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Chinese in Indonesia: A Background Study

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Abstract

In this document we discuss the fourteen major varieties of Chinese which are reported to be spoken in the country of Indonesia, giving particular attention to the five largest communities: Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, Teochew, and Hainan. Additional sections discuss terms which have been used in the Indonesian context for referring to people of Chinese descent, overview of Chinese immigration into Indonesia over the previous centuries, and recent government policy toward Chinese languages and Chinese writing.

1 **Introduction** (by David Mead)

Despite living in Southeast Asia for a number of years, and even having a linguistic pedigree, nonetheless, for most of my adult life I have lumped all the Chinese varieties around me into one broad, undifferentiated category of 'Chinese.' Of course, I have my excuses for doing so; I'm specializing in Austronesian languages. Tone languages are not my forte. Finally, look at the plethora of terms out there. Is Teochew the same thing as Tio-Tsyu? Is Kwongsai the same thing as Guangxi? From that perspective alone, it was a daunting field to jump into.

Things began to change for me about five years ago, however, when a research project into loan words in Indonesian (Mead 2006) piqued my interest in Chinese dialects. Also, I felt a prompting in my heart; could I truly relate to the Chinese people around me, if I knew next to nothing about the language they spoke? I was very excited when Hermanto Lim agreed for us to team up together to explore Chinese varieties in Indonesia.

Here are the fruits of our efforts. Whether your intent is to dig deeper into Chinese as spoken in Indonesia, or you are just someone who regularly comes into contact with people of Chinese background, we hope that this guide will serve you well. It does not explore all Chinese varieties but, rather, concentrates only on the ones which you are likely to encounter in Indonesia.

2 **Introduction** (by Hermanto Lim)[1]

The issue of Indonesian-Chinese has always been intriguing to me. Although born and raised in a traditional Chinese family, I tend to be hesitant to answer if someone asks me what it really means to be an overseas Chinese in Indonesia. I was born in West Kalimantan in a Teochew community and grew up in a multiethnic and multilingual society where people spoke Indonesian, Malay, Dayak, Chinese, Madurese, and some Javanese. I speak Teochew at home with my family, with my Chinese friends, and in the market with Chinese merchants. I was educated in Indonesian. I spoke mostly Indonesian at school and it has become my second language. I speak both Indonesian and Teochew

[1] I am very grateful to all those who provided information: Welly Nio (Hainan and Hokkien), Aileen Tan (Cantonese), Ahian (Hakka), Donny (Teochew), and Michael Rhoades (who prepared the maps), as well as some others who prefer to remain anonymous.

with equal proficiency. I was introduced to Chinese cultural celebrations and festivals during my childhood, and I celebrate some of these. I was instilled and conditioned with the Chinese cultural mindset, principles, and beliefs by my family and the community. No one can say that I lack any 'Chineseness,' except that I speak no Mandarin, if that would be the measure.

Nevertheless, although I have been trying to balance both values (of being of Chinese descent and an Indonesian citizen), I always see myself as part of the larger Indonesian identity, the supra-ethnic Indonesia. Chinese for me is just my background, my roots, but I tend to think of myself as an Indonesian.

It strikes me to know that the Chinese in Indonesia actually comprise many different ethnic backgrounds. I often heard people talk about the terms 'Hokkien,' 'Teochew,' and 'Hakka/Kejia'—those three are what I heard the most—but, heretofore, I had no idea how to describe them, except that they speak somewhat differently in ways which I sometimes do not quite understand.

When David Mead invited me to collaborate in this project, I was very excited. It challenged me to explore the many aspects of the Indonesian-Chinese and to appreciate their language and ethnicity. The purpose of this document is to give a general introduction, describing the identity of Indonesian-Chinese from different angles, e.g. history, culture, society, and language. My hope is that this document will contribute to a more sincere, informed perspective in cross-cultural understanding, helping you to know your Chinese neighbors better.

3 How should I address my Chinese neighbor?

Beginning with an overview of terms which have been used to identify people of Chinese descent in Indonesia, as used by outsiders and within the Chinese community itself, our intent is to describe both the underlying scope and intent of each term, as well as the emotive effect it may have on the concerned party.

3.1 Tionghoa

The terms Tionghoa /tjoŋ hwa/, referring to Chinese people or their language, and the parallel term Tiongkok, in reference to China itself, originate from the Hokkien language.[2] Prior to the New Order government in 1966, these were the polite and respectful terms used in Indonesia for talking about Chinese and China. In fact, this term is used in the Constitution, wherein it refers to Indonesian-Chinese as 'Peranakan Tionghoa' (see the following sections). After temporarily being displaced in official circles by the term Cina during the Suharto era, the government nowadays is again promoting the use of this term when referring to Chinese, a trend which can also be observed in the mass media. (The People's Republic of China, for example, can be referred to as either Republik Rakyat Cina or Republik Rakyat Tionghoa.) Oetomo (1987:29) noted that Tionghoa was used as a euphemism or when one's intent was to

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[2] Compounded from *tiong* 'middle' plus *hoa* 'splendid'/*kok* 'kingdom' (both compounds referring to China).

speak formally, politely, and in public. One of our Chinese friends from Palembang in South Sumatra, where the majority are Hokkien, said that he feels honored when addressed with this term.

3.2 Cina

The term Cina /ʧina/ is used by the Chinese when they are speaking Malay/Indonesian in an informal setting or within their own circle. While of European origin, the term Cina has been in use in Indonesia for a few hundred years. However, because of its required official use in the New Order government, many Chinese, especially the older generation, consider the term Cina to be derogatory or offensive when used by non-Chinese. When interjected with a jeering tone, it carries a negative connotation very similar to that of "Chink!" in English (Oetomo 1987:28). Objections generally lie in the idea that the term Cina is associated with "backwardness, humiliation, queues and bound feet, and the old China in general" (Siauw 1981:14–15, in Oetomo 1987:63). The younger generation, nevertheless, consider the term neutral.

3.3 Teng Lang

Teng Lang /təŋ laŋ/ is another term originating from Hokkien. It literally means 'the people (*lâng*) of the Tang (*tn̂g*) dynasty.' It is mainly used by the Totok community (see section 4) to emphasize in-group solidarity. Chinese who speak Mandarin tend to prefer to be called Zhong Guo Ren /cuŋ kwoʔ rən/, literally 'people of the Middle Kingdom.'

3.4 WNI Keturunan

The term WNI Keturunan /we en i kəturunan/ was widely used in the past (especially in the New Order era). It basically means 'Indonesian of foreign descent.' However, most Chinese feel that this term is used prejudicially as a way to separate them as a different entity from the native Indonesian population. One of our Chinese friends told us that this term applies exclusively to Indonesians of Chinese descent, as opposed to Indonesians of other foreign descent, such as Arabs or Indians, who are not labelled this way.[3] This term is also frequently used in citizenship papers, such as birth certificates or immigration papers.

3.5 Nonpribumi

Nonpribumi /non pɾibumi/ literally means 'non-native.' This term is used with economic connotation. Oetomo (1987:29) explains that "nonpribumi was especially used in the context of government's attempt to reduce the domination by ethnic Chinese in the distribution sector of Indonesian economy." Indonesian Chinese in the past used to be stigmatized as the "economic beast," that is "a group of people as extraordinarily wealthy … only out to make a fast buck" (M. Tan 2002:153). In Malaysia, this term is complementary with Bumiputera, a term used to refer to the native segment of the

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[3] If used properly, people of Chinese descent in Indonesia should be called *Warganegara Indonesia (WNI) Keturunan Tionghoa,* 'Indonesian citizen of Chinese descent.'

population (i.e. Malay/Melayu and other indigenous groups like the Iban, Kelabit, Punan, and Orang Asli).

3.6 Chinese

This English term (articulated in the Indonesian context as in English: /ʧaj nis/) is commonly used by the educated Chinese, especially in Java, to refer to themselves. Oetomo (1987) argues that this term is used out of discomfort of using Cina in public, since it is too informal and self-deprecatory. It is usually used by the more educated, urban Chinese. From this author's observations, this term is not usually heard outside of Java.

3.7 Summary

Considering the usage and emotive connotations of the other terms, it is safe to use Tionghoa to refer to the Indonesian Chinese as a group; this term carries a neutral or honorific connotation.

4 Old and new Chinese immigrants in the archipelago

4.1 Overview of Chinese immigration

Chinese immigrants came to Indonesia in several waves. While some date the earliest immigration of Chinese to the archipelago as far back as the fourth century, Setiono (2002) argues that the very early presence of Chinese in the archipelago is not clear. Conjectures have been made, based on ancient relics and china found in West Java, Batanghari, and West Kalimantan, as well as other artifacts kept in the royal palaces. Lekkerkerker (1938, in Oetomo 1987) has placed the first Chinese immigrants (predominantly Hokkien traders from Fujian province) in Indonesia in 800–900 AD. The earliest Chinese tombstone in southeast Asia, found in Brunei, has been dated to 1264 AD and points clearly to its owner being Hokkien. This is much earlier than Lim's (1988) record of a 15th century Chinese settlement in Malacca, a port city on the Malay peninsula which, by then, had become the capital of a renewed Malay kingdom. Tombstone inscriptions also place an emerging Hokkien community in West Java before the Dutch had established themselves in Batavia (early 17th century) (Franke 1989, 1991; Jones 1996:24). Chinese traders had also begun to frequent the town of Makassar by 1619 AD (Reid 2000:435). A Chinese population was present there from its earliest days as a Dutch-controlled port (late 17th century) (Sutherland 2004:85). Chinese communities were also located in 17th century Ternate and Ambon (Knaap 1987:166) and (Leirissa 2000:243–246) (see Tol, van Dijk, and Acciaioli 2000).

It was not until the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century, however, that large numbers of immigrants from other groups like Teochew, Hakka, and Cantonese from the southern provinces began arriving in the archipelago, especially at the ports in Java. The motivating force behind immigration appears to have been adversity at home, political oppression under the Manchurian Qing Dynasty, and economic hardships following the Opium Wars (Kong 1987:453–454, Jones 1996:11), though the lifting of

official immigration bans and more sea passages to Southeast Asia also played a role (Purcell 1965, Oetomo 1987).

As reported by Ji (2008), according to the Overseas Compatriot Affairs Commission of the Republic of China (Taiwan), there are 7,566,000 Chinese in Indonesia. This constitutes the largest concentration of Chinese in any country, outside of the PRC and Taiwan. The total number of Chinese is "hard to estimate but must be higher than four million" (Adelaar 1996:698). Suryadinata (2004:vii) thinks that the figure should be placed at around only three million, or approximately 1.5 percent of the population of Indonesia. He gives three reasons (a) many Chinese have left Indonesia; (b) the growth rate of the ethnic Chinese is lower than that of other ethnic groups; and (c) many Chinese refuse to identify themselves with an ethnic Chinese group.

4.2 Peranakan versus Totok

Whoever wishes to get to know the Indonesian-Chinese must be aware of the important socio-cultural divide within the Chinese community between Peranakan 'mixed-bloods' on one hand and Totok 'pure-bloods' on the other.

The Malay term *peranakan*, derived from the stem *anak* 'child,' has come to mean 'native born, but of foreign descent,' and also 'mixed-blooded, a person descended from a native and a foreigner.' As applied to the Chinese in Indonesia, it has come to be used in three specific but related ways.

First, in a demographic sense, Peranakan referred to someone of Chinese descent who was born in Indonesia. In this sense, it was sometimes contrasted with the term Singkeh or Singkek /siŋkʰeʔ/,[4] meaning a Chinese person who immigrated to Indonesia. Used in this way, there is a sharp distinction between Peranakan and Singkeh, which may be calculated solely on the basis of where one was born. This distinction was important to census takers in the early years of the twentieth century, when Chinese immigration was at a peak.

Second, from a cultural perspective, Peranakan refers to "the subgroup of the Chinese communities where Chinese have settled for more than a hundred years, characterized mostly by their partial acculturation into the local indigenous culture" (Oetomo 1987:12). In this sense, it is contrasted with the term Totok, referring to 'pure-blooded' Chinese who migrated to Indonesia around the early 20th century and whose descendants are less acculturated to the local indigenous culture and still maintain many aspects of their Chinese identity (Oetomo 1987). Used in this way, there is not a sharp division between Peranakan and Totok. As Mely Tan has aptly summarized:

> "The ethnic Chinese population (in Indonesia) culturally forms a continuum with at one end those who are Indonesian citizens, but who are still very much influenced by Chinese culture, speaking Chinese at

[4] From Hokkien *sin* 'new' + *khek* or *kheh* 'guest, stranger.' Narrowly, the term applied to indentured coolies fresh from China, Singapore, etc. and, in this sense it contrasted with *laū-kheh*, literally 'old guests,' referring to Chinese who were no longer indentured. For example, de Groot (1887:336 ff.), among others.

> home, to those who do not know Chinese at all, except perhaps to write their name in Chinese characters, but who still recognize their Chinese origin.” (M. Tan 2002:157)

The difference between Peranakan and Totok can be explained, not only by length of time living in Indonesia, but also by patterns of marriage. Early migrants were primarily males who married local women and, in this way, had to at least partially adapt to the local culture (and could even be said to have established a new culture, that of the Peranakan). Beginning in the 20th century, significant numbers of women began migrating along with their men; the pressure to acculturate within the family sphere was lessened.

The most acculturated of these Peranakan might be the group called *Cina Benteng* (Fort Chinese).[5] Members of this group, who mainly live in Tangerang (a western suburb of Jakarta), are characterized by, in contrast to typical Chinese, their dark complexion and prominent upper-eyelid crease, just like the native Indonesians. They are mostly poor and earn their living as farmers, fishermen, pedicab drivers, laborers, and petty traders.[6]

Third, ‘Peranakan Indonesian’ is used in a linguistic sense to refer to a Malay creole which, through the influence of the Peranakan over 300 years ago, was partly lexified from Chinese and Javanese (Ethnologue pea). A similar phenomenon (but without lexification from Javanese) is also encountered in Malaysia and Singapore, where this speech variety is referred to as Baba Malay (mbf).[7] As reported in the Ethnologue (Lewis 2009:407, 524), Peranakan Indonesian and Baba Malay are spoken by only a small fraction of people of Chinese descent (estimated 20,000 in Indonesia, 10,000 in Singapore, and 5,000 in Malaysia) and may be decreasing.

4.3 Characteristics of Peranakan versus Totok

Following Oetomo (1987) and M. Tan (2002:158–159), some common characteristics which define Peranakan and Totok cultures in contrast to each other are as follow: Based on our own observations and experience, we consider these characteristics to hold true to some extent. Some of them, however, are more stereotypes cast by one group on another. Bearing in mind that the distinction between Peranakan and Totok in actuality is a continuum, one should be careful not to use the characteristics summarized here as a basis for over-generalization.

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[5] This term is derived from the fact that most of these Chinese formerly lived just outside of the Fort of Makassar.

[6] “Akulturasi Cina Benteng, wajah lain Indonesia,” Kompas, February 3, 2003.

[7] From Hokkien *bā-bā* ‘half-caste Chinese,’ but which came to be a title of respect for the male head, his wife being called Nyonya (from Portuguese *dona*). Far from being despised, in the 19th century, the Baba Malays were an elite group (much higher in the hierarchy than other Chinese) with great fortunes behind them (Sander Adelaar 2007 personal communication).

Aspect	Peranakan	Totok
Culture.	Contains elements from the local Indonesian culture.	Contains more elements of Chinese culture.
Language.	Do not speak any regional Chinese dialect.	Speak Hokkien, Teochew, Hakka, Cantonese, etc.
Table manners.	Do not use chopsticks but eat from a plate using spoon and fork or just the hand.	Use chopsticks and eat from a bowl; eat rice porridge (*bubur*) for breakfast.
Food.	Combination of local food (characterized by the use of a lot of coconut milk and indigenous spices, such as turmeric) and food recognized to be of Chinese origin but with a local flavor.	Use traditional spices, such as the Chinese 'five flavors' (known by the Hokkien name *ngó͘-hiong*); vegetables are stir-fried, e.g. Chinese cabbage and/or bean sprouts mixed with tofu or soya bean cake.
Way of dressing.	Dress in a fancier manner.	Dress in a simple manner and only in certain colors.
Life attitude.	Tend to be more leisure-oriented and extravagant, more class-oriented.	Tend to be more hard-working, more frugal, more egalitarian.
Business attitude.	Tend to be reluctant in taking risks in business.	Tend to be more willing to take risks in business.
Traditional religion.	Most of them no longer worship in Chinese temple and are ignorant about Chinese religion; especially upper class Peranakan are characterized by westernization, including conversion to Christianity.	Still keep an altar in their home and practice ancestor and deities worship; still worship in traditional Chinese temple.
New-born celebration.	Peranakan usually place the placenta (afterbirth) of a new-born baby in an earthenware urn and throw it into the sea.	Totok celebrate the birth of a baby boy by sending out red-dyed boiled duck eggs to neighbors and acquaintances.
Wedding and funeral.	Peranakan tend to simplify the traditional Chinese wedding ritual or abolish it altogether; this is also the case in funerals.	Many Totok couples still perform the traditional Chinese wedding ritual and give offerings to the dead at the graveyard.

5 Chinese languages and dialects in Indonesia

It is safe to say that, if you meet a Chinese person in Indonesia, you will find them speaking the areal language of wider communication (LWC) where they live, in addition to Indonesian, either as a first language (L1) or else as a second language (L2) for those who still use a Chinese dialect at home. Chong Shin (2007), in his research of language use in the Chinese community in the city of Sekadau, West Kalimantan, discovered that Sekadau Malay, the areal LWC, is used widely by the Chinese as either L1 or L2 (Indonesian being L3). In addition, having lived in Semarang (Central Java) for four years, I (Hermanto) found that a Chinese in Java would speak Javanese (everyday Javanese) or Indonesian (in a formal context). In West Java, the Chinese primarily use Sundanese in everyday communication. The author has observed that, in West Borneo, the Chinese speak some local Malay variety and Indonesian (occasionally); most still speak their respective Chinese dialect at home or within their own circle.

Among the Totok, there is more or less a strong sense of identity coming from where they originated in China, which identity is often reinforced by language use in the home; see Figure 1. In terms of numbers, the five most populous groups are Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, Teochew, and Hainan, which together comprise over 90 percent of the Chinese population in Indonesia (Jones 1996). Therefore, in the following subsections, we devote the most extensive discussions to these groups. Chinese from other backgrounds are found in Indonesia but in far fewer numbers. For the sake of completeness, we also list these groups following our sources (Kong 1987, Jones 1996, Gondomono 2000, *inter alia*). In many cases, however, we have not had personal contact with speakers of these languages and, particularly for those listed in § 5.9 through § 5.13, we do not know what presence or status they might have in Indonesia at the current time. We conclude in § 5.14 with a brief overview of the role of Mandarin in Indonesia.

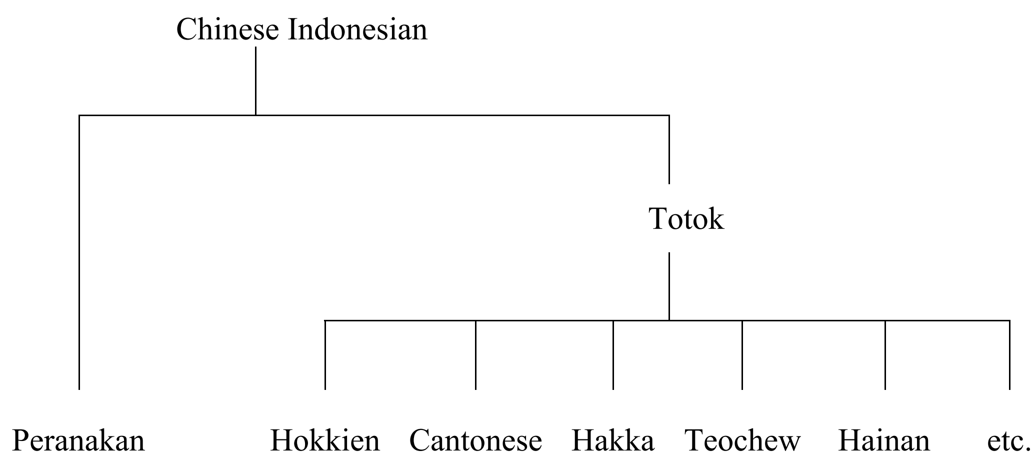
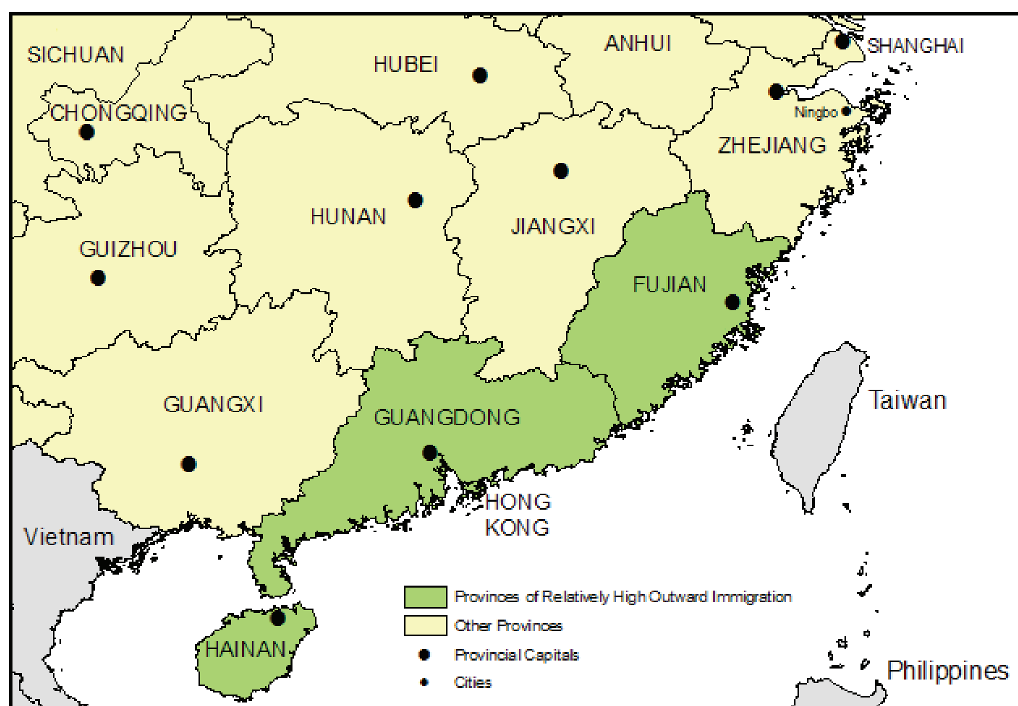


Figure 1. Cultural and linguistic divisions among the Totok.

In presenting these varieties, we list the popular name first, followed by the official Mandarin name in parentheses. Where the need arises in your own work, we suggest that, for consistency, you use either traditional or Mandarin names, but avoid mixing the two types of names. In order to give an impression of the relative size of these groups, we also include a percentage which gives the population of that group, relative to the total Chinese population in the 1947 Indonesian census, as reported by Jones (1996).

As the reader will note in the following individual discussions, Chinese languages and dialects have often been named after the province, city, prefecture, or county in which that variety was spoken. For purposes of disambiguation, we have gone to some length to list alternate spellings and any alternate names by which these groups have also been known. Despite China's enormous size, Chinese immigrants to Southeast Asia have primarily come from only three of the southernmost provinces. West to east, these provinces are Hainan, Guangdong, and Fujian. These provinces are shown on Map 1. As needed, greater detail is shown in the maps which follow.



Map 1. Provinces of southern China.

In the following discussions we, make particular note of Romanization systems which are used for transcribing these languages, for three reasons: first, romanized transcriptions, rather than Chinese characters, are the most likely entry-point for people who would like to learn a bit more but lack a background in Chinese studies; second, the competing Romanization schemes can be a source of no small confusion to the uninitiated (the Appendix lists several internet links for finding out more about these systems); third, apart from Cantonese (mentioned in a following section), there are no special characters for regional Chinese languages. Therefore, romanized forms are preferable to Chinese

Han characters when the point at hand concerns *differences between* Chinese languages or dialects.

That much said, we encountered no one in Indonesia who knew how to write their local variety of Chinese in a standardized Romanization system. For written materials, a written form of spoken Mandarin, using traditional Chinese characters, is considered the standard throughout Indonesia (see Appendix). For the most part, the local Chinese varieties which are spoken in Indonesia (Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, Teochew, etc.) can be viewed as oral languages only.

5.1 **Hokkien (Fújiàn)** (31.6%)

Properly speaking, Fujian is the name of a province in China (capital city Fuzhou), but it is also applied as a name for the variety of Chinese spoken there. Given the location of Fujian Province, it is not surprising that this same variety, or something very close to it, is spoken across the strait on the island of Taiwan. There, however, the language is known as Taiwanese. Fujian and Taiwanese have a very close (and slightly more prestigious) relative, Amoy, spoken in the port city and island of the same name (see Map 2).[8] In the Ethnologue, Fujian, Taiwanese, and Amoy are considered sub-dialects; speakers from these three areas are said to have no difficulty understanding each other.

Naming this dialect complex, however, has been problematic. Owing to the earlier importance of Amoy as a seaport, particularly as an offshore center for missionization, the name 'Amoy' was frequently employed in the West as a cover term intended to include mainland dialects.[9] Other names for Fujian include Fukien, Fuh-kien, Hokkian, and Hokkien. While Hokkien is nothing other than a local pronunciation for 'Fujian,' this term has also popularly come to be used in a broader sense (today the Amoy variety is sometimes also described as Amoy Hokkien, and Taiwanese as Taiwan Hokkien).[10] A person originating from Fujian province (including those who have migrated elsewhere) can be called a Hoklo, literally, 'Fujian person', but it would be incorrect to apply this term to the language itself.

Speakers of Teochew (described in a following section) and Hokkien *do* have difficulty understanding each other. Nonetheless, these two varieties are usually considered to be dialects of a single language, in Mandarin called Mĭn Nán (Ethnologue nan).[11] Because of their different histories, particularly as they relate to Indonesia, we treat Hokkien and

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[8] Also spelled Emouy, from Hokkien *ē mûi*, meaning 'lower gate'.

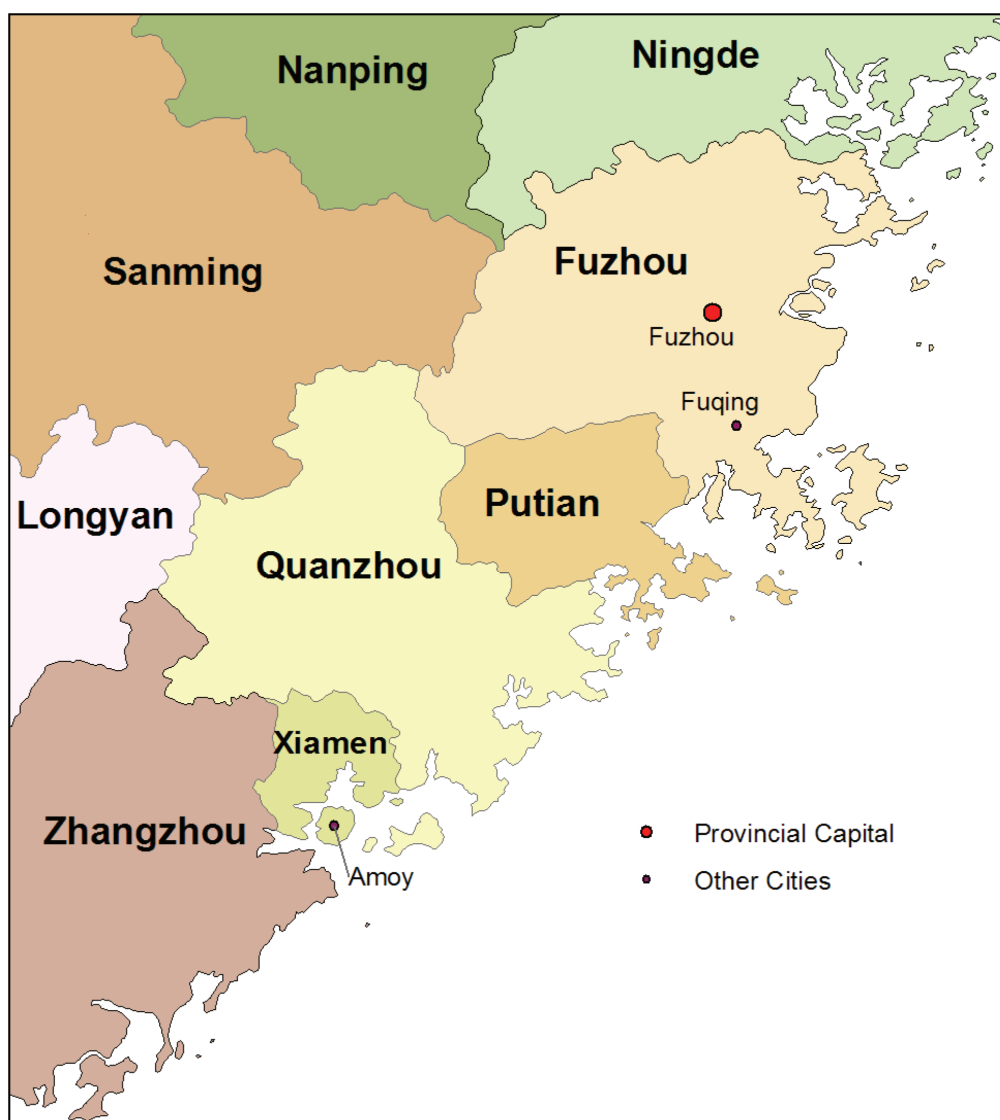
[9] In Indonesian, *amoi* has come to mean 'Chinese girl' or used as a term of address for Chinese girls.

[10] According to the Ethnologue, Sixteenth Edition (Lewis 2009:339), Fujian, Taiwanese, and Amoy compose the Xiamen dialect of Min Nan Chinese. However, 'Amoy' and 'Xiamen' are simply the older (Western) and newer (Mandarin) names for the same port city in the Formosa Strait. It appears that the use of Xiamen here is driven by a political intent to only use 'proper' Mandarin names.

[11] The name Min Nan literally means 'Southern Min.' The name Min, one of the principal divisions of Sinitic languages, is derived from the Min River, an important water-transport channel flowing through Fujian Province. Min was also the name of one of the independent southern states during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period in Chinese history (see footnote 24).

Teochew separately. The Hokkien equivalent of Min Nan is *bân-lâm*, therefore, Banlam sometimes also appears in the literature as a name for this language complex.

It is said that, because of the mountainous interior, the inhabitants of Fujian province have long been oriented toward the coast. Chinese from Fujian supposedly had begun settling in the Philippines in the first or second century AD, and were the first Chinese to migrate in significant numbers to Indonesia, particularly Java, beginning by the ninth or tenth century AD, in a flow which was to increase over time. In 1935, it was estimated that two-thirds of ethnic Chinese living in Java and Madura were of Fujian origin and, apart from Borneo, they constitute the largest Chinese dialect group in all other areas (Kong 1987:457, Jones 1996:21–22).



Map 2. Prefectures and prefecture-level cities of coastal Fujian Province.

In a careful study of subdialectal differences, Jones (1996:29–32) determined that most Hokkienese in Indonesia originated from just two districts (prefectures) on the mainland: Zhangzhou (also spelled Chiangchew, Chang-chew, Changchow, Chang-chou, Chiangchiu, Tjiang-tjioe) and Quanzhou (also spelled Tsoanchiu, Ts'ean-chou, Tswanchew, Chuanchew, Ch'üan-chou, Chin-chew, Tjwang-tjioe), with immigrants from Amoy representing a distant third. Zhangzhou lies immediately to the west of Amoy, Quanzhou immediately to its north (see Map 2).

In the 19th century, Presbyterian missionaries working in Taiwan and Amoy promoted the use of the Pe̍h-oē-jī (or POJ) Romanization for these languages. In this system, the seven tones of Hokkien are expressed through the use of diacritics,[12] with a raised *n* at the end of a word indicating nasalization of the preceding vowel or diphthong. Even though this Romanization works well for Hokkien and other Min Nan varieties, it was suppressed by the Japanese and, later, by the communist government of China. Where present-day systems differ from the standard, they are likely to differ in one or more of the following areas: (a) the phoneme /ʧ/ written *c* rather than *ch*; (b) aspiration indicated by inverted suspended comma (*p‘ t‘ c‘ k‘*), rather than *h* (*ph*, *th*, *chh*, *kh*); (c) vowel /ɔ/ represented by open *ɔ,* rather than *o·* with a dot above and to the right; and (d) vowel nasalization represented by tilde over the vowel (*ã*, *õ*, etc.), rather than raised *n* following the vowel. Among others, see Douglas and Barclay (1899:607–608), Oetomo (1987:77), and Lim (1988:3).

Of all the Chinese languages, Hokkien has had the greatest impact on Indonesian. It is estimated that, of all the Chinese words which have been borrowed into Indonesian, upwards of 90 percent of them have come from Hokkien (Kong 1987:452). Following are some words which are now readily used by the media and in Indonesian society at large:

cawan ‘teacup (of Chinese design)’, *bécak* (from *bé-chhia*, Hokkien for ‘horse cart’) ‘rickshaw’, later ‘pedicab’, *tongkang* ‘barge’, *céngkéh* ‘cloves’, *taugé* ‘bean sprouts’, *kuaci* ‘melon seed’, *lobak* ‘radish’, *tahu* ‘bean curd’, *kecap* ‘soybean sauce’, *capcai* ‘stir-fried vegetables’, *kué* ‘cakes’, *mi* ‘noodle’, *bihun* ‘vermicelli’, *pangsit* ‘wonton’, *lumpia* ‘spring roll’, *cumi* ‘squid’, *juhi* ‘dried squid’, *banci* ‘effeminate’, *cap* ‘stamp’, *cat* ‘paint’, *gincu* ‘lipstick, rouge’, *giwang* ‘earrings’, *kemocéng* ‘feather duster’, *kecoak* ‘cockroach’, *loténg* ‘upper story, attic’, *tauké* ‘boss’, *cukong* ‘patron, someone with money and power’, *kongsi* ‘business guild’, *lihai* ‘skillful’, *hoki* ‘luck’, *kongkalingkong* ‘conspire’, *angpao* ‘red envelope containing money which is usually given out to children at Chinese New Year’, *Imlék* which literally means ‘lunar calendar’ but in Indonesian has come to be associated with Chinese New Year (for which Hokkien will usually say *sin-chia*^{n}), and colloquial Jakarta *lu* ‘you’ and *gua* /gwa/ ‘I’.

[12] Diacritics used are: unmarked (o), acute accent (ó), grave accent (ò), circumflex (ô), and macron (ō). The other two tones, and *just* those two, occur only preceding a final *p, t,* or *k* or in places where one of these consonants became glottal stop historically, represented orthographically by *h*. For these two tones, the one is unmarked (op, ot, ok, oh), while the other is marked by perpendicular accent (o̍p, o̍t, o̍k, o̍h).

The Hokkien numerals have also been adapted and are widely used in business interactions in the market and other places by Chinese and non-Chinese alike; see Figure 2.

Numeral	Hokkien (POJ Romanization)	Malay Adaptation
one	chi̍t (literary: it)	cek, ce-, it [a]
two	nō·^{n} jī	no, ji
three	sam	sam
four	sì (literary: sù)	si or su
five	gō· (literary: ngó·)	go
six	la̍k (literary: lio̍k)	lak
seven	chhit	cit
eight	poeh (literary: pat)	pak
nine	káu (literary: kiú)	kau
ten	tsa̍p	cap
hundred	pah (literary: pek, colloquial: peh)	pék
thousand	chheng (lit.: chhie^{n})	céng
ten thousand	bān	ban
million		tiao /tjo/ [b]

[a] *cek* and *no* are the cardinal numbers ‘one’ and ‘two’ respectively, while *it* and *ji* serve as the ordinal numbers ‘first’, ‘second’. Other numerals do not have distinct ordinal forms. In addition, *ji* is also used in certain numeric expressions, such as *cap ji* ‘twelve’ and *ji cap* ‘twenty’.

[b] The term *tiao* is only known or used in Indonesia. The lack of a corresponding term for ‘million’ in Hokkien probably has to do with the fact that in Mandarin or proper Hokkien, the scale for large numbers was traditionally based on four digits (0000, 10^4), rather than on three digits (000, 10^3) as in the West and in Indonesia (cf. thousand = 10^3, million = 10^6, billion = 10^9, etc.).

Figure 2. Hokkien numerals used in Indonesia.

Some combinations based on these numerals are: *jigo* ‘twenty-five’, *gocap* ‘fifty’, *cepék* ‘one hundred’, *gopék* ‘five hundred’, *cecéng* ‘a thousand’, *ceban* ‘ten thousand’, *goban* ‘fifty thousand’, and *cepékcéng* ‘hundred thousand’.

Following are some words and expressions used by a Hokkien community in Palembang, South Sumatra: the first line is the Hokkien phrase written in standard Pe̍h-oē-jī script, with segemental IPA transcription underneath.

English	Hokkien	Indonesian
How are you?	lí hó bô or àn-tsoá^{n} /li ho bo/ /an ʧwa/	Apa kabar?
What are you up to?	lí tsò siá^{n}-mih^{n} /li ʧo ʃa mi/	Sedang apa?
Thank you.	kám-siā /kamsia/	Terima kasih.
How much?	kúi lui /kui lui/	Berapa harganya?
I'm sorry!	tùi m̄ tsū /tui m ʧu/	Maaf!
Can I help you?	goá ē-sái tō-lông lí bô /gwa e sai to loŋ li bo/	Ada yang bisa saya bantu?
What is your name?	lí siá^{n}-mih^{n} miâ^{n} /li ʃa miʔ mia/	Siapa nama Anda?
I am fine.	goá chin-hó /gwa ʧin ho/	Saya baik-baik saja.
I don't know.	goá m̄-tsai /gwa m ʧai/	Saya tidak tahu.
Congratulations!	kiong-hí /kioŋ hi/	Selamat!
Hurry up!	khám-mɛ́^{n} /k^{h}amme/	Ayo, cepat!
Wait for me!	tán goá /tan gwa/	Tunggu saya!
Where do you live?	lí toà tī-tá-lȯh /li twa ti ta loʔ/	Anda tinggal di mana?
Help!	tō-lông /to loŋ/	Tolong!
Delicious!	hó chiȧh /ho ʧiaʔ/	Enak!
No thank you, don't bother.	m̄-bién /mien/	Tidak perlu.

Just as Hokkien has influenced Malay, Malay has influenced local Chinese varieties. Even in the small amount of Hokkien data provided here, note *tō-lông* 'help', borrowed from Malay *tolong* and *lui* 'coin, money,' borrowed from Malay *duit*, formerly a kind of Dutch copper coin of small value, a 'doit.' For most Hokkien-speaking areas of Indonesia, however, we lack documentation to know how much the language has changed or adapted to the local context.[13]

5.2 **Cantonese (Yuè)** (24.6%)

The name 'Canton' is the old (and somewhat corrupted) name for a province of China, which today is more properly known as Guangdong Province,[14] with its capital city of Guangzhou (unofficially: Canton City). In Mandarin, the Cantonese language is known as Yue or Yuet Yue (Ethnologue yue).

Cantonese is the major language spoken in Guangdong Province; the variety spoken in Guangzhou is considered the standard. This variety, sometimes referred to as the Yuehai dialect, is also spoken in Hong Kong and Macau. In addition, scholars recognize anywhere from four to more than ten other varieties of Cantonese, of which the Siyi dialect (also called Taishanese) is perhaps the best known in overseas communities.

The greatest influx of Cantonese speakers to Indonesia occurred after 1860. Cantonese speakers settled in central and eastern Java, where they comprise 7 percent of the Chinese population in Java and Madura; they also settled in southern and eastern Borneo, central Sumatra, and Bangka (Adelaar 1996:698).

Cantonese has six tones. In the so-called Yale Romanization, these six tones are indicated by a combination of acute accent, grave accent, and *h*. In the subsequent, official 'Guangdong Romanization' proposed by the Guangdong Provincial Education Department in 1960, these were replaced by superscripted tone numbers following the word. Tone numbers are also used in the Sydney Lau Romanization system, as well as the more popular Jyutping Romanization system promoted by the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong.

In addition to the various Romanization systems, there are also formal and colloquial ways of writing Cantonese using Chinese characters. The formal system is very close to 'Standard Vernacular Chinese' (see Appendix) and, for example, can be read by Mandarin speakers. This formal system, however, differs considerably from spoken Cantonese. Written colloquial Cantonese, on the other hand, is much closer to the way that Cantonese is spoken, and employs over a thousand characters which were invented

[13] Owing to the work of Tan Choon Hoe (2001, 2004, 2006, 2008), Penang Hokkien in West Malaysia is perhaps among the better documented varieties of Hokkien in Southeast Asia (albeit Tan employs a self-styled Romanization scheme lacking tone marks). Tan notes a number of Penang Hokkien words derived from Malay, including *sampah* 'rubbish', *jari* 'finger', *sabun* 'soap', *batu* 'stone'; *timun* 'cucumber', *lokun* 'doctor' (from Malay *dukun*), *balu* 'recently' (from Malay *baru*), and *mata* 'police' (from Malay *mata* 'eye').

[14] In older literature, also spelled Kwong Tung and Kwang-tung.

specifically for writing Cantonese. Together, these two factors basically make written colloquial Cantonese unintelligible to Mandarin speakers.

The following Cantonese words and expressions were provided by a Singaporean friend; we would like to thank Lam Pui Ling for providing Romanized transcriptions in Jyutping:

English	**Cantonese**	**Indonesian**
How are you?	nei5 hou2 maa1 /lei hou mou/	Apa kabar?
What are you up to?	nei5 zou6 me1 je5 /lei ʧou meh ye/	Sedang apa?
Thank you.	do1 ze6 or m4 goi1 nei5 /to ʧhie/ /m koi lei/	Terima kasih.
How much?	gei2 do1 neoi1 /kei tou lui/	Berapa harganya?
I am sorry!	deoi3 m4 zyu6 /tui m ʧui/	Maaf!
Can I help you?	ngo5 zou6 dak1 bong1 nei5 /ŋo ʧou taʔ poŋ lei/	Ada yang bisa saya bantu?
What is your name?	nei5 giu3 me1 meng2 /lei kju meh meŋ/	Siapa nama Anda?
I am fine.	ngo5 mou5 si6 or ngo5 hou2 aa1 /ŋo mou si/ /ŋo hou ah/	Saya baik-baik saja.
I don't know.	ngo5 m4 zi1 dou3 /ŋo m ʧi tow/	Saya tidak tahu.
Congratulations!	gung1 hei2 nei5 /koŋ hei lei/	Selamat!
Hurry up!	faai3 di1 /fai ti/	Ayo, cepat!
Wait for me!	dang2 ngo5 /taŋ ŋo/	Tunggu saya!
Where do you live?	nei5 zyu6 bin1 dou6 /lei ʧu pin to/	Anda tinggal di mana?
Help!	bong1 /poŋ/	Tolong!
Delicious!	hou2 sik6 /hou seʔ/	Enak!
Don't bother.	m4 sai2 /m sai/	Tidak perlu.

5.3 **Hakka (Kèjiā)** (16.7%)

Unlike with Fujian and Cantonese, Hakka speakers do not have a single province in China which they consider home, because they are people who migrated from northern to southern China in several progressions.[15] High concentrations of Hakka speakers are located in eastern and northeastern Guangdong Province. Significant populations are also found in Fujian, Jiangxi, Guangxi, Hunan, and Sichuan Provinces. In Mandarin, Hakka is known as Kejia (the spellings Kheh and Kechia are also encountered) (Ethnologue hak).

Hakkas began arriving in Borneo in the early 19th century (Heidhues 2003). Today Hakka speakers outnumber other Chinese in Borneo, and have also come to predominate in Jakarta and West Java (Skinner 1963:102–103, Jones 1996:21–22).

In the majority of Hakka dialects, including the standard Moiyen dialect[16] and the Yongding dialect,[17] there are six tones. In others, such as the coastal Hailu dialect,[18] Hakka is spoken with seven tones. See Oetomo (1987:79) for a chart of Hakka phonemes. In Romanized form, Hakka has been written in the Phak-fa-sṳ system, an offshoot of the Pe̍h-oē-jī system previously described. In 1960, the Guangdong Provincial Education Department proposed a new Romanization system (the Kèjiāhuà Pīnyīn Fāng'àn) in which Hakka tones are represented by numerals. Reportedly, at least ten different Romanization systems have been developed for Hakka (Lozada 1996:9), which, in part, reflect differences in the way that Hakka is spoken in different parts of China and Taiwan.

The following words and expressions are used by a Hakka community in Singkawang, West Kalimantan: We are grateful to Dylan Sung, who worked from a distance to produce a consistent Romanized transcription.[19] He suggests that the variety represented by our Singkawang data is, in origin, most closely related to the Hakka of Haifeng and Lufeng; see Schaank's description of the 'Lufeng Hakka dialect' of the Monterado area of West Kalimantan at the turn of the 20th century (Schaank 1979), as well as Liang's (2008) follow-up study.

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[15] The word *hakka*, originally an exonym, means 'guest family, immigrant' (Jones 1996:18).

[16] Also Moiyan, Meixian. This dialect is spoken in the Meizhou prefecture-level city in northeastern Guangdong Province; see Map 3.

[17] The inhabitants of Yongding, a county within the Longyan prefecture-level city of Fujian Province (just off the western edge of Map 2), are upwards of 99 percent Hakka. We particularly mention this dialect because some Hakka speakers in Indonesia identify themselves as Yongding.

[18] Hailu, alternatively Hoiliukfung, is blended from Haifeng and Lufeng, two coastal cities of the Shanwei prefecture-level city in Guangdong Province (Hoiliukfung is based on the Hakka pronunciation of the names of these two cities); see Map 3. These same two cities have also given rise to the name Hailokhong, which applies to Teochew; see § 5.4 and footnote 24.

[19] Tone representations are: Yin Ping 1; Yang Ping 2; Shang 3; Yin Qu 4; Yang Qu 4'; Yin Ru 5; and Yang Ru 6. The Ru tones (5 and 6) occur only on syllables closed by *–p*, *-t*, *-k*, and *-ʔ* (glottal stop).

English	Hakka	Indonesian
How are you?	ngi^{2} ho^{1} mo^{1} /ɲi ho mo/	Apa kabar?
What are you up to?	meq^{5} maq^{5} ai^{4} /meʔ maʔ ai/	Sedang apa?
Thank you.	gam^{3} sia$^{4'}$ /kam sja/	Terima kasih.
How much?	cien^{2} do^{1} lui^{1} /ʧien to lui/	Berapa harganya?
I am sorry!	dui^{4} m^{1} cu^{4} /tui m cu/	Maaf!
Can I help you?	ngai^{2} hiau^{2} ten$^{4'}$ su^{3} ei^{3} /ŋai hiaw t^{h}en swei/	Ada yang bisa saya bantu?
What is your name?	ngi^{2} mai^{3} miang^{2} /ɲi mai miaŋ/	Siapa nama Anda?
I am fine.	ngai^{2} pin^{2} on^{1} /ŋai p^{h}in on/	Saya baik-baik saja.
I don’t know.	ngai^{2} ng^{1} di^{1} /ŋai ŋ ti/	Saya tidak tahu.
Congratulations!	sun$^{4'}$ hang^{2} /sun haŋ/	Selamat!
Hurry up!	an^{2} giaq^{5} or an^{2} mang^{4} /an kiaʔ/ /an maŋ/	Ayo, cepat!
Wait for me!	den^{3} ngai^{2} /ten ŋai/	Tunggu saya!
Where do you live?	ngi^{2} a$^{4'}$ b̲ui^{2} het^{5} /ɲi a bui het/	Anda tinggal di mana?
Help! (with a chore)	ten$^{4'}$ sui^{3} or do^{3} long^{2} /t^{h}en siu/ /to loŋ/	Tolong!
Delicious!	giang^{1} /kiaŋ/	Enak!
Don’t bother.	m^{1} moi^{4} /m moi/	Tidak perlu.

5.4 Teochew (Cháozhōu) (13.9%)

The Teochew variety (in Mandarin, officially Chaozhou),[20] including the related Swatow variety (officially, Shantou), is considered a dialect of Min Nan, even though Teochew speakers have low intelligibility with speakers from Fujian, Taiwan, and Amoy (see § 5.1 Hokkien).

Teochew speakers primarily come from the Chaoshan region of eastern Guangdong Province. Chaoshan is a cover term for the three neighboring prefectures of Chaozhou, Shantou, and Jeiyang (see Map 3).[21] Sometimes Chaoshan is also used as a superordinate label for the Chaozhou (Teochew) and Shantou (Swatow) dialects. As used here, Teochew is meant to include Swatow (and, as used by others, it also often includes Chao An; see § 5.10). Teochew speakers who originate from Shanwei Prefecture may instead refer to themselves as Hailokhong;[22] see Figure 3.

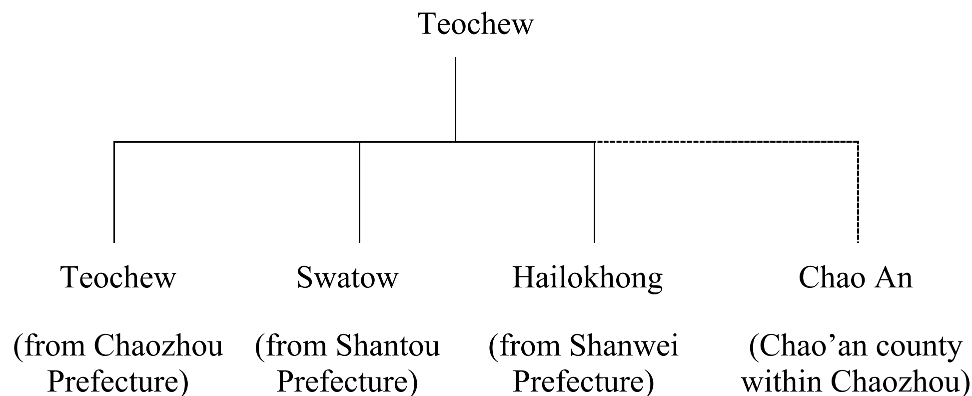

Figure 3. Broad and narrow uses of the term 'Teochew.'

Further back, Teochew speakers originated from Fujian Province, but relocated to eastern Guangdong Province, possibly beginning as early as the 10th century AD. Today it is thought that there may be as many or more Teochew living abroad as there are in the homeland area. In Indonesia, Teochew speakers settled along Sumatra's east coast, in the Riau Archipelago, and in western Borneo, particularly around Pontianak (Adelaar 1996:698). In western Borneo, Teochew speakers tended to settle in urban areas and become traders, versus the Hakka who went into mining and agriculture and later became small-time traders in the interior (Heidhues 2003:31).

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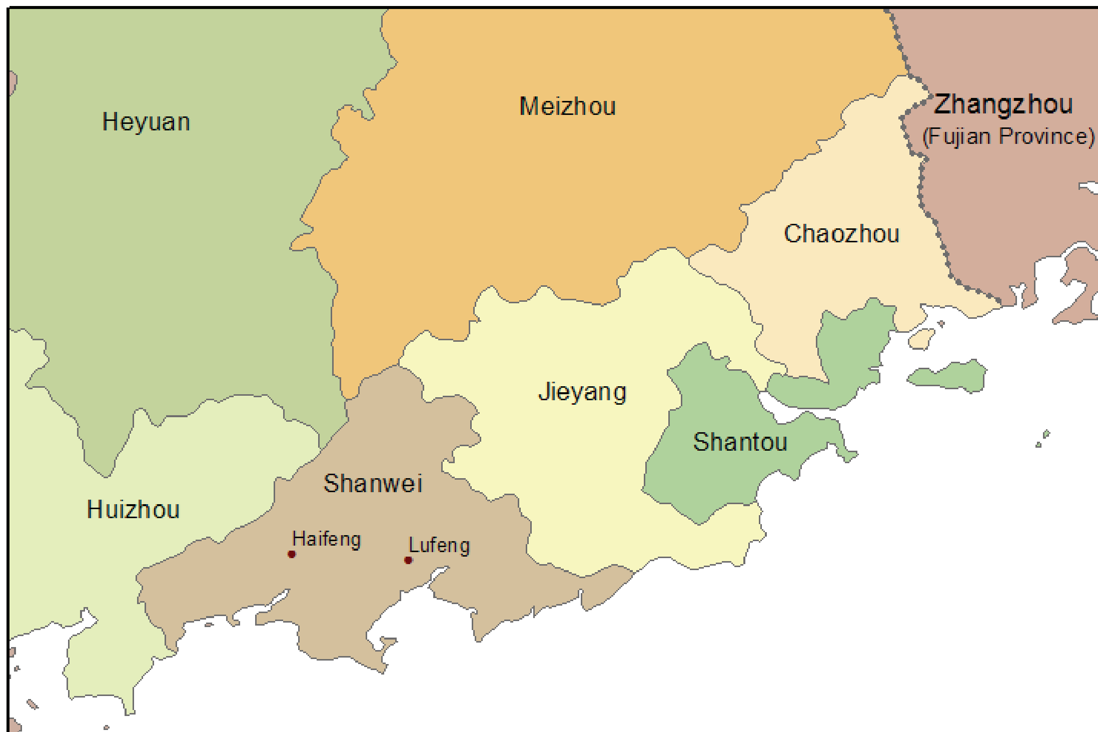
[20] Alternative spellings include Chaoshou, Chaochou, Chaochow, Chiu Chow, Teochow, Tiôchiu, Tiociu, Tio-Tsyu, and Diojiu.

[21] The name Chaoshan is blended from the first syllables of Chaozhou and Shantou.

[22] Hailokhong (sometimes written as three words, Hai Lok Hong) is the local pronunciation of Hailufeng, which, in turn, is a blend from Haifeng and Lufeng, two cities of the Shanwei prefecture-level city in Guangdong Province (see Map 3). Coincidentally, these same two cities have also given rise to the names Hailu and Hoiliukfung, which refer to a dialect of Hakka; see footnote 18.



Map 3. Prefectures and prefecture-level cities of eastern Guangdong Province.

Teochew has eight tones. Two of these tones occur only on syllables ending in *p*, *t*, *k,* or glottal stop, and are therefore in complementary distribution with the other six tones. At least three Romanization schemes have been used for Teochew: (a) the previously-described Pe̍h-oē-jī system, which was designed for writing all Min Nan varieties; (b) a newer system developed by the Guangdong provincial government in which tones are represented by superscripted numerals, officially known as the 'Teochew Transliteration Scheme' (in Mandarin: Cháozhōuhuà Pīnyīn Fāng'àn); and (c) a modification of this last system, used by an online Teochew community. These last two are sometimes known as Peng'im, which is the Teochew pronunciation of Pinyin.

The following phrases are used by a Teochew community in Pontianak, West Kalimantan (responses are given in segmental IPA; we regret that it is not possible at this time for us to also present the Teochew data in a standard Romanized transcription with tone markings):

English	**Teochew**	**Indonesian**
How are you?	/lə ho meʔ/ or /ʧo meʔ/	Apa kabar?
What are you up to?	/lə mueʔ meʔ kai/	Sedang apa?
Thank you.	/kamsia/	Terima kasih.
How much?	/hjoʔ ʧoi lui/	Berapa harganya?
I am sorry!	/tui m ʧu/	Maaf!
Can I help you?	/ai wa sjo hu me/	Ada yang bisa saya bantu?
What is your name?	/lə mia meʔ kai/	Siapa nama Anda?
I am fine.	/wa ho ho/	Saya baik-baik saja.
I don't know.	/wa m ʧai/	Saya tidak tahu.
Congratulations!	/kjoŋ hi/	Selamat!
Hurry up!	/me low/	Ayo, cepat!
Wait for me!	/tan wa/	Tunggu saya!
Where do you live?	/lə hiaʔ ti ko/	Anda tinggal di mana?
Help!	/to loŋ/ or /sjo hu/	Tolong!
Delicious!	/ho ciaʔ/	Enak!
Don't bother.	/min/	Tidak perlu.

5.5 **Hainan (Hǎinán)** (6.0%)

As with previously described Hokkien and Teochew varieties, Hainan (Hailam, Hainanese, also called Qiongwen or Wenchang) is considered a dialect of Min Nan, but is "quite different from other dialects" (Lewis 2009:339). Hainan is spoken on the island of the same name in the South China Sea. Administratively, the island of Hainan was formerly a part of Guangdong Province, but in the 1980s it became the newest, smallest province of China (see Map 1).

The island of Hainan was not inhabited by the Chinese until around the first century BC, the Chinese eventually almost entirely displacing the earlier Tai-Kadai and Austronesian settlers living there. (The island of Taiwan has similarly been Sinicized.)

Like Hakka and Teochew, Hainanese also has an official transliteration system which has been proposed by the Guangdong provincial government (in Mandarin: Hǎinánhuà Pīnyīn Fāng'àn), but we have not been able to track down further information on this scheme.

The following words and expressions are from a Hainan community in southern Sumatra (unfortunately, we are unable at this time to also present the Hainan data in a standard Romanized transcription with tone markings):

English	Hainan	Indonesian
How are you?	/du ho bo/	Apa kabar?
What are you up to?	/du to mi/	Sedang apa?
Thank you.	/tai tia/	Terima kasih.
How much?	/a toi/	Berapa harganya?
I am sorry!	/juan liaŋ nuŋ/	Maaf!
Can I help you?	/nuŋ neŋ baŋ maŋ bo/	Ada yang bisa saya bantu?
What is your name?	/du kio mi mia/	Siapa nama Anda?
I am fine.	/nuŋ ho ho/	Saya baik-baik saja.
I don't know.	/nuŋ bo tai/	Saya tidak tahu.
Congratulations!	/koŋ ŋi/	Selamat!
Hurry up!	/hue di di/	Ayo, cepat!
Wait for me!	/daŋ nuŋ da e/	Tunggu saya!
Where do you live?	/du hia du de/	Anda tinggal di mana?
Help!	/baŋ maŋ/	Tolong!
Delicious!	/ho ʧia/	Enak!
Don't bother.	/bo ʤoŋ/	Tidak perlu.

5.6 Hokchiu (Fúzhōu) (1.8%)

Hokchiu and Fuzhou are different names for the same place, namely the capital city of Fujian Province in China (see Map 2). Hokchiu follows local pronunciation, while Fuzhou is the Mandarin name. An older, traditional way of spelling the name of the city is Foochow.[23]

[23] Other spellings include Fuchow, Fu–chou, and Guxhou; the language is sometimes referred to as Foochowese.

All three of these terms (Hokchiu, Fuzhou, and Foochow) have also been used to refer to the principal language of eastern Fujian Province. Sometimes this language is referred to as Min Dong (Ethnologue cdo), a term which simply means 'Eastern Min'. When the language as a whole is referred to as Min Dong, then Hokchiu (Fuzhou) is used more restrictively to refer to the standard dialect of this language, that is, the dialect spoken in the city of Fuzhou.

This language has an interesting history, as it contains elements of an older language, which the Chinese referred to as Minyue.[24] In fact, some consider Hokchiu in origin to be a 'mixed' language (trade language) which arose after the politically-dominant Han Chinese occupied what is now Fujian Province in 110 BC, during the prestigious Han Dynasty.

The greatest influx of Hokchiu speakers into Southeast Asia occurred after the turn of the 20th century. Sitiawan and Sibu, in Malaysia, are particularly noted for their relatively high concentrations of Hokchiu speakers. This language is also spoken in parts of Java and Bali, but their numbers are relatively few; most of our contacts had little or no knowledge of them.

A Romanization scheme for Hokchiu was developed by missionaries in the mid-19th century, called Bàng-uâ-cê (BUC) or Foochow Romanized. Originally, the missionaries used umlaut to distinguish four vowel sounds (two of which were actually front-rounded vowels), written ä, ë, ö, and ü but, later, the umlaut was moved below the vowel to make room for the tone marking, which was placed above the vowel. Words in Foochow are either open (vowel final) or else closed by /ŋ/ (spelled *ng*), /k/ (spelled *k*) or glottal stop (spelled *h*). Foochow has seven tones represented by five diacritics.[25] As with other Romanization schemes, the BUC was used primarily in church circles. It appears to be undergoing a renaissance, as there is now even a 'Min Dong' version of Wikipedia which uses this scheme (see Appendix).

5.7 Henghua (Púxiān) (0.7%)

Henghua (Hinghoa, Xinghua, Hinghua, Henghua, Hsinghua, Henghau, Henghwa, and Hinghwa) is the dialect of those from Putian city in east-central Fujian Province, south of the city of Fuzhou (see Map 2). Despite its geographical proximity to Fuzhou, Hengua is one of the two principal dialects of the Puxian (Pu-Xian, Putian) language (Ethnologue cpx). The Ethnologue lists some 25,000 speakers in Malaysia and 14,000 in Singapore, but their present numbers in Indonesia are unknown.

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[24] The Minyue, that is, the Yue living along the Min River, are sometimes also referred to as 'River Yue'. Yue was originally an exonym which the Chinese applied to tribal peoples living to their south and east, whose cultures over the centuries were eventually Sinicized. Like the 'Celts' of Europe and the 'Indians' of North America, the 'Yue' were not culturally homogeneous.

[25] Five diacritics are sufficient because two of the seven tones occur exclusively on words ending in *k* or *h* (glottal stop). Examples of tone marking are: gŭng (55), gūng (33), góng (213), gùng (53), gông (242), gók (24), gŭk (5). A similar distribution of tones is found in Hokkien (see footnote 12) and Hakka (see footnote 19).

5.8 Hokchhia (Fúqīng) (0.5%)

Hokchhia is the dialect spoken in and around Fuqing,[26] a county-level city located just southeast of the city of Fuzhou on the South China Sea, within the Fuzhou prefecture (see Map 2). Despite its geographical proximity to Fuzhou, the vernacular language spoken in Fuqing is part of the the Min Bei (Ethnologue mnp), or 'Northern Min', language complex.

In Indonesia, this group is quite small; they live interspersed among the more populous groups like Hokkien or Hakka (Welly Nio 2007:pers.comm.). This is supported by Cheng's account that "in the previous period of mass Chinese emigration during the late 19th and early 20th century, only relatively small numbers of Fujianese (known as Hokchia and Hokchiu) emigrated to Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia" (Cheng 1985:21–23, cited in Pieke 2002).

5.9 Kwongsai (Guǎngxī)

Kwongsai is the Cantonese pronunciation for Guangxi Province,[27] hence it, could refer to any person originating from this province; Kwongsai is thus primarily a geographic term. When used in a linguistic sense, the term Kwongsai could possibly refer to the following:

(a) The Baihua (literally 'clear language') dialect of Cantonese (see § 5.2), spoken in coastal and eastern parts of Guangxi province;

(b) Pinghua (Ping, Pinghwa, Penghua, Penhwa, Penwa), a variety of Chinese regarded either as a dialect of Cantonese or a language closely related to Cantonese. Dialects of Pinghua are Guibei ('North Gui') and Guinan ('South Gui'), where 'Gui' is a character referring to Guangxi Province;

(c) Guiliuhua, a variant of Southwest Mandarin, spoken primarily in the northeastern part of Guangxi Province;[28]

(d) Zhuang, a Tai-Kadai (non-Sinitic) language. The Zhuang are the primary ethnic group of Guangxi province (estimated 14 million speakers).

A recent census lists over 50,000 'Kwongsai' in Malaysia (Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia 2000), but their status in Indonesia is unknown to us.

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[26] Also spelled Fu-ch'ing and Futsing. Hokchhia (also spelled Hokcia, Hokchia, Hokchhia^n, Hockchew, Hokchiu) is nothing other than the name of this city, according to local pronunciation.

[27] Also spelled Kwong Sai, Guangsai, and Kwangsi. Officially, it is the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region; technically, not a 'province.' Guangxi literally means 'Western Expanse,' compare Guangdong 'Eastern Expanse.'

[28] The name Guiliuhua is blended from the first syllables of Guilin and Liuzhou, two prefectures in the northeastern part of Guangxi Province. This speech variety is sometimes also called Liuzhouhua.

5.10 Chao An (Cháo'ān)

Chao'an is a county within the prefecture-level city of Chaozhou, a place which was previously mentioned in the discussion of Teochew (§ 5.4) (see Map 3).[29] The dialect of the inhabitants of Chao'an is somewhat between that of Teochew and Hokkien, and usually they are grouped with one or the other of these two (Jones 1996:17). Only in Sarawak have the Chao An "occupied a distinctive position which justifies their being classed separately" (Tien and Ward 1956:13, in Jones 1996:17).

5.11 Luichow (Léizhōu)

As with Hokkien, Teochew, and Hainan, Luichow (also Lei Hua, Li Hua) is a dialect of Min Nan. It is spoken on the Leizhou peninsula in the southwestern corner of Guangdong province, opposite the island of Hianan (see Map 1).

5.12 Shanghai (Shànghǎi)

Shanghai (also spelled Sionghai) is a province-level city and one of China's most important ports, located on the East China Sea, on the Yangtze River Delta (see Map 1). Shanghaiese is a dialect of Wu Chinese (Ethnologue wuu). A 1957 census reported 11,000 Shanghaiese in Singapore (Jones 1996:19).

5.13 Ningpo (Níngbō)

The port city of Ningbo is located in Zhejiang Province, north of Fujian Province (see Map 1). Ningbo was one of the five Treaty Ports which were opened to the West in the 1842 Treaty of Nangking, but it has been eclipsed in prominence by Shanghai to its north. Singapore had a Ningpo association (Taku Suyama 1962:210, in Jones 1996:19), and Lo Man Yuk (1900:234, in Jones 1996:19) mentions both Shanghai and Ningpo business guilds in Penang, West Malaysia, as well. Like Shanghaiese, Ningpo is a dialect of Wu.

5.14 Mandarin (Pǔtōnghuà)

Spoken Mandarin has northern, southern, and western dialects. With the establishment of the capital in Beijing, the northern dialect has naturally grown in prominence. The Mandarin name, Putonghua, literally means 'common dialect.' In Malaysia and Singapore, official Mandarin is also known as Huáyǔ (literally 'Chinese language').

In Indonesia, you will encounter people able to speak good Mandarin only from the old, educated generation of Totok or their descendants who enjoyed the brief period of education in a Chinese school prior to the government's official ban on manifestations of Chinese culture. After the institution of the ban in 1967, no Mandarin lessons were taught in public or private schools in Indonesia until 1998, when the euphoria of reformation

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[29] Chao'an is also spelled Zhao'an and Chiau-an. In Teochew, this county is called Tiao W'uang.

and abolishment of racial discrimination stimulated the emergence of Mandarin courses and Mandarin study in schools and universities.

By contrast, the situation in Singapore is radically different; the government has been pushing since 1979 to get the Chinese population to unify around Mandarin as a common language. In a 1990 survey of what language Singaporeans used with their siblings, 34 percent reported speaking Mandarin (Lau 1992, reported in Jones 1996:14).

There are two principle Romanization systems for Mandarin. The Wade-Giles Romanization standard was popular throughout most of the 20th century, until the People's Republic of China officially adopted the Hanyu Pinyin system in 1979. Among other differences, in Wade-Giles the four tones of Mandarin are represented by superscripted numerals, while in Hanyu Pinyin tone is represented by diacritics (tone 1 macron ā; tone 2 acute accent á; tone 3 caron ǎ; tone 4 grave accent à). Hanyu Pinyin is also the ISO standard for Romanizing Mandarin Chinese.

Several other, more obscure Romanization systems, some of them even briefly enjoying 'official' status, also exist. Gwoyeu Romatzyh is a Mandarin Romanization system developed in the early 20th century in which letters, rather than diacritics or numbers, are used to represent tone, e.g., the syllable *bai* in the four tones would be written *bai* (tone 1), *bair* (tone 2), *bae* (tone 3) and, *bay* (tone 4). Tongyong Pinyin is a competing system to Hanyu Pinyin, which is being popularized in Taiwan.

5.15 Summary

According to the *Ethnologue*, "the Chinese now divide Chinese Min into five major varieties: Min Nan, Min Bei, Min Dong, Min Zhong, and Pu-Xian. Others say there are at least nine varieties which are inherently mutually unintelligible" (Lewis 2009:339). All five of these languages are spoken in Fujian province, and four of these five languages are also represented in Indonesia, as follows:

Min Nan:	Hokkien, Teochew, Hainan, Chao An, Luichow
Min Dong:	Hokchiu
Min Bei:	Hokchhia
Pu-Xian:	Henghua

In addition, Cantonese and Hakka speakers are also found in Indonesia. Chinese, who are identified as 'Kwongsai,' probably also speak Cantonese, or perhaps the related Pinghua language. To the extent that the Wu language is found in Indonesia, it is represented only by speakers of the Shanghai and Ningpo dialects.

As Jones has noted, even the fourteen categories previously outlined are overly broad. Chinese immigrants in the past "did not regard themselves simply as Chinese, nor even as Hokkien, Cantonese, etc., but identified themselves with smaller (subdialect) groups. For administrative purposes, however, the colonial administrators contented themselves with attributing Chinese to one of the five or six main dialect groups" (Jones 1996:16). Jones goes on to urge researchers to glean information at the subdialect level, not just the language or dialect level.

Concerning where Chinese languages can be found in Indonesia, we present the following list, which we have modified only slightly from that presented in the article 'Tionghoa-Indonesia' (14 August 2007) on the Wikipedia Indonesia site. We feel that this list is adequate, at least insofar as its aim is to present a general picture. Also see Adelaar (1996) and the accompanying map no. 73 "Chinese: First and Contact Languages (Indonesia, Malaysia)." Developing a more detailed picture would require survey, which lies beyond the scope of this background paper.

Hokkien	North Sumatra, Pekanbaru, Padang, Jambi, Sumatra Selatan, Bengkulu, Java, Bali (especially in Denpasar and Singaraja), Banjarmasin, Kutai, Sumbawa. Manggarai, Kupang, Makassar, Manado, Central Sulawesi, and Kendari
Cantonese	Jakarta, Makassar and Manado, also East Kalimantan, Central Sumatra
Hakka	Aceh, North Sumatra, Batam, South Sumatra, Bangka-Belitung, Lampung, Java, West Kalimantan (predominantly in the city of Singkawang), Banjarmasin, South Sulawesi, Manado, Ambon, and Jayapura
Teochew	North Sumatra, Riau, South Sumatra, and West Kalimantan (especially Pontianak and Ketapang)
Hainan	Riau (Pekanbaru and Batam), Manado
Hokchiu	Java and Bali
Henghua	(unknown)
Hokchhia	Java (especially in Bandung, Cirebon, and Surabaya), Banjarmasin
Kwongsai	(unknown)
Chao An	(unknown, probably subsumed under Teochew)
Luichow	(unknown)
Shanghai	(unknown)
Ningpo	(unknown)

6 Government policy toward Chinese writing and Chinese languages

The official ban on Chinese culture in the past (including Chinese-sounding names, writing, festivals, art, and religious practices) was enforced by government decree no. 14/1967. Among other results, Chinese shop signs had to be written in Roman characters, Chinese schools were shut down or systematically suppressed, publications in Chinese were banned, associations were disbanded, and public manifestation of Chinese religion and culture was banned, with persons of Chinese ancestry having to change their names to Indonesian-sounding names (Jones 1996:13). Part of the reasoning behind this policy was to eliminate the 'threat to national security' and to 'speed up the acculturation process' as stated in the following quote:

> "…the freedom of Chinese who are Indonesian citizens to speak and write in the Chinese language would give them a chance to have a secret language in their group. The indigenous community's ignorance of the Chinese language and Chinese characters would facilitate misunder-standings and suspicions, even though the context did not contain anything that could be harmful. These groundless suspicions and prejudices could easily be misused by other parties or subversives who want to create chaos in Indonesian society…"
>
> "…Chinese language lessons and the cultural traditions of their ancestral land would facilitate the temptation not to tolerate the life patterns of Indonesian society. The loss of the use of Chinese language and characters in daily communications in social life as well as in the family would speed up the acculturation into the Indonesian life pattern" (Hidajat 1977, cited in Oetomo 1987:176–177).

However, things began to change when that discriminative decree was nullified by President Abdurrahman Wahid (popularly known as 'Gus Dur') in 2000 by issuing government decree no. 6/2000. Things were further solidified with the issuing of the anti-racial discrimination law no. 12/2006 on citizenship. Chinese New Year (Imlek) was made a national holiday. Chinese characters are widely used again nowadays in the names of front-side stores and in obituaries (side-by-side with their Romanized versions). Chinese newspapers, written in Chinese characters, are also published (the Indonesian Shang Bao). News programs on Metro TV have their Chinese slot (Metro Xin Wen). Films are made (Ca Bao Kan, Gie, Laksamana Cheng Ho), and Chinese celebrities have become well known in popular culture. Even presidential campaigns use Chinese characters in their posters to attract Chinese voters. For additional perspectives, also see Heryanto (1998) and M. Tan (2008).

Appendix: Some notes about written Chinese

In broad strokes, Sinologists distinguish three styles of written Chinese using Chinese characters (DeFrances 1984, *inter alia*):

(a) Classical Chinese (Gǔwén, 'ancient writing') is the style used in the Zhou and Han dynasties (8th century BC through 2nd century AD). Many of China's most influential books are written in this style.

(b) Literary Chinese (Wényánwén, 'literary writing', also just Wényán) is the form of Chinese writing used from the end of the Han dynasty through the early 20th century. Literary Chinese preserved many conservative elements of Classical Chinese, but failed to keep up with changes in the spoken language.

(c) Vernacular Chinese (Báihuà, 'clear language') is a modern style which better reflects the way in which people, specifically Mandarin speakers, actually speak. It was first used in novels, but gained wider and wider acceptance through the 20th century. Particularly after the Communist Revolution, the older-style Literary Chinese (and the education required to 'learn' it) became viewed as a hindrance to

progress. Vernacular Chinese is now the style used in almost all books, newspapers, and official and legal documents. Vernacular Chinese also incorporates punctuation (following Western standards) and supports the use of Arabic numerals.

In actuality, there is a gradation between Vernacular Chinese and Literary Chinese. The more formal the style of Vernacular Chinese, the more it resembles Literary Chinese.

In addition, the governments of mainland China and Singapore have adopted the simplified system of Chinese script, which makes use of some six thousand characters. The traditional system of Chinese script, with more than thirteen thousand characters, continues to be used in Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, and most other overseas Chinese communities.

Note that vernacular Chinese is primarily a written form of Standard Mandarin. If vernacular Chinese is read, using the pronunciation of some other Chinese language, such as Cantonese, it sounds stilted. Consequently, *local* vernaculars, notably in Cantonese, Shanghaiese, and Hokkien, have been developed, which even make use of additional (sometimes modified) characters to match the local language better. Owing to the work of scholars in Hong Kong, Cantonese is the most developed of the local vernaculars. Most Indonesians of Chinese descent, however, have limited or no knowledge of these vernacular writing systems.

Finally, Romanization systems have been developed for writing all major Chinese languages using a Latin-based alphabet. A number of these systems have already been mentioned in the body of this document. However, unlike in Japan, where Chinese Han characters gave way to Kana script (although just under two thousand common Han characters are still officially in use), in Korea, where Han characters gave way to Hangul script, and in Vietnam, where Han characters (or their derived forms, Chu Nom) were officially replaced by the Chu Quoc Ngu Romanization System in 1945, among Chinese-speaking people Han characters (either traditional or simplified) are more strongly tied to their identity. Consequently, Romanization schemes for Chinese languages occupy a second-rate position in their respective societies and are often considered acceptable only 'for teaching children' or 'for church use' (Chiung 2000)—or, in recent years, for online communities of vernacular-language speakers.

For specifics on particular Romanization systems, we suggest the following links:

Hokkien, Teochew, and other Min Nan languages:

"Min Nan: Romanization": Includes comparison charts of Pe̍h-oē-jī, Taiwanese Language Phonetic Alphabet (TLPA), and other systems with IPA values.
URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Min_Nan - Romanization

"The Missionary Romanization System used for certain southern Min dialects": Describes the Pe̍h-oē-jī system, with comparison to IPA; written by a former U.S. Army translator. URL: http://www.raccoonbend.com/languages/xiarom.html

"Teochew (dialect)": Includes a brief description of the phonology and a partial description of the official Teochew Transliteration Scheme developed by the Guangdong provincial government.
URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teochew_(dialect)

"ChaoZhou Dialect Romanisation Scheme": text of official Guangdong Provincial Education Department Announcement, September 1960, in Chinese and English
URL: http://www.sungwh.freeserve.co.uk/chinese/chaozhou.htm

"Pe-oh-ji: childish writing?": Discusses socio-cultural factors surrounding the use and acceptance/non-acceptance of Pe̍h-oē-jī Romanization versus Hanji (Han characters) in Taiwan. URL: http://www.de-han.org/taiwan/chuliau/pehoeji-v.pdf

"Min Nan Wikipedia": Over six thousand articles, employing a Romanized script.
URL: http://zh-min-nan.wikipedia.org/wiki/Th%C3%A2u-ia%CC%8Dh

Cantonese:

"Guangdong Romanization": Describes the Romanization system for Cantonese proposed by Guangdong Provincial Education Department in 1960. Includes IPA equivalents. Also has links to the Teochew, Hakka, and Hainanese Romanization schemes proposed by the same department. URL:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guangdong_Romanization

"Jyutping Pronunciation Guide": A simple guide showing how to pronounce the consonants, vowels and tones of Hong Kong Cantonese, as written in Jyutping Romanization. Words are linked to sound files so that you can hear them said.
URL: http://www.cantonese.sheik.co.uk/essays/jyutping.htm

"Romanization Conversion": Yale, Sidney Lau, Jyutping, and two other Romanization schemes for Cantonese are compared to each other and with IPA.
URL: http://www.cantonese.ca/romanization.php

"Cantonese Wikipedia": Over thirteen thousand articles, employing Chinese script.
URL: http://zh-yue.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E9%A0%AD%E7%89%88

Hakka:

"Hakka (linguistics)": Under the phonology section, lists IPA and Romanization equivalents following the official Kejia Transliteration Scheme developed by the Guangdong provincial government.
URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hakka_%28linguistics%29

Appendix 2 of "What it means to be Hakka in cyberspace": Gives a Romanization scheme, sample words, and phrases used by the Hakka Global Network online community—also said to be used by the Taiwan Bible Society. Tones (six of them) are indicated by numerals.
URL: http://www.davidson.edu/academic/anthropology/erlozada/papers/cyberhak.pdf

“Romanisation, MacIver - Zhang/Lau”: A comparison, written by Dylan Sung, of the missionary Romanization system employed in MacIver’s 1905 Hakka dictionary and the more recent Zhang/Lau Romanization system. (This posting is a message originally sent to the Hakka Forum in March 2000; also see following messages in this thread.)
URL: http://www.asiawind.com/pub/forum/fhakka/mhonarc/msg01937.html

“Hakka Wikipedia”: Over fifteen hundred articles, employing a Romanized script.
URL: http://hak.wikipedia.org/wiki/Th%C3%A8u-ch%C3%B4ng

Hokchiu:

“Foochow Romanized”: Describes the Bàng-uâ-cê (BUC) Romanization scheme developed for Foochow. Includes IPA equivalents.
URL: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foochow_Romanized

“Min-dong Wikipedia”: Various articles written in the Bàng-uâ-cê (BUC) Romanization scheme. URL: http://cdo.wikipedia.org/wiki/T%C3%A0u_Hi%C4%95k

Wu:

“Wu Wikipedia”: Over three thousand articles, employing Chinese script.
URL: http://wuu.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E5%B0%81%E9%9D%A2

Mandarin:

“Chinese Romanization Table”: A syllable-by-syllable comparison of the Hanyu Pinyin, Wade Giles and Gwoyeu Romatzyh Romanization systems. IPA equivalents not included. URL: http://weber.ucsd.edu/~dkjordan/chin/romanization.html

“Romanization Systems”: Links to information and comparison tables for Wade-Giles, Yale, Hanyu Pinyin, Gwoyeu Romatzyh, Tongyong Pinyin, other minor Romanization systems, and even some non-Roman systems (e.g. Cyrillic).
URL: http://www.pinyin.info/romanization/

“Comparison of Mandarin Phonetic Transcription Systems”: Tables, including comparison of a short text in five different transliteration systems.
URL: http://www.omniglot.com/writing/mandarin_pts.htm - samp

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For a comprehensive list of published resources concerning the Chinese in Indonesia, see the Southeast Asia section of the “Areal Bibliography of Overseas Chinese Studies” which is maintained by the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) as part of their Chinese Overseas Collection.

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