenboek der Nederduitsche en laag-Maleische taal* (Basic concise Dutch and Low Malay dictionary). What criterion should be applied to a dictionary of Low Malay? Perhaps, Veth suggested, one should distinguish between a conventional (*conventionele*) colloquial language (*omgangstaal*) and a conventional written language, which distinction might then best correspond to the old distinction between Low and High Malay (Veth 1864:603¹²).

Thus, long before our present state of knowledge of the development of Malay and Indonesian, a contemporary scholar (whom Van der Tuuk certainly respected) already suspected that Van der Tuuk somehow failed to appreciate the positive and innovative role of spoken Malay. In retrospect, Van der Tuuk's choice of a variety of Malay that merely existed outside the Netherlands Indies, and thus was not subject to control from any Dutch colonial language policy, as standard for his *Centralisatie-Maleisch* was also unfortunate.

About the language of Riau, which the government soon afterwards officially regarded as normative, Van der Tuuk's judgement was not wholly positive. In the introduction to Von de Wall's dictionary he complains that 'the Malay of Riau is rather different from the language of the Malay literature ...', and 'Riau Malay is better than the language of Singapore, but if one can go by Von de Wall's statements, it has apparently also been affected by the broken language spoken by the many Chinese who have settled in Riau. Moreover, Von de Wall includes words which arouse the suspicion of the student of Malay that the Riau language has also been influenced somewhat by the *brabbeltaal*.' (H. von de Wall 1877-1884 I:VI)

The introduction of some courses in Low Malay in The Netherlands, namely in the curriculum of the Delft Academy, where prospective civil servants were trained, was certainly against Van der Tuuk's principles. These courses were available to students in their final year from the academic year 1860-1861 on (Fasseur 1993:150). Even as late as 1893 Van

¹² In his survey of linguistic studies in the Indies (Veth 1864), Veth also discussed Van der Tuuk 1864b (clearly disapproving of the tone of Van der Tuuk's attack on Roorda, see Veth 1864:422-4), as well as Van der Tuuk 1860-1862a and 1861, De Hollander 1856, and Pijnappel 1862 and 1863.

der Tuuk expressed his misgivings about the fact that the Minister for the Colonies, I.D. Fransen van de Putte, had made colloquial Malay a compulsory subject in the 'B'-grade examination for prospective civil servants (Van der Tuuk 1893:189). He set himself up as guardian of correct Malay in many of his writings.¹³

Van der Tuuk had followed developments in the Indies closely even while still a student. So he wrote to a friend before his departure from The Netherlands in 1849 that Batak manuscripts had become rare in Sumatra thanks to the Malay 'Omars' (Muslims) (Nieuwenhuys 1982:34). On his arrival at Sibolga he decided against settling there because the inhabitants were already Malays, in contrast to the situation of 20 years previously (Nieuwenhuys 1982:54). In 1854 he reported that the government was promoting the spread of Islam by using Arabic and Roman characters instead of the Batak script in government schools. Too few Dutch civil servants had a sufficient knowledge of Malay literature to enable the government to prevent teachers from clandestinely using lessons for Islamic religious teaching. Even the distribution of his own Batak translation of a fragment of the book of Genesis was indirectly prohibited due to the Government's bias against Christianity – the consequence of which attitude was the further spread of Malay (Nieuwenhuys 1982:81-2).

In the Introduction to his Toba grammar (1864c, 1867a) Van der Tuuk discussed the decline of Mandailing Batak as spoken in the southern Batak districts as a result of government influence. He wrote: 'Because the Batak – when they are not engaged in divination – do not take the difference between the written and the spoken language into account, they write it more easily and better than do many people from an educated nation who are chained to a traditional language form. In Mandailing the natives, under the influence of school teachers and interpreters – some of them foreigners – appointed by officials, are on the way to writing their language poorly. In government schools, too much authority is assigned to Bataks who have become Muslims, and, as new converts, seek as much as possible to shine by using Malay words.' (Van der Tuuk 1971:L-LI.) In his last work, Van der Tuuk points out that especially the heads (the lower native officers) are 'well versed' in '*brabbeltaal*' (Van der Tuuk 1894:42).

The same objections to the use of '*brabbeltaal*' by the Mandailing Batak and the role of the heads were vented by Van der Tuuk in a polemic against a (so far unidentified) Dutch gentleman hiding behind the initials A.E.C. This man had visited the Mandailing area and there met the young Batak Willem Iskander, who had been educated in The Netherlands. This

¹³ By way of comparison it is worth mentioning that N. Adriani, another well-known linguist in the service of the Dutch Bible Society, also practised purism by replacing Malay loanwords and Malay or Dutch syntactic structures with autochthonous words or structures in the Sangirese texts he published after the completion of his thesis while still in The Netherlands(!) (Swellengrebel 1974-1978 II:29).

Willem had translated a moralistic Dutch story into Mandailing Batak, and Van der Tuuk expressed his disappointment at the fact that even this native speaker of Batak had used some '*brabbel*' Malay words (Van der Tuuk 1866f, see also *Notulen* 8-1-1884:5; on Willem Iskander, see Poeze 1986 I:16-7).

Van der Tuuk complained repeatedly about the general ignorance of Malay among the Dutch. So he wrote in his Toba Grammar in 1867: 'No language has suffered so much from the craving for system as Malay, simply because there is so little system in it. It is generally held to be easy, but even so none of its numerous students has yet succeeded in making it clear' (Van der Tuuk 1971:XLIV). In 1873 he wrote to the Bible Society about 'Malay, in which no European is able to express himself properly, yet this language has been studied by us for centuries. The study of Malay was begun only for the sake of translating into it (the Bible translators have never published any Malay text!), and the foolish idea that it is easy to learn persists down to the present day.' (Nieuwenhuys 1982:167.)

Also in 1873, he reacted disappointedly to De Hollander's publication of Malay fables, which De Hollander believed to be written in a pure form of language, namely Minangkabau [Malay] (De Hollander 1871:55). But according to Van der Tuuk it is '*brabbeltaal*', 'which has been given a dignified appearance' by the use of Arabic script and the insertion of some words that are used in Padang, and would not seem out of place in *Bianglala* (a periodical published in Batavia). One example may suffice to show that Van der Tuuk was not exaggerating: on page 74 of the fables one finds the phrase *kasi tunjuk sama aku*, 'show me', which even now one would call *pasar* Malay. In this connection Van der Tuuk wrote: '... no language of the Indian Archipelago is so poorly studied as Malay, just because everyone believes they know it so well that they do not hesitate to use it in every kind of situation' (Van der Tuuk 1873, pp. 1-3 of the offprint).

The quality of Malay texts had also suffered much at the hands of copyists, especially those in Batavia, who introduced their own, local variants into them. An example of this is provided by the Malay wayang texts discussed by Van der Tuuk (Van der Tuuk 1879b and 1881a). 'The language is far from pure and falls into the category which Roorda's students erroneously call "everyday speech"'. Another example is the text of the story of Samáun. Van der Tuuk had two manuscripts of this text, which had been 'so terribly mutilated by a Batavian copyist that a native Malay would find it difficult to understand the language, they abound with so much Batavian Malay' (Van der Tuuk 1866c).

Besides his colleagues, the Government, Islam, and Batavian copyists, the Christian mission was also frequently the target of Van der Tuuk's criticisms. He found it regrettable that missionaries received insufficient language training before being sent abroad, while the quality of what training they did receive was deplorable. The two missionaries from the

Utrechtsche Zendings Vereeniging (Utrecht Missionary Society) in Bali whom Van der Tuuk met upon his arrival in Bulèlèng (Bali) in 1870 only had a knowledge of 'brabbel' Malay (Nieuwenhuys 1982:155). Their school was well attended, but this would probably have been different if 'brabbel' Malay had not been taught there (Nieuwenhuys 1982:154). The missionary R. van Eck, with whom Van der Tuuk stayed at Bulèlèng for some time from April 1870 on, knew Balinese better than Van der Tuuk had expected, but Van Eck's visitors could mostly speak 'brabbel' Malay. As a result, Van der Tuuk decided to go and live on his own in order to be in closer contact with speakers of pure Balinese (Nieuwenhuys 1982:153).

Of more general interest are Van der Tuuk's objections to the influence of Christian publications on the development of Malay. A former Resident of Timor, I. Esser (the linguist S.J. Esser's grandfather), announced in a Christian magazine in The Netherlands in early 1866 that he was planning to start a Malay daily newspaper under the title *De Evangelie-bazuin; Nafiri Indjil; Satoe soewara wolanda bagi radja orang Israèl, kapala djamaätnja, ia-itoe Jesoes Christoes dan goena segala bangsa di tanah Hindia Nederland* (The Gospel trumpet; A Dutch voice on behalf of the king of the Israelites, head of his congregation, namely Jesus Christ, for the benefit of the peoples of the Netherlands Indies). Esser further reported that some 100,000 copies of various Christian texts (probably for the greater part written by himself) had already been distributed, mostly on behalf of the association for the promotion of Malay Christian literature¹⁴, which had been founded in Batavia in 1853.

Anyone who can read the Malay title of Esser's *Evangelie-bazuin* will understand that Van der Tuuk pounced upon the 'brabbel' Malay in which it was written (Van der Tuuk 1866g and 1867b). Because he also discerned elements of the 'High Malay' (i.e., Leijdecker's) Bible translation in Esser's use of the language, he spoke sarcastically of 'High' *Brabbel-Maleisch*.¹⁵

Another polemic about *Brabbel-Maleisch* was started by Van der Tuuk against F.S.A. de Clercq, and via him against A.F. von de Wall (Van der Tuuk 1878). De Clercq had been a *Controleur* (officer in the colonial civil service) in Menado, and after that deputy inspector of native education in the Moluccas, Sumatra, and East Java before being appointed inspector of native education in Batavia in 1877. He was the author of a number of articles on the Malay spoken in the Minahasa and Timor, and had published a Moluccan Malay word list in 1876.¹⁶ Van der Tuuk praised this

¹⁴ Vereeniging tot bevordering van Maleische Christelijke Lectuur / Perhimpoeanan akan melebihi pambatjaan kitab-kitab Masehi (see Van den End 1991:29).

¹⁵ On Van der Tuuk's personal feud with Esser, see Nieuwenhuys 1982:121-33 and Swellengrebel 1974-1978 I:129-32, 250.

¹⁶ On De Clercq see *Encyclopaedie* I, 1917:491, and Teeuw 1961:48, 49, and 99.

latter work because it did 'not distort the facts' and fully displayed the language 'in its horrific form' (Van der Tuuk 1878).

In a letter to Van der Tuuk, De Clercq had commented favourably on a few little books written by A.F. von de Wall for use in native schools. About these Van der Tuuk writes that Von de Wall's language is a 'Malay that does not belong anywhere, as it is a mixture of Riau, Batavian, and errors taken from the dictionaries'. De Clercq's rather positive evaluation was due, according to Van der Tuuk, to his long residence in the Moluccas, 'where the native indiscriminately apes his Dutch masters who have also given him the gift of Christianity'. He scoffs at Von de Wall junior, who was 'so successfully studying the Malay of Riau' at Pintu Besi in Batavia (in his personal offprint Van der Tuuk has added a handwritten comment that Von de Wall had better leave his [Batavian] coconut estate and settle in Riau). About Abdullah (i.e., Abdullah the *Munsyi*) he says that his idiom was the language of 'a Malay corrupted by English missionaries' (Van der Tuuk 1878).

The Malay of the Minahasa found no favour in Van der Tuuk's eyes, either, so that he could not unreservedly recommend R. van Eck for an appointment as teacher of Javanese and Malay at the Dutch Willem III *gymnasium* in Batavia, as 'he has taken his Malay lessons with an *Alfoer* from the Minahasa' (Van der Tuuk 1875c). In his last work, Van der Tuuk turned on the missionary N. Graafland, who had written that the Malay spoken by native Christians in the Minahasa deserved to be called a Malay dialect (Van der Tuuk 1894:52-3). 'Assigning the status of a dialect (*tongval*) to a language that has been introduced by missionaries who are not native speakers of that language and is used by natives who are speakers of an entirely different language, is like claiming that the English of some Jewish hawker in Rotterdam is a dialect of the language of Shakespeare.' Van der Tuuk also refers to the newspaper *Tjahaja Siang* (Daylight), published in the Minahasa, of which Graafland had been the editor, in which occasionally Malay words had to be explained by means of *Alfoer* equivalents.¹⁷

This not very subtle thrust at Graafland contrasts sharply with what Graafland had written in 1868 under the title 'The criterion for publications in the Malay language' (Graafland 1868).¹⁸ Here Graafland acknowledges that one should try and find a standard in good, clear manuscripts, but at the same time points out that Malay is a living language, and that the natural development of a language cannot be stopped. For example, changed meanings tend to become new meanings in their own right: whereas Klinkert gives as Malay equivalent for 'arithmetic' *ilmu kira-kira*, in the Minahasa *ilmu hitungan* is now generally used [Indonesian: *ilmu hitung*, CDG].

¹⁷ On this newspaper and the variety of Malay used in it, see Manoppo 1983.

¹⁸ See also Teeuw 1961:61-4 on this problem in a historical context.

Graafland preferred to qualify Minahasan Malay as 'vulgar' (*plat*) or 'accommodation' Malay, as it had developed from people's need to make themselves intelligible. It was not *Conventie* Malay (Van der Tuuk's term) in the sense of a language of one's own making. After all, the Malay of Riau-Penyengat was a local variety of Malay just as any other. Graafland's argument creates a well-balanced impression. He acknowledges Van der Tuuk's expertise, and shows himself also to be familiar with the latter's usual, polemical style of arguing. He remarks, not without a touch of good-natured irony: 'To fall into the hands of this gentleman is terrible' (Graafland 1868:432; see also Graafland 1892).

Leaving aside Minangkabau and the South Sumatran languages studied by Van der Tuuk, the only *Locaal-Maleisch* variety about which he has written in some detail is the Malay of Batavia. In 1865 he wrote with regard to that language: 'In Batavia the Muslim natives speak a Malay that is completely different from Malay as spoken by Europeans, Chinese, Arabs, and other foreigners. This Malay, although widely divergent from the Malay of the Padang uplands or the Malay Peninsula, is by no means therefore "low" Malay, as it is not a *brabbeltaal* but a language which, although it comprises more European elements, is not inferior in richness to its sister languages and is well worth a closer acquaintance.' (Van der Tuuk 1865d:530-1.)

In fact, Van der Tuuk always spoke of the *Malay* of Batavia. Homan's remark that it was a dialect of Sundanese was countered by him with the statement that it was '... rather Balinese. Although it still contains many Balinese words, ... it seems to have been strongly influenced later by Javanese (particularly from Banten), Sundanese, and Malay.' (Homan 1867:8.)

As was stated above, we are dealing here with a language without a written literature. Van der Tuuk suspected, however, that Batavian Malay would in some respects become the key to our knowledge of Balinese and Javanese. 'Even Javanese words which are frequently found in Malay poems and stories but no longer are alive in the language, it seems, ... can be explained with the help of Batavian Malay.' (Homan 1867:VI.) Later he wrote from Bali that the study of Batavian Malay had turned out to be of great value for his work on the Kawi-Balinese dictionary.

Van der Tuuk was a linguist and philologist to the core. However, I do not recall his ever speaking enthusiastically about the beauty or elegance of (pure) Malay literature. G. Koster mentions Van der Tuuk's irritation at the epilogue of the story of the Pandawas, which was written in the form of a *syair*. He quotes Van der Tuuk as saying: 'There follow four pages of drivel in the limping rhyme of the copyist, a native of Java (Van der Tuuk 1875[b]:1)', and states that Van der Tuuk apparently 'failed to grasp the point', that is, to appreciate 'the narrational musing of a *dagang*' (Koster 1993:96). One wonders how Van der Tuuk would have appreciated Koster's analysis of Malay narrative and whether he would have joined

him in 'roaming through seductive gardens' (following the title of Koster's thesis).

The above survey only claims to be exhaustive to the extent that it is an attempt to describe Van der Tuuk's concern with the form and function of Malay in all sorts of ways. In conclusion I can only express my admiration for his remarkable contribution to the development of the study of Malay, besides his major work on Batak and Balinese, and much else besides. In particular the way he dealt with manuscript materials, his lexicographic acuteness, and his unrelenting struggle to come to terms with all varieties of written Malay that did not meet the standard he had set for the purity of Malay are worthy of our praise. That he did not emerge victorious from *that* particular struggle will not amaze anybody who realizes how full a field of challenging problems the relation between the different varieties of Malay and Indonesian, written and spoken, still represents for the present generation of Indonesianists, a hundred years after Van der Tuuk.

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