

印尼早期的华人报业先驱及其影响 (2021.06.03)

On page 303, Hoogervorst writes that ‘while the majority of Peranakan Chinese were the most capable of expressing themselves in Malay, the heritage language of their paternal ancestors kept influencing the ways they articulated themselves through the spoken and written word.’ Hoogervorst notes how the term ‘Chinese Malay’ in the Netherlands Indies only gained currency in the 1920s connected to the rise of Chinese nationalism. I thought it was interesting locating this trajectory in parallel with the emergence of Islamic socialist thought in the archipelago in the revolutionary circles of the early 20th Century. Hoogervorst writes of ‘contact varieties’ and describes how ‘the Malay variety used by Java’s Peranakan Chinese can be fruitfully approached as an ethnolinguistic repertoire, ‘a fluid set of linguistic resources that members of an ethnic group may use variably as they index their ethnic identities’ (Benor, 2010). Unlike the terms ‘ethnolect’ and ‘dialect’, the ethnolinguistic repertoire allows for variation; not all group members use all of their linguistic resources in every situation. This term has been used to describe the contemporary sociolinguistic behaviour of Jewish Americans, African Americans and Latinos – among others – and can likewise be applied to the Peranakan Chinese community in late colonial Java.’ Similar to Wolters’s ‘localisation’ imagery of fragments, diffraction and refraction, Hoogervorst provides a useful description of the shimmering-immanent quality of language, linguistic borrowings and wordplay, sometimes humorous or vindictive as modular, jazz-like seriations of variation, repetition and difference.

Hoogervorst’s study focuses on ‘printed material from the 1890s – when the ethnic Chinese of Java started to patronise Malay-language newspapers and publishing houses (Adam 1995) – until the Indonesian independence in 1945, when the distinct Malay in which they wrote was gradually replaced by standard Indonesian’ and later actively dismantled by Suharto. Hoogervorst notes how this networks of journalists, authors, funders and distributors of Peranakan Chinese publishing houses were able to reach a previously unattainable readership. ‘The Sino-Malay publications and the language in which they were written, therefore, provide unique and important insights into Java’s late colonial society from a non-European perspective’. I thought it was interesting how this network of publishing houses could possibly be examined as an early precursor or prototype of print-media culture in post-Independence Indonesia, under Sukarno and the Bandung Conference and Afro-Asian Journalist Association. Hoogervorst draws on how print culture often operated magnetically. ‘In 1896, the Semarang-based newspaper *De Telefoon*, most of whose editors were Eurasians, published two satirical poems which were clearly intended to dehumanise the city’s Chinese population (Claver, 2014) ‘Tjikoä, soesa, soesa! Smokkel opjoen panja. Tjêkalang laèn loepa!!! Dear me, so much trouble! But I smuggled lots of opium And now the tables are turned!!!’

Another story published in 1941 in *Sin Po* tells about a Chinese man who had just become a father. Reporting to the district warden (*wijkmeester*) that his wife had given birth, he accidentally used the phrase *djoet-lang*, which – the article tells us – sounds like ‘to go out to Semarang’ (出壟) in local Hokkien. Of course the district warden got annoyed, as there would have been no need to report that his wife had taken a trip to Semarang.’ Hoogervorst relates the intimate lines between language, print, new technologies, and the production of ethnic difference and power. Hoogervorst writes of how ‘the hardworking yet socially inept and money-minded Chinese shop master or ‘towkay’ (頭家) was a widely recognised cultural archetype throughout the Netherlands Indies – among other places’ which is interesting to explore alongside Reid’s thesis that social upheaval caused by processes of modernisation destabilised traditional hierarchies and raised new questions about social identity, which like in post-war Europe came to circulate around the conspiracy

of the press-house and financial elites. Hadler argues that later, under Suharto's New Order regime, anti-Chinese sentiment was driven by a similar dynamic to anti-semitism in Europe.

I found a translation of Professor 陆然's article on *Indonesian Chinese Press and Chinese Literature in the 21st Century*. The translation is rough through the machine algorithms of Google Translate but also in consequence forms a more powerful descriptor of the process of linguistic contact in action: 'almost all of the weekly in 1957 to reach annual A golden stage, there were 18 Chinese daily newspapers. It is issued in major cities across the country, with a circulation of about 250,000 copies. The 18 Chinese-language daily newspapers are: Jakarta's "New Paper", "Life Daily", "Tiansheng Daily", "Freedom", "China Chinese Business Daily; among them, The New Newspaper is the largest Chinese in the country daily. In addition, there is the "Sumatra People's Daily" in Medan, "Democracy Daily", "Overseas Chinese Daily", "New China Daily", "Xingzhong Daily", "Sudao Times"; "Da Gong Shang" in Surabaya Newspaper, Qingguang Daily, Overseas Chinese News; Xijiang's KuangLu Daily, Qiao Sheng Daily; Pontianak's Dawn, "Cheng Bao" In April 1958, the Indonesian government shut down the pro-Taiwan "Tiansheng Daily", "Freedom Daily", "China Business Daily" and "Qingguang Daily" and others, in 1960, they also sealed "Life Daily, Sumatra People's Daily, Democracy Daily, etc. In 1963, there were 13 Indonesian nationalist stances Published and distributed by Chinese daily newspapers, such as "Loyalty", "Capital Day "Torch", "Torch" and "Revolutionary Torch" ③, but in 1965 Nian 9 Yue 30 the day after the coup, Chinese newspapers and books Full membership was banned Suharto regime, 1966 Nian 4 Yue All Chinese schools were closed. In October 1999, the Wahid government allowed the establishment Chinese newspapers and periodicals can hold Chinese language tuition classes. The national awakening and independence movement played a major role in The history of the Indonesian newspaper industry has written a glorious chapter. China People's newspapers and periodicals should express the participation of all ethnic Chinese in building the country Attitude and determination to strive for the equal rights and interests of the Chinese Status, and strive to create a pluralism, democracy, reform and A fairer and more prosperous new Indonesia, for the revitalization of the new Indonesia.<sup>1</sup>

I thought it is interesting to locate Hoogervorst's 2019 article against his earlier work completed as part of his doctorate in 2010 on '*Southeast Asia in the ancient Indian Ocean World: Combining historical linguistic and archaeological approaches.*' In the intro to his thesis, Hoogervorst writes how 'since the geographical focus of this study is on the Indian Ocean, the prehistoric contacts between Southeast Asia and China will not be addressed, except in passing. I will also not touch upon the southern parts of present-day China, which were – and partly continue to be part of the Southeast Asian cultural sphere in pre-modern times (cf. Schafer 1967). I thought it was therefore interesting that Hoogervorst is now approaching the north-south connections of China-Southeast Asia. The map of the Indian Ocean Hoogervorst uses only shows Yunnan on the very ledge of the map, suggesting the scope of further research to connect China-Southeast Asia, the Bay of Bengal and East Africa into a contiguous zone of linguistic and material evolution, I thought this was interesting because in the 1950s and 1960s, Afro-Asian solidarity such as that expressed at the Bandung Conference opened out these very historical connections. I thought it was interesting because I would like to explore how the Belt and Road is intimately connected to the Bandung Conference in furnishing a new new zones of contiguity for histori-

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<sup>1</sup> I also saw a post by an academic critiquing the Endless Frontier Act in the U.S. Senate which does not include funding for area studies and language training but solely focuses on the technological competition with China in Artificial intelligence and machine learning (AIML); High performance computing, semiconductors, and advanced computer hardware; Quantum computing and information systems; Robotics, automation, and advanced manufacturing; Natural or anthropogenic disaster prevention; Advanced communications technology; Biotechnology, genomics, and synthetic biology; Cybersecurity, data storage, and data management technologies; Advanced energy; and, Materials science, engineering, and exploration. 'Unsurprisingly, S1260 does NOT include funding for area studies and language training so our society and government at all levels may better understand that nation. S1260 will now go to the House. Please consider urging youe member of Congress to support a rider today to fund our weak Asia area studies and Chinese language training in high schools and universities.'

ographic research between Northeast Asia-Eurasia-Southeast-Asia-Middle-East-East Africa, and if in four hundred years, linguists and archaeologists will write of a Sinitic cosmopolis of ports, energy terminals, data centers.

Hoogervorst examines the cultural and language contact between Southeast Asia and South Asia, East Africa and the Middle East, and writes of how he conducted fieldwork trips to southern India, Sri Lanka and the Maldives (January – March 2009), Malaysia (November – December 2009) and Indonesia (July – August 2010), drawing knowledge of maritime technology from helpful fishermen of southern India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and Malaysia with detailed sketches of local boat types. In India, Sri Lanka and the Maldives, English was used for communication, whereas I spoke Malay in Indonesia and Malaysia. In part 3.2. Hoogervorst re-examines “Indianisation” writing:

The early 1st mill. CE Chinese accounts on Southeast Asia unmistakably describe “Indianised” kingdoms, i.e. kingdoms that adopted Hinduism or Buddhism and often used Indian names, while contemporaneous Southeast Asian epigraphy was predominantly in Sanskrit (cf. Ferrand 1919a, Maspéro 1928, Cœdès 1968). Through these textual accounts, our picture of Southeast Asia in the first mill. CE is centred on Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms such as Funan, Campā, Dvāravatī, Śrī Vijaya and others. The political structure, religion, art, architecture and language of these Southeast Asian kingdoms underwent profound influence from the subcontinent, a process known as “Indianisation” or “Hinduisation”. Early European scholars, with Indian nationalists in their pursuit, approached the large-scale cultural transmissions from India through a framework of perceived political dominance and cultural superiority of the incoming South Asians. This model has been subject to severe criticism (Bosch 1956, 1961, Cœdès 1968, Casparis 1983), resulting in new modes which leave room for indigenous agency, complicated interethnic relations and cultural hybridity. Sunil Gupta’s recent theory of a “Bay of Bengal interaction sphere” has a lot to recommend itself (Gupta 2005). *In view of the fact that the perishability of the Southeast Asian spices, aromatic woods and other export products accounts for a significant imbalance in the archaeological record, we are challenged to ask ourselves, as one scholar put it, “to what extent should the Indonesians be pictured as simple folk, fascinated by foreigners and delighted to have the chance of bartering their minerals and jungle wealth for Indian manufactured goods? (Wolters 1967:64)”* It may be observed that the religious and linguistic influence from the subcontinent, i.e. the actual “Indianisation” of Southeast Asia, is predated by centuries of commercial contacts.

Hoogervorst flips the diffusionist ‘Farther India’ idea of seeing a teleological west-to-east lineage of the Sanskrit cosmopolis or Islamic cosmopolis settling in Southeast Asia to examine ‘the impact of Southeast Asian sailors and merchants on the different regions of the Indian Ocean in pre-modern times, what he terms the ‘jigsaw puzzle of Indian Ocean prehistory’. In effect, Hoogervorst looks at the *Southeast Asianisation* of the Indian Ocean region as a process deserving of its own historiography. Hoogervorst writes of how the the Romans and especially the Hellenised Egyptians of post-Augustinian times had a relatively clear picture of the Middle East, East Africa and South Asia, although much of the information on Southeast Asia seems to have been obtained by Indian informants, perhaps accounting for the establishment of a false hierarchy in later diffusionist accounts, coupled with the trajectory of European Orientalists ‘discovering facts’ from west to east. Hoogervorst draws on the work of James Hornell, an authority on traditional watercraft, demonstrating that

the outrigger boats of South Asia and East Africa are derived from insular Southeast Asian prototypes, suggesting that Southeast Asians did reach the western regions of the Indian Ocean and introduced their produce and technology in a largely undocumented past. Island groups between Southeast Asia and East Africa, such as the Seychelles and the Chagos Archipelago, were probably too isolated or deprived of fresh water to ensure successful colonisation or continuous navigation, as they were unpopulated upon their European discovery. If, on the other hand, Madagascar was settled from insular Southeast Asia in shore-hugging watercraft, some relatively small pockets of westward migrating Southeast Asian communities may have been assimilated into pre-existing populations of South Asia, the Middle East and East Africa (e.g. Mahdi 1999b:163), a scenario supported by recent phylogenetic research (Hurles et al. 2005, Ducourneau 2010). Studies on Middle Eastern philology, too, suggest that insular Southeast Asian seafarers remained a familiar sight in the Indian Ocean into medieval times (Ferrand 1910, Allibert 1999).

Similarly research by Chinese archaeologists identifying Chinese descendants of the Zheng He fleet on the eastern coast of Kenya broadens the sense of a contiguous zone of unidentified relations and contact varieties that are now being reopened through modern scanning, Lidar and ocean-surface technologies, non-European source materials, genetic research and the broadening of ancestral intrigue and means through the internet and communication devices. I also thought it was interesting to ask whether there are linguistic separations proceeding from the pandemic, contact varieties breaking up into nationalisms, contact and tracing having entered the lexical currency departing, and if a similar process from previous pandemics generated an explosive psychological effect on linguistic and material contact, variation and difference, the way newspapers are magnetic unifiers and oppositionators, and locating the necessity of tracing language, commonality and difference in the shimmer imagery of Wolters's localisation currents or the archipelagic embers of East-Africa-Indian-Ocean-Middle-East-Bay-of-Bengal-Southeast-Asia-Eurasia-Northeast Asia, or vice versa in any seriation, or order, with cosmology replacing teleology, Peranakan home-searching or the home in the Odyssey or Iliad or Romance of the Three Kingdoms that generates a sense of the gravitational dynamics of languages departing and returning, like memory, in a changed form.

