



# Asia-Pacific Linguistics

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## Language Documentation and Cultural Practices in the Austronesian World

### Papers from 12-ICAL, Volume 4

I Wayan Arka, Ni Luh Nyoman Seri Malini,  
Ida Ayu Made Puspani (eds.)

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This volume contains papers describing and discussing language documentation and cultural practices in Austronesian languages. The issues discussed include language description, vitality and endangerment, community partnerships in language revitalisation and dictionary making, language maintenance of transmigrants, documenting and archiving verbal arts, traditional music and songs, cultural aspects in translation and politeness. This volume should be of interest to Austronesianists, sociolinguists and anthropologists.



# Asia-Pacific Linguistics

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# *Preface and Acknowledgements*

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The 12th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics was held in Denpasar-Bali in July 2012. The organisers are publishing a series of compilations of papers based on specific topics, and the present volume is one of the planned four volumes containing papers that describe and discuss language change in the Austronesian languages of eastern Indonesia and Taiwan. All papers have been peer-reviewed and revised before publication.

The editors would like to thank our colleagues who happily acted as referees: Kunio Nishiyama, Hsiu-chuan Liao, Sander Adelaar, René van den Berg, Arthur Holmer, David Gil, and Loren Billings. We also thank Bryce Kositz and Vida Mastrika for their editorial help and technical assistance in preparing the manuscript for publication.

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# *1 Looking at Austronesian language vitality and endangerment through EGIDS and the sustainable use model*

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J. STEPHEN QUAKENBUSH AND GARY F. SIMONS

## **1 Introduction**

The lack of a generally accepted vocabulary and descriptive framework has made assessing language vitality and endangerment on a global scale even more difficult than it would be otherwise. Florey (2005) noted that a “profusion of terms” for describing endangerment has complicated the task of describing the situation for Austronesian languages in particular. This paper employs a new scale for categorizing language situations—the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS). EGIDS integrates three previous classification systems and forms the backbone of the more comprehensive Sustainable Use Model for language development. Analysis of the most recent EGIDS data available through Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2013) yields a revealing snapshot of the vitality status of Austronesian languages overall and in the particular countries where they are spoken, and also allows for comparisons with language situations worldwide.

Joshua Fishman (1991) provided a well-known rubric for describing levels of language endangerment with the introduction of the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) in his landmark work *Reversing Language Shift*. A little over a decade later, a UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group Meeting on Endangered Languages introduced the Language Vitality Index, which incorporated finer distinctions for languages on the endangered end of the scale (Brezinger et al 2003). Meanwhile, the Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) had been publishing a limited amount of information on “language viability” including categorization of languages at the extreme end of the endangerment scale as nearly extinct and dormant.<sup>1</sup> Lewis and Simons (2010) proposed a helpful harmonization of these three systems in the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), which has now been applied to every known language in the latest Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2013).

EGIDS can be seen as the backbone of a broader Sustainable Use Model for language development (see Lewis and Simons 2011). The Sustainable Use Model (SUM) builds on the basic notion that there are four and only four inherently sustainable levels of language

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<sup>1</sup> In 2012, the Alliance for Linguistic Diversity launched the Endangered Languages Project at [www.endangeredlanguages.com](http://www.endangeredlanguages.com). The Endangered Languages Project employs yet another Scale of Endangerment from the Catalogue of Endangered Languages (ELCat), similar but not identical to UNESCO’s Language Vitality Index.

use for a minority language—history, identity, orality, and literacy—and that each of these levels builds on the preceding one. Certain conditions must be met for these sustainable levels to be reached or maintained. In today’s globalizing world, without intentional effort on the part of speakers to reinforce the vitality of their language, there is an inevitable drift toward endangerment. This is especially true for languages that are already lower on the scale, and languages with a low number of speakers. The Sustainable Use Model provides descriptive and theoretical insight into phenomena characteristic of language development and its reverse, language shift.<sup>2</sup> More practically, it provides a tool that language communities, language activists and others interested in language and culture revitalization can use to plan more informed, strategic efforts for reaching their goals.

The current paper describes EGIDS, gives a series of status profiles for languages globally and for Austronesian languages in particular, and outlines the Sustainable Use Model, noting its special application to those concerned for the future of their own languages. This paper thus provides background for and an expansion of Anderbeck’s paper in this volume, which applies EGIDS to the languages of Indonesia.

## **2 Assessing Austronesian language vitality**

Florey (2005) gives the most recent overview of language vitality and endangerment for the Austronesian language family. She notes that although Austronesian languages account for 20% of the world’s languages, comparatively little in the way of detailed information about language vitality has been available for this region of the world. Likewise, concern and initiatives on the behalf of endangered Austronesian languages have not matched efforts in some other parts of the world (p. 43). Florey considers a range of factors for assessing language endangerment, and gives a country-by-country summary of the Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar (omitting languages of the Pacific, due to the focus of the collection in which the article appears, Adelaar and Himmelmann 2005). The factors Florey considers include:

- Domains of language use
- Transmission and language acquisition
- Size of speaker community
- Linguistic resources
- Language change
- Speaker fluency
- Causes of language obsolescence (population dispersal, globalization and introduction of languages of wider communication, intermarriage, and religious conversion) (pp. 44–47)

Making use of Wurm and Hattori (1981, 1983) and *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996, 2000) as primary resources, Florey supplemented her information with more detailed published sources and through personal communication with a network of scholars and linguists. Florey makes a basic two-way distinction between Strong versus Endangered languages. She classifies twenty-five Austronesian languages as Strong, essentially on the basis of having a population of over a million speakers in the listings of Tryon (1995), noting that these languages are mostly spoken in Indonesia and the Philippines. Florey characterizes “endangered languages” as those experiencing a decreasing number of speakers in

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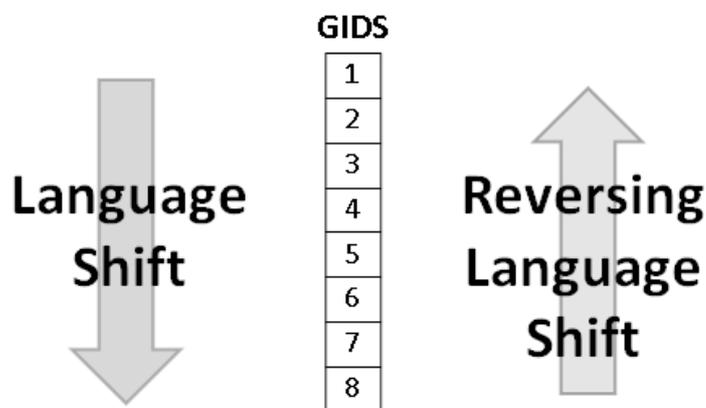
<sup>2</sup> *Language shift* is seen here as languages losing functions in a society, whereas *language development* consists of gaining functions in a society. For proposed definitions of *language development* see Simons 2011.

juxtaposition with a growing number of speakers in an “encroaching language.” Two centers of comparatively high endangerment emerge from Florey’s overview, namely Taiwan and Maluku.

Florey helpfully notes that discussions of language endangerment tend to focus on entire languages and everyday speech, whereas it is also important to consider loss of dialects, registers and areas of specialized knowledge. She argues further and insightfully that focusing exclusively on languages with small speaker populations actually “disguises the extent of the problem” of language endangerment and the resulting loss of linguistic diversity. (p. 59)<sup>3</sup>

### **3 An Expanded GIDS (EGIDS)**

As noted above, the starting point for EGIDS is Fishman’s (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). GIDS provides an eight-point measuring rod for language shift. Level 1 represents the “safest” or most vital category, that of an official national language. Level 8, at the other end of the scale, represents the most endangered languages, namely those spoken only by the elderly. The six levels in between represent successively more functions for language in society as one ascends the scale. Since the scale is a measure of disruption, larger numbers represent greater levels of disruption. The basic premise of GIDS is that language shift (ending in extinction) happens as a language loses functions in a society. To reverse language shift, communities must work to bring those functions back. The process by which these functions are restored, as well as the activities undertaken in order to encourage that process, can be called language development.



**Figure 1:** Fishman’s 1991 Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

UNESCO’s (2003) Language Vitality Index was created especially to gauge levels of endangerment. Accordingly, it conflates the upper end of GIDS by recognizing only one

<sup>3</sup> In addition to Florey’s overview, a few in-depth studies of specific language communities have been conducted in recent years. Notable among them are the Ph.D. dissertations of Kobari (2009) on Butuanon of the Philippines, and Tang (2011) on TrukuSeediq of Taiwan. See also Anderbeck in this volume for a treatment of languages of Indonesia.

“safe” category, but makes finer distinctions toward the more endangered end of the scale. The resulting six categories of the Language Vitality Index are shown in Figure 2.

- 5 safe
- 4 unsafe
- 3 definitively endangered
- 2 severely endangered
- 1 critically endangered
- 0 extinct

**Figure 2:** Language Vitality Index degrees of endangerment

Nine separate factors are evaluated in determining where a language fits on this scale:

1. Intergenerational language transmission
2. Absolute numbers of speakers
3. Proportion of speakers within the total population
4. Loss of existing language domains
5. Response to new domains and media
6. Materials for language education and literacy
7. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies
8. Community members' attitudes towards their own language
9. Amount and quality of documentation (Brenzinger 2003: 9-17)

In expanding GIDS, Lewis and Simons (2010) added three new categories to the original GIDS in order to make it applicable to any language—two at the bottom end of the scale (Levels 9 and 10 for dormant and extinct languages) and one at the top (Level 0 for international languages). EGIDS incorporates UNESCO’s finer distinctions of endangerment by splitting two GIDS levels into 6a vs 6b and 8a vs 8b. Finally, EGIDS specifies a name for each level of development. The result is the thirteen-level scale shown in Table 1, matched with their corresponding Language Vitality Index categories.

The answers to two basic questions help determine a language’s EGIDS level. The first question is “How is the language used?” The second question depends on the answer to the first. There are four possible answers to the first question, as shown in Table 2.

If a language is *vehicular*, meaning it is used widely not only within its native community but by other language communities as well, then the second question is “What is its level of official use?” The answer to this question distinguishes between levels 0, 1, 2 and 3, where the level of official use is international, national, provincial, or without official sanction.

If a language is used primarily as a local *home* language, meaning it is used in the home domain within all generations, the second question to ask is “What is the sustainability status?” The answer to this question distinguishes between levels 4, 5, 6a and 6b, where the sustainability status is sustainable literacy, sustainable orality with incipient literacy, sustainable orality, and orality that is losing sustainability. Note that the most significant divide on the entire scale—between languages that are basically healthy or vital in contrast with those that are not—comes in this section of the scale between Levels 6a (Vigorous) and 6b (Threatened).

**Table 1:** Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
0	International	The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy.	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the nationwide level.	Safe
2	Provincial	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within official administrative subdivisions of a nation.	Safe
3	Wider Communication	The language is widely used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region.	Safe
4	Educational	The language is in vigorous oral use and this is reinforced by sustainable transmission of literacy in the language in formal education.	Safe
5	Developing	The language is vigorous and is being used in written form in parts of the community though literacy is not yet sustainable.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and the situation is sustainable.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is still used orally within all generations but there is a significant threat to sustainability because at least one of the conditions for sustainable oral use is lacking.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves but they do not normally transmit it to their children.	Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are elderly and have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	There are no fully proficient speakers, but some symbolic use remains as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community.	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct

**Table 2:** The first question for assigning an EGIDS level: “How is the language used?”

Vehicular	The language is widely used, not only within its native community but by other language communities as well. (EGIDS 0–3)
Home	The language is used by people of all generations within its native community in home and community domains. (EGIDS 4–6b)
Heritage	The language retains an identificational function for its native community but is no longer used fluently by all generations. (EGIDS 7–9)
Extinct	The language is no longer known or used by any speakers, and no one maintains a sense of ethnic identity associated with it. (EGIDS 10)

If a language is used primarily as a *heritage* language, meaning that it retains an identificational function but is no longer used fluently by all generations, then the next question is “What is the youngest generation of proficient speakers?” The answer to this question distinguishes between levels 7, 8a, 8b and 9, where the youngest generation of proficient speakers is parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, or none at all. If there are no speakers of any proficiency and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, then the language is extinct (level 10).

With this basic understanding of EGIDS levels, we are now ready to categorize the latest data available through Ethnologue to yield vitality and endangerment snapshots for languages of the world in the form of *language status profiles*.

#### 4 Language Status Profiles

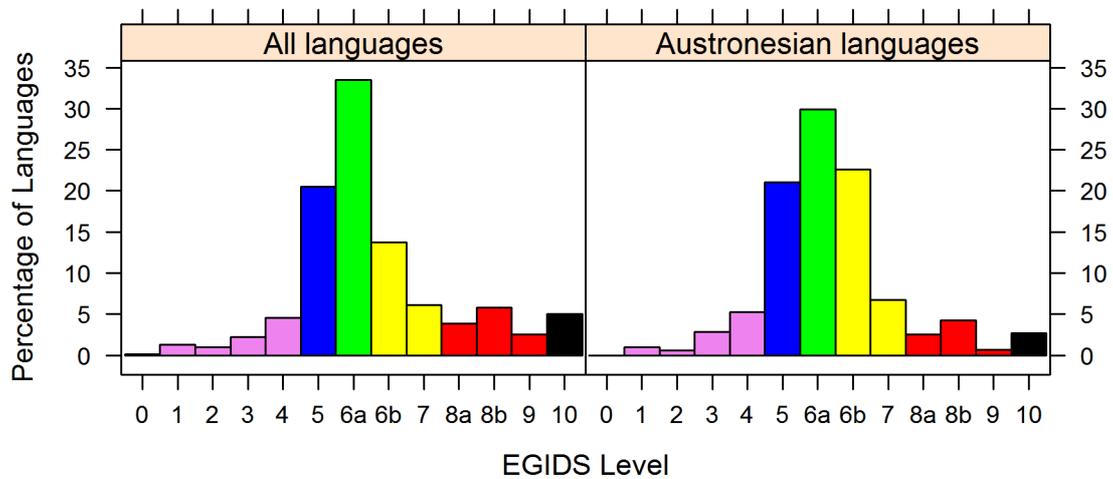
Table 3 is a table that compares language status data for all known languages of the world with the situation for just the Austronesian languages. The table gives the number of languages estimated to be at each EGIDS level<sup>4</sup> in the latest edition of Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2013). Ethnologue lists all languages recognized in the ISO 639-3 standard (ISO 2007) that were still in use in 1950. Thus the number of extinct languages represents languages that have become extinct since 1950.

Figure 3 presents a visualization of the percentage data from Table 3 as side-by-side language status profiles. Each profile is a histogram in which the height of the bar indicates the prevalence of languages with the given EGIDS level. In comparing the two profiles we see that the shape of the profile for Austronesian languages is very similar to that for the world as a whole, though one notable difference is that in Austronesia there is a higher proportion of languages that are beginning to lose users (EGIDS 6b). For the most part, however, we can say that language vitality and endangerment among Austronesian languages generally reflects the situation of languages worldwide.

<sup>4</sup> For a description of how these estimates were made, please see Simons and Lewis 2013. Status profiles for the world, world regions, and individual countries are readily accessible at [www.ethnologue.com/world](http://www.ethnologue.com/world).

**Table 3:** Comparison of language status worldwide and in Austronesia.

EGIDS level	All languages		AN languages	
	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>
0 (International)	6	0.1%	0	0.0%
1 (National)	98	1.3%	12	1.0%
2 (Provincial)	70	0.9%	7	0.6%
3 (Wider communication)	166	2.2%	36	2.9%
4 (Educational)	342	4.6%	66	5.3%
5 (Developing)	1,534	20.5%	264	21.0%
6a (Vigorous)	2,502	33.4%	375	29.9%
6b (Threatened)	1,025	13.7%	284	22.6%
7 (Shifting)	456	6.1%	84	6.7%
8a (Moribund)	286	3.8%	32	2.5%
8b (Nearly extinct)	432	5.8%	53	4.2%
9 (Dormant)	188	2.5%	8	0.6%
10 (Extinct)	375	5.0%	34	2.7%
<i>Total</i>	<i>7,480</i>		<i>1,255</i>	



**Figure 3** Profiles of language status worldwide and in Austronesia.

In the profile diagrams, the levels have been grouped into six iconic color groups. Violet, blue and green on the left end of the scale indicate varying degrees of vitality or health. Blue and green represent the single EGIDS level 5 (Developing) and 6a (Vigorous); violet represents a grouping of levels 0 to 4 as languages that are “institutional” (that is, being sustained by institutions outside the home). On the right end of the scale, the colors yellow and red indicate successive degrees of endangerment culminating in extinction as black. Yellow represents language “in trouble” (EGIDS 6b and 7) in which full intergenerational transmission could be restored if parents would choose to pass on the language. Red represents “dying” languages (EGIDS 8a, 8b, and 9) in which it is too late to restore natural intergenerational transmission in the home. Note that the basic shape of the worldwide profile is that of a bell curve, with the majority of the world’s languages in the green column in the center representing Level 6a, *Vigorous* (oral) use.

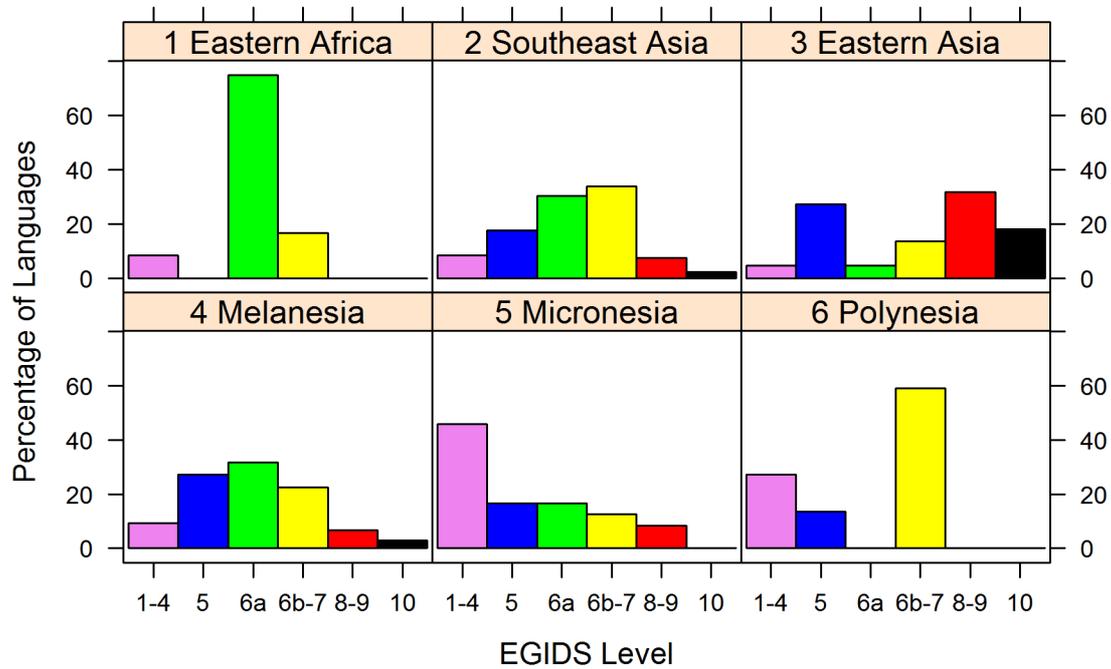
Language status profiles for Austronesian languages look different when charted according to regions of the world where they are spoken. Table 4 gives a table of language status data for Austronesian languages grouped by the geographical sub-regions used by the United Nations for its statistical reporting (UNSD 2013). The only exception to this is that the three Polynesian languages Maori, Hawaiian, and Rapa Nui have been counted with Polynesia as opposed to their designated UN sub-regions (Australia and New Zealand, Northern America, and South America, respectively). The remaining language in South America is Caribbean Javanese of Suriname. The status levels are reported according to the six color-coded groupings explained in the preceding paragraph.

**Table 4:** Distribution and status of Austronesian languages by geographic sub-regions.

Region	Languages	Institutional	Developing	Vigorous	In Trouble	Dying	Extinct
Eastern Africa	12	1	0	9	2	0	0
Eastern Asia	22	1	6	1	3	7	4
Melanesia	453	42	123	143	102	30	13
Micronesia	24	11	4	4	3	2	0
Polynesia	22	6	3	0	13	0	0
South America	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Southeast Asia	721	60	127	218	245	54	17
<i>Totals</i>	<i>1,255</i>	<i>121</i>	<i>264</i>	<i>375</i>	<i>368</i>	<i>93</i>	<i>34</i>

Figure 4 presents a visualization of the data in Table 4 by showing a profile graph for each UN sub-region; in these profiles the height of the bars represents the percentage of languages with the given status. We see in Table 4 that South-Eastern Asia and Melanesia are home to the vast majority of Austronesian languages, and in Figure 4, we see that those two regions come the closest to exhibiting the bell-shaped curve that is characteristic of the language situation worldwide, though note that the highest frequency category in South-Eastern Asia is “in trouble” rather than vigorous. In the other four regions which have only 12 to 24 Austronesian languages each, the profile shows more distinctive patterns: Eastern Africa (Madagascar) shows a predominance of languages at Level 6a (*Vigorous*); Eastern Asia (Taiwan) shows the highest percentage of dying and extinct

languages; Micronesia shows the highest percentage of institutionally supported languages; and in Polynesia, the majority of languages are in trouble with the remainder being institutionally supported or developing.



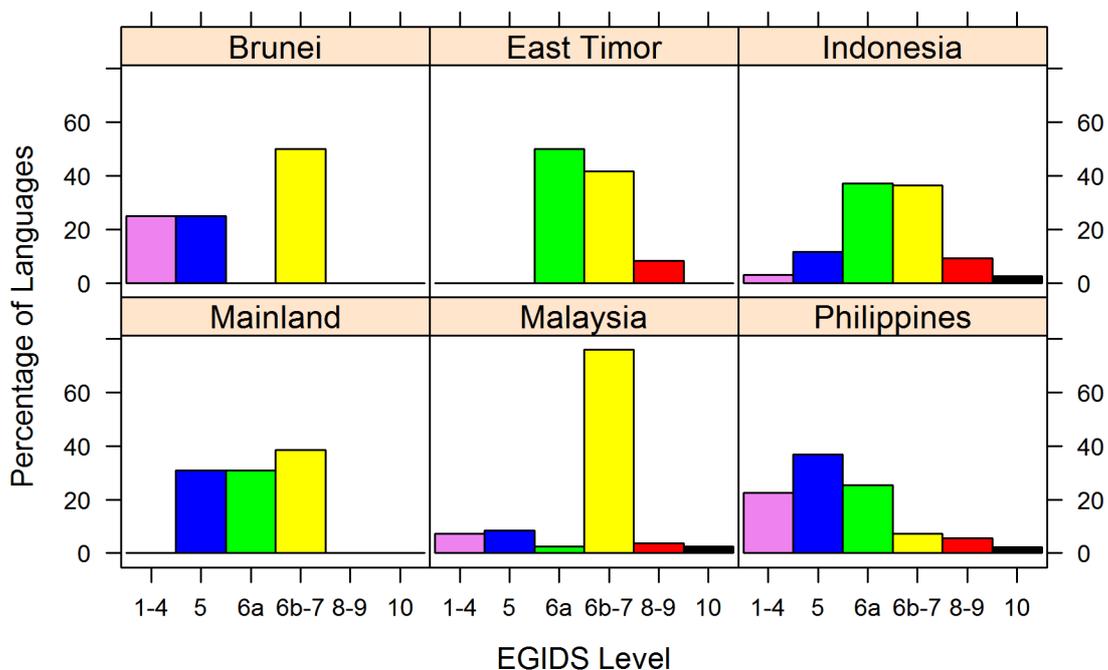
**Figure 4** Profiles of Austronesian languages by geographical sub-region.

The majority (57%) of Austronesian languages are spoken in Southeast Asia. Table 5 gives a table of language status data for Austronesian languages in Southeast Asia grouped by country. The table shows that by far the greatest number of Austronesian languages is spoken in Indonesia, with the Philippines a distant second.

**Table 5:** Distribution and status of Austronesian languages in Southeast Asia by country.

Country	Languages	Institutional	Developing	Vigorous	In Trouble	Dying	Extinct
Brunei	4	1	1	0	2	0	0
Cambodia	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
East Timor	12	0	0	6	5	1	0
Indonesia	432	13	50	161	157	40	11
Malaysia	83	6	7	2	63	3	2
Myanmar	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Philippines	177	40	65	45	13	10	4
Thailand	3	0	1	0	2	0	0
Viet Nam	8	0	3	3	2	0	0
<i>Totals</i>	<i>721</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>127</i>	<i>218</i>	<i>245</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>17</i>

Figure 5 presents a visualization of the data in Table 5 by showing a profile graph for each country in Southeast Asia; in these profiles the height of the bars represents the percentage of languages with the given status. Note that the 13 languages in Cambodia, Myanmar, Thailand, and Viet Nam are combined into a single graph for “Mainland”. The profile for Malaysia stands out as having the highest proportion in any single category; in that country over three-quarters of the language are categorized as “in trouble”. Only in the Philippines is the proportion of in-trouble languages small; in Brunei, East Timor, and the Mainland it is over 40% and in Indonesia it is 36%. Other notable characteristics of Figure 5 are: the prominence of undeveloped yet vigorous languages (Level 6a) in East Timor, Indonesia, the Mainland, and Philippines; the fact that half or more of languages in Brunei and the Philippines are developing or institutionally supported; and the low but visible percentage of dying or extinct languages in East Timor, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines.



**Figure 5:** Profiles of Austronesian languages in Southeast Asia by country

The region with the highest number of Austronesian languages outside Southeast Asia is Melanesia, and over half of those are in Papua New Guinea. Table 6 gives a table of language status data for Austronesian languages in Melanesia grouped by country.

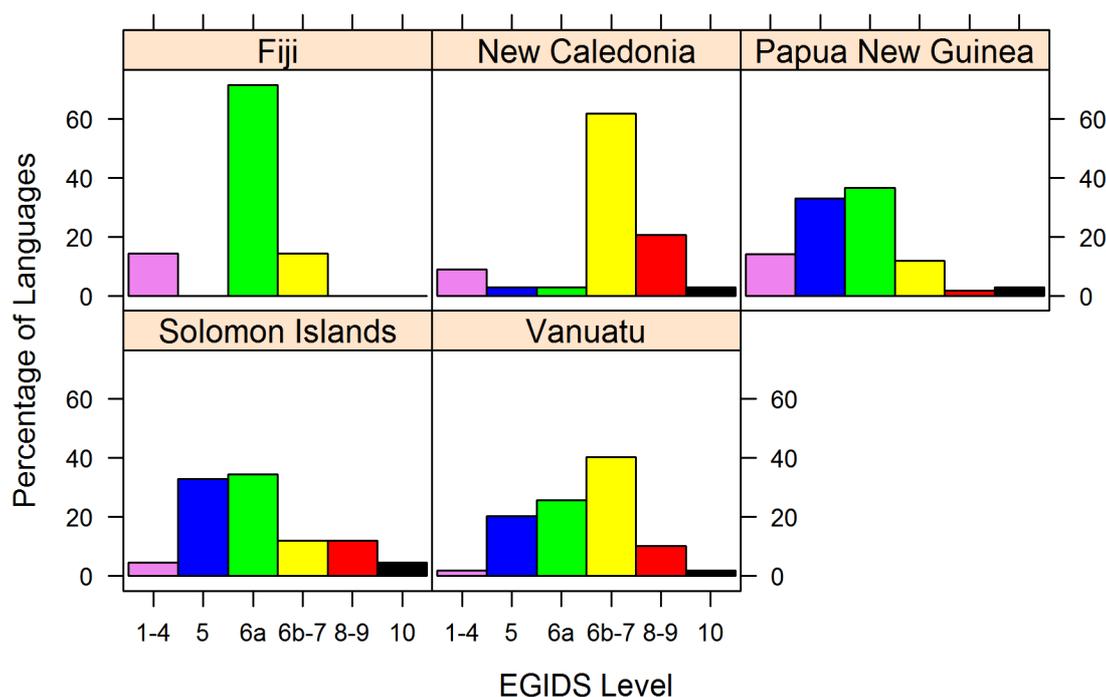
Figure 6 presents a visualization of the data in Table 6 by showing a profile graph for each country in Melanesia; in these profiles the height of the bars represents the percentage of languages with the given status. We see that the majority of languages in New Caledonia and Vanuatu are in trouble or dying. In the other three countries, the most frequent category is vigorous and undeveloped, though in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands there are nearly as many languages in the developing category as in the vigorous and undeveloped.

**Table 6:** Distribution and status of Austronesian languages in Melanesia by country.

Country	Languages	Institutional	Developing	Vigorous	In Trouble	Dying	Extinct
Fiji	7	1	0	5	1	0	0
New Caledonia	34	3	1	1	21	7	1
Papua New Guinea	236	33	78	86	28	4	7
Solomon Islands	67	3	22	23	8	8	3
Vanuatu	109	2	22	28	44	11	2
<i>Totals</i>	<i>453</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>123</i>	<i>143</i>	<i>102</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>13</i>

**Figure 6** Profiles of Austronesian languages in Melanesia by country

In summary, the status profiles based on EGIDS levels in Table 3 through Figure 6 give a snapshot of the vitality and endangerment levels of Austronesian languages overall, as well as by region and country where they are spoken. We can conclude from these profiles that the situation for Austronesian languages in general reflects the overall situation of



languages worldwide, where the distribution of EGIDS levels resembles a bell-shaped curve in which the middle category of vigorous and undeveloped (Level 6a) is the most prevalent. However, there is significant deviation from this within regions and individual countries. On the positive side, the Philippines and Micronesia stand out as places where more than half the languages are institutionally sustained or developing. At the other extreme, more than half the languages are in trouble or dying in Taiwan, East Timor, Malaysia, New Caledonia, Vanuatu, and Polynesia. The region with the highest percentage of dying or extinct Austronesian languages is East Asia (Taiwan), though the actual number of dying or extinct languages is greater in both Southeast Asia and in Melanesia.

As demonstrated through these profiles, EGIDS levels can provide a helpful standard for assessing and monitoring language vitality and endangerment in the Austronesian world and beyond. What about those who are interested in making a difference in that situation? What help does it offer for those who are interested in planning for and bringing about positive change? The next section of this paper answers this question by describing the broader framework of which EGIDS is a part.

## 5 The Sustainable Use Model (SUM)

EGIDS forms the backbone of the Sustainable Use Model for language development (SUM)—a theoretical framework that can assist language researchers, analysts, activists and others to understand basic principles of language development, set realistic goals for a given context, and identify practical steps that can be taken to maintain or strengthen languages.<sup>5</sup> SUM also provides useful notions for those interested in monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of language development activities.

There are eight key concepts in the SUM framework:

- (1) Minority language communities today face unprecedented pressure to abandon their local language and identity.
- (2) Development decisions are community decisions.
- (3) Language development must take into account the entire linguistic repertoire of a community (not focusing on single languages in isolation but rather on the ecological niche of each language spoken in a community).
- (4) Current vitality determines both prospects for maintenance and potential for development.
- (5) There are four levels of sustainable language use—history, identity, orality and literacy—which correspond to specific levels on the EGIDS. (See below for fuller explanation.)
- (6) Apart from these sustainable levels of use, the other EGIDS levels are transitory, and without some intervention will naturally decay to the next lower level of use (or beyond).
- (7) Once the current level of use is identified, a community can determine which sustainable level of use it desires to work towards and a language development intervention or program can be designed.
- (8) The five conditions related to Function, Acquisition, Motivation, Environment and Differentiation (known collectively as the FAMED conditions) must be met in order to achieve sustainability. (See below for fuller explanation.)

Any of these eight key concepts could be expanded upon, but only concepts (5) and (8) will be further explained in this paper. Concept (5) states that only certain levels on the EGIDS are inherently sustainable. At the center of the EGIDS at Level 6a is the level of *Sustainable Orality*. This is the prototypical case of an unwritten language with vigorous oral use in all generations for day-to-day communication and full transmission to the next generation taking place in the family and local community. This characterizes the situation of most languages over most of their history and it is inherently sustainable in the absence of pressures from other languages. But when a language begins losing speakers to a more dominant language (level 6b), the situation becomes inherently unstable. This level is not sustainable; if the loss of speakers is not stopped, the language will eventually drop to

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<sup>5</sup> See Lewis 2011, from which this section borrows heavily, for a fuller explanation of SUM.

level 7 then 8a then 8b and finally 9. If nothing changes to reverse the trend, levels 7, 8a, and 8b can persist for only one generation before they fall to the next lower level.

The state of dormancy at level 9, by contrast, may be sustained for generations. In the SUM, this is referred to as the state of *Sustainable Identity*. It refers to a situation where there are no fully proficient speakers who use the language for day-to-day communication, yet a community continues to associate its identity with the language through ceremonial or symbolic use. Wampanoag (wam) of Massachusetts is an example of a language that falls into this category.

When there is no longer a community which makes any use of the language or associates their identity with it, then it falls to extinction. Being extinct is not necessarily equivalent to EGIDS level 10, for there are probably thousands of languages that have gone extinct in human history which we know nothing about—not even a name. Thus to be assessed as EGIDS 10 there must be a permanent record of the language. When such a record exists and has been safely archived, the language has achieved *Sustainable History*. Hittite is an example of a language that has been at this level of sustainability for millennia. Without permanent records, an extinct language simply becomes a forgotten language.

The fourth level of sustainability in the SUM is *Sustainable Literacy* which is achieved at EGIDS 4 and higher. It refers to the situation where there is not only vigorous oral use but use of the language is further strengthened by widespread written use that is supported and transmitted by sustainable institutions (typically but not necessarily government-run educational systems). At EGIDS 5, literacy is only incipient. Unless the community adopts the newly standardized form of the language and a sustainable institution within the community embraces the responsibility to transmit the skills of literacy in the language to the next generation, the literacy experiment will fail and the EGIDS level will fall back to 6a.

Another concept of the SUM is that each level of sustainability rests on the ones below. A language must have some known history in order to be a basis for identity. It must serve as a marker of identity in order for it to serve sustainably as a community's means of oral communication. And it must be vigorously spoken by a real community in order for it to serve sustainably as a language of literacy.

The SUM also postulates that a set of five conditions, known collectively as the FAMED conditions must be met in order for a language to be used sustainably.<sup>6</sup> The letters in the acronym FAMED stand for *Functions, Acquisition, Motivation, Environment, and Differentiation*, as summarized in Table 7.

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<sup>6</sup> These conditions represent different aspects of broad diglossia (see Fasold 1984), and can be seen as features of stable diglossia.

**Table 7:** The FAMED conditions for sustainable language use.

<b>Functions</b>	The functions for which the language is to be used at a particular level of sustainability exist and are in use by the community.
<b>Acquisition</b>	A sustainable means of acquiring the needed proficiency to use the language for those functions must be operational.
<b>Motivation</b>	Community members must be motivated to use the language for those functions.
<b>Environment</b>	The external environment (e.g., official policy, attitudes of the public at large) must not be hostile to the use of the language for those functions.
<b>Differentiation</b>	Norms of use within the community must keep the functions assigned to the language distinct from the functions for L2.

These eight key concepts and five FAMED conditions form a basis for setting realistic language development goals and choosing appropriate products and activities to support those goals. A reasonable goal for strengthening the vitality of a language would be either to move it up the scale by one level or to maintain a current level of sustainable use. In some cases, where the community is not sufficiently motivated to go up the scale, a goal may be to prevent complete loss of a language by making a “soft landing” at the closest lower level of sustainable use.

Different products or activities will be more appropriate for different levels of development. SUM highlights the importance and role of *oral* activities and *non-print* media for all levels, especially for the lower ones. The model predicts that if a community wants to maintain oral use of the local language, at a more fundamental level it is important to foster a positive sense of identity as expressed through the language. If people are insecure about or ashamed of their language and identity, the model suggests that one might not start with holding literacy classes, but rather with activities designed to increase pride in one’s language, community, and culture. This does not rule out the production of printed materials in the language, such as a simple dictionary. It does not rule out holding literacy classes for part of the community. Indeed, demonstrating that a language can be written and read can be a powerful means for increasing pride in one’s language, but increasing the profile of a language through artistic performance or audio and visual documentation may be more important first steps.

Looking at the FAMED conditions can help identify specific areas that might need to be addressed. Where Sustainable Literacy is the goal, for instance, it may be the external Environment that crucially needs attention. If there are policies that don’t allow for the use of local language in education, the greatest immediate need may be for advocacy with the ministry of education. Perhaps the Environment is already conducive, but Motivation within the language community for maintaining their own language needs attention. In such a case, it may be more strategic to focus on promoting local culture and arts in the classroom or on demonstrating to parents the connection between local language instruction and children’s improved overall school performance than it would be to expend all the time and effort on the development of an elaborate series of graded instructional materials.

## 6 Conclusion

This paper has introduced EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) and SUM (Sustainable Use Model for language development) and shown how these tools can be applied to understanding and addressing issues related to the vitality and endangerment of Austronesian languages in particular. EGIDS proved to be helpful for assessing and comparing the status of languages. Although the profiles presented some sharp differences according to country and region, the current overall picture for Austronesian languages appears to be not appreciably different from that for languages of the world as a whole.

The broader Sustainable Use Model, of which EGIDS forms a part, integrates various insights into language ecology and gives language development practitioners and others a more precise vocabulary and framework for description, analysis, and planning. Florey (2005) argued that

*“It is crucial that discussion within our profession turns to a wider consideration of our involvement in the issues of language endangerment and maintenance, including review of our fieldwork priorities, the research-oriented and applied tasks we might undertake, the academic and applied training we need to undertake them, and ways of working alongside community members.” (p. 60)*

SUM provides a helpful framework for those who wish to address issues of language endangerment and maintenance, and especially offers guidance for planning strategic research-oriented and applied tasks.

SUM is not a perfect model. It does not directly address every possible issue related to language vitality and endangerment. There are inevitable challenges in applying predetermined criteria to a real and messy world full of variety and gradience. There are certain difficulties for any ordered scale like EGIDS, where a higher ranking assumes all characteristics of lower rankings. The EGIDS numbers themselves are more complex than they would have been if they were not an explicit attempt to harmonize previous systems. Yet the basic nature of the scale and the key concepts and conditions of the model are intuitive enough and easily enough explained to provide real help for those interested in the current state and future well-being of Austronesian languages, whether those interested parties be linguists helping from the outside, or language activists from within the endangered language communities.<sup>7</sup> Together EGIDS (the scale), SUM (the model), and FAMED (the conditions) provide useful insights and metrics for helping understand a language’s current level of development or endangerment as well as the kinds of activities that could reasonably be undertaken to help strengthen that language’s prospects for the future.

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<sup>7</sup> To date, SUM has been presented to and appreciatively received by a number of language development practitioners within SIL International as well as by a limited number of speakers of minority languages. SIL is currently field testing a practical tool for participatory planning based on SUM (*A guide for planning the future of your language*) designed to help members of language communities evaluate the current level of development of their language and to set goals they might like to reach.

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# 2 *Portraits of language vitality in the languages of Indonesia*

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KARL ANDERBECK<sup>1</sup>

## 1 Introduction: Portraits of Indonesian language vitality

A major implication of globalization is that the majority of world languages are vulnerable to decline or extinction. For the first time, an ambitious attempt is being made to document the vitality level of every language in the world. This is displayed in the latest edition (17) of *The Ethnologue, Languages of the World* (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2013). A modified framework for reporting vitality (the *Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* or EGIDS; Lewis and Simons 2010) is used.

Based on this *Ethnologue* initiative, I and others have gathered such information for Indonesia. The following is a report on the data gathered so far.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.1 Portrait 1: A Gem in the Jungle

It is surely no coincidence that the Indonesian minority language with the highest level of development is spoken about as far as you can get from the outside world, deep in the middle of the island of New Guinea. The spread of Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia) has been so spectacular at the expense of formerly local language domains of use that it has been labeled a “killer language” (Mühlhäusler 1996:20). While that label might be overblown, the gravitational influence of Indonesian is even stronger in educational domains than in the home domains. It is therefore not too surprising that in our entire sample, only one minority language group, appropriately named ‘Una’ [iso: mtg], currently enjoys the status of *Sustainable Literacy*.<sup>3</sup> Subsequent to the decades-spanning involvement of SIL personnel, this 7000-member group now has vigorous and sustainable

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<sup>1</sup> Although I wrote this report, I gratefully acknowledge the invaluable assistance of many including but not limited to: Paul Lewis and Gary Simons who came up with the theoretical framework used here, my partner in this project Chad White who has contributed in many ways, David Mead who for years has been gathering information about Sulawesi languages, Jackie Menanti whose experience, knowledge and memory of Papua’s languages continually astounds, and an anonymous reviewer who provided patient and detailed constructive criticism of an earlier draft. I also thank all those who have given vitality feedback via the website or email. All errors and omissions in the data remain my own.

<sup>2</sup> Data in this report are current as of August 9, 2013 and differ slightly from those published in the 17<sup>th</sup> edition of the *Ethnologue* (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2013). See the *Nusantara EGIDS* website (<http://sites.google.com/site/nusantaralanguagevitality>) for updates and additional information about EGIDS, definitions and ratings.

<sup>3</sup> Javanese and Sundanese are considered to be at this level, but are not ‘minority languages’. See §0 for a further discussion of Sustainable Literacy, including a listing of other languages which may be close to achieving this status.

literacy classes with a series of primers, all in the Una language. Three literacy coordinators, paid by the local church, train new people to run the classes. Forty percent of the Una people can read and write in their mother tongue.

Of course, vernacular literacy can only be truly sustainable if it is built on a foundation of sustainable oral transmission. Parents consistently speak Una with their children. Although Indonesian is used in some contexts, its use does not encroach on traditionally Una domains. The biggest threat to sustainability in Una literacy seems to be outmigration. If many Unas, particularly leaders, move away from the Una heartland and do not return, their culture, language and (by extension) their literacy efforts may be threatened.

It should not be surprising that Una, like scores of Indonesian languages, is being stably spoken from generation to generation. However, should we be surprised that the Una people of interior Papua have achieved sustainable literacy? Or surprised that no other minority language group is seemingly in the same position?

## **1.2 Portrait 2: Head-hunted, relocated, and out-maneuvered**

The Marori people of the south coast of Papua (Arka 2013; Sohn, Kriens & Lebold 2009) are a minority even in their own village. Never a large group, their numbers were reduced further as a result of being head-hunted by the neighboring Marind tribe. In 1961, they were relocated to a different village, which they were forced to share with their traditional enemies. Economically they have been out-maneuvered by migrants from as far away as Java.

The language of the Maroris has likewise suffered. Of the 150 Maroris today, only a small number still speak Marori [mok] with fluency. Most prefer to use Marind [mrz] and Indonesian instead. Because they are so few, it is not possible for everyone to marry within the group, and the resulting mixed marriages consistently prefer a more dominant language over the minoritized Marori tongue.

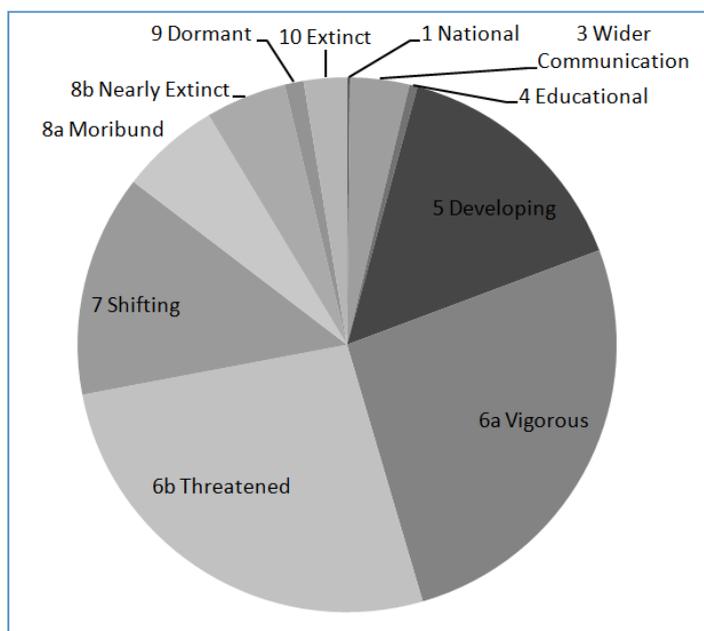
While the loss of the Marori culture and language is certainly felt most keenly by the tribe members themselves, the world's linguistic diversity also takes a double hit. Each language is unique to some extent, and this uniqueness is being lost. But the damage in this case goes deeper, because the Marori language is considered an isolate. The loss of an isolate means that an entire linguistic stock becomes extinct.

## **1.3 Portrait 3: Too Big to Fail?**

The Gorontalo language [gor] with approximately one million speakers (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2013) is the third or fourth largest in Sulawesi, and among the largest in the country as well. The Gorontalo group has its own province and many signs of prestige. Yet those who know the situation well observe that the younger generation often chooses to use Indonesian exclusively, the language that will best help them find work. Ironically, since Gorontalo split from North Sulawesi province in 2000, many Gorontalo no longer feel the need to assert their distinct identity by using their language. Some rituals which require the use of Gorontalo language are now officially discouraged. Increasing mobility is also a disruptive force: on the main roads, visitors may not hear Gorontalo spoken even in smaller villages. Observers worry that even mighty Gorontalo may fade away (Mead 2013:47).

#### 1.4 2 + 1 + 1 = Big Changes on the Horizon

Figure shows the distribution of vitality levels in the sample of 523 Indonesian languages (out of 725) for whose vitality at least an educated guess may be made.<sup>4</sup>



**Figure 1:** Approximate distribution of vitality categories for Indonesian languages

Based on the sample, we summarize the state of Indonesian languages as follows:

- Slightly less than two of every four Indonesian languages are currently vital and maintaining speaker numbers (EGIDS 1-6a). In these groups, the current generation of speakers consistently teaches their language to their children. Speakers may be bilingual but they have an instinctive sense of when to use their local language and when to use a dominant language like Indonesian.
- One of every four Indonesian languages is vulnerable (EGIDS 6b *Threatened*), with shrinking speaker numbers. Usually most children still learn the language from their parents, but, like Gorontalo, the pressures of a globalizing world mean that an often substantial subset is turning its back on the mother tongue.
- The remaining one of every four Indonesian languages seems to be dying (EGIDS 7-8b) or may be extinct already (EGIDS 9 and 10). Some, like Marori, may be within a generation of being lost. Others may last two or three generations, or even confound expectations indefinitely.

We are witnessing a definite weakening of local languages in Indonesia. Lauder and Ayatrohaédi (2006:368) estimated that 100 Indonesian languages were endangered or worse, based on Ethnologue (Barbara F. Grimes 2000) population data.<sup>5</sup> Based on actual

<sup>4</sup> The graph and the discussion below include all languages from Java/Bali, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Maluku and Papua for which linguistic ecological data are available. Nusa Tenggara and Kalimantan with 75 languages each are excluded because the overall quality of the vitality data in these regions is poor enough to muddy the waters of the relatively clearer remaining macro-regions of Indonesia. The EGIDS vitality levels employed in the chart are defined in §0 below.

<sup>5</sup> See J. Grimes (1986; 1995) for cautions and critiques of estimating endangerment on the basis of population.

ecological descriptions, we count 178.<sup>6</sup> Contributing factors include urbanization and expansion of the market economy, more frequent travel, cultural mixing even in the homelands, political centralization, Indonesian-medium education, mass media including TV, cell phones, Internet, and the raised expectations that come with mass media exposure.

## 2 Methodology

### 2.1 Theoretical framework

The *Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* (EGIDS; Table 1) is an elaboration of Fishman's (1991) *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* (GIDS) which focused on "intergenerational transmission as the single most important factor in language shift" (Lewis 2010:106). As GIDS was less differentiated at the weaker end of the scale, EGIDS brings in and harmonizes the more granular vitality classifications of UNESCO's vitality scale (Brenzinger et al. 2003) as well as the former Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) categories. The attention paid to *measuring* language vitality stems from the concern of massive language endangerment and loss in this century, and the need to speak about it clearly and productively.

The EGIDS vitality categories are only briefly defined in Table 1; for the full descriptions and discussion the reader is referred to Lewis and Simons (2010), with somewhat updated descriptions available at [www.ethnologue.com](http://www.ethnologue.com). The EGIDS is both a scale of endangerment (6b and downward) and a scale of development (5 and upward). 6a (*Vigorous*) is the unmarked 'natural' state for most of the languages of the world. The EGIDS is also hierarchical; higher levels of development assume sustainable oral vitality and at least the development status of the level below it.<sup>7</sup> For example, EGIDS 1 (National) languages are assumed to have sustainable transmission of both literacy and orality. Not all levels are sustainable; languages at Level 0, 1, 2 and 4 are considered to have *sustainable literacy*, those at Level 6a at *sustainable orality*, and Level 9 at *sustainable identity*. Languages at other levels will tend to slip downward to the next sustainable level if nothing is done to arrest the slide.

Within the EGIDS schema, no more than three questions need to be answered to determine a language's vitality. See the decision tree in Figure 2.

From the decision tree, one will notice a significant disjunction between Levels 6a and 6b. In Lewis and Simons' (2010:113) words:

The distinction between the two kinds of GIDS Level 6 follows from the observation that [Fishman's] Level 6 straddles the line of diglossia (King 2001). In our view, Level 6a represents a stable diglossic configuration where oral functions are assigned to the L language and written functions are assigned to H. In contrast, Level 6b represents the loss of that stable diglossic arrangement with the oral domains being overtaken by another language or languages. At Level 6b, many parents are transmitting the language to their children but a significant proportion are not, so that intergenerational

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<sup>6</sup> Part of this increase may simply be due to better data and measurement, instead of relying on population counts alone, while the other part is certainly due to the effects of thirteen years on individual language vitality.

<sup>7</sup> The exception is Level 3 *Wider Communication*, which does not assume the sustainable education of Level 4.

transmission is partial and may be weakening. With each new generation there will be fewer speakers or fewer domains of use or both.

**Table 1:** Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (short descriptions) (Lewis 2010)

LEVEL	LABEL	DESCRIPTION	UNESCO
0	International	The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level.	Safe
2	Regional	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.	Safe
3	Wider Communication	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.	Safe
4	Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.	Safe
5	Developing	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children	Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct

It is important to note that the EGIDS captures a static ‘snapshot’ of the vitality of a language within a given speech community. As Himmelmann (2009:47) points out, intergenerational transfer of language, though a key indicator of language vitality, is more a symptom than a cause. The deeper ecological causes of why parents do or do not transmit their language to their children can be many and various. That a language has been rated as

EGIDS 7 *Shifting* does not tell us why it has gotten to this point or how quickly change is occurring.<sup>8</sup>

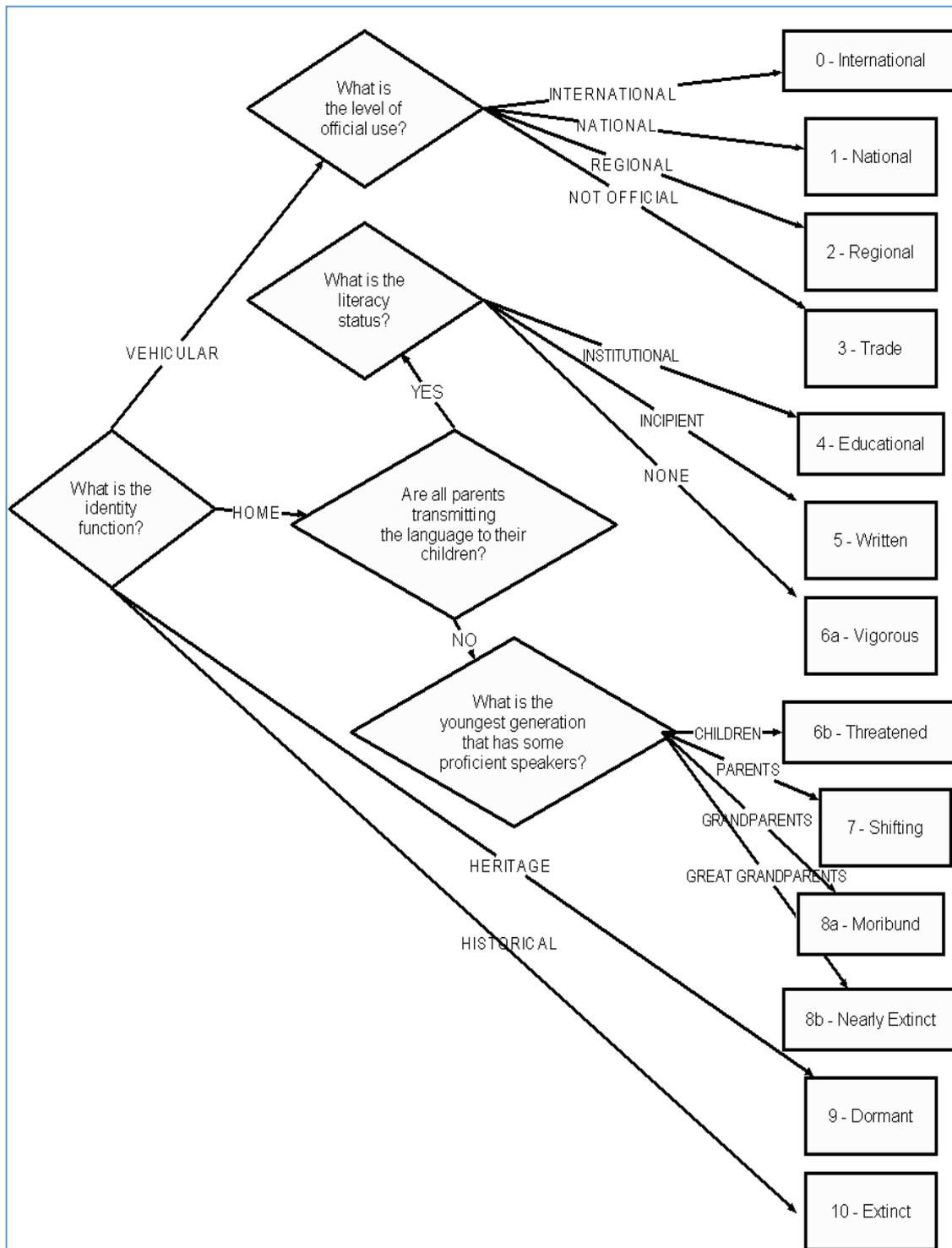


Figure 1: EGIDS decision tree (Lewis 2010)

<sup>8</sup> Just as measuring the body weight of one hundred individuals is simple but does not tell you why they have come to weigh that much, this report takes the easier road. As Himmelmann (same page) writes, “[t]he assessment of factors leading to language endangerment is much more difficult than the assessment of its symptoms.”

## 2.2 Data sources

With a sample of 700+ languages such as Indonesia has, our database obviously stressed breadth at the expense of depth. While we employed published sources where they were known and available, certainly some relevant sources were missed. Very helpful were aggregated surveys of vitality such as Florey (2005) and Mead (2013) or, on a smaller scale, Himmelmann (2009). In addition, vitality information in *Ethnologue 16* (Lewis 2009) was incorporated, although this was problematic because the actual sources (person/publication, date of information, reliability of data) were not always evident. Another similar source is UNESCO's *Interactive Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* whose chief Indonesian source was another aggregator (Wurm 2007), and whose chief disadvantage (for our purposes) was that it only tracked the most endangered languages.

To verify or clarify published sources or fill data gaps, we also relied heavily on field reports, mostly personal communication and unpublished jottings from linguists and others. The strong majority of these personal contacts were affiliated with SIL, although after soliciting feedback via mailing lists like AN-LANG, other generous souls shared helpful information with us as well.

Whether published, unpublished or personal communication, we queried our sources in three general areas:

- Vitality (EGIDS) level, using the diagnostic questions in Figure 1,
- Scope of the information; i.e. entire language group, one dialect, one geographical area, one social stratum, etc.
- Reliability of the information.

## 2.4 Evaluating reliability

Reliability of the rating was evaluated using the following scale:

- 3 Fieldwork - Evidence is from recent fieldwork and direct observation in a representative sampling of locations.
- 2 Other Reliable Sources - Evidence is somewhat dated, or comes from non-linguistic sources, such as newspaper articles, online discussion forums or word of mouth, and seems reliable.
- Best Guess - Even though evidence is meager, perhaps even flawed, or is significantly dated, nevertheless we are willing to make a best guess or at least 'pass on' a vitality score reported by others.
- No Data - We have no information about language vitality, consequently no rating is assigned.

In a number of cases we also have an "Ethnologue calculation" category. This was employed where there was at least a scrap of vitality information in the *Ethnologue* (say, information about written materials in the language), but we were not able to ascertain whether the preliminary vitality assessment made by the *Ethnologue* staff was based on sufficient information for even a "1" rating.<sup>9</sup>

Rating the data was helpful particularly in those rather rare cases where we had multiple (conflicting) sources to choose from. The Sentani situation is discussed below. In that case, the language survey team reported their impression of evident language shift, based on short-term visits. A few weeks after consulting with the survey team, we received input

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<sup>9</sup> The *Ethnologue* also decided to assign the EGIDS level 6 *Vigorous* as a default to all languages with unknown vitality. I have not followed that practice in this study, keeping them rather as 'unknown'.

from a long-term, sociolinguistically-sophisticated fieldworker. This input caused us to re-evaluate Sentani's EGIDS value back to *Vigorous* (and with *Developing* literacy).

## 2.4 Weaknesses in the data and approach

As one can imagine, any attempt to ascertain and describe the language vitality, at a single moment in time, of over a tenth of the world's languages is daunting at best and impossible at worst. Even if one assumes that a framework such as EGIDS can adequately capture in a single measure the complex sociolinguistic dynamics of a language community, other problems abound.

The most obvious weakness in the data is that we simply do not *have* data. Although hundreds if not thousands of hours have gone into ascertaining the EGIDS values posted on the website, by professionally-trained researchers, it will become immediately clear how limited our data are. For approximately 110 or 15% of Indonesia's languages, we have no vitality data. About the same number of languages have not had their initial vitality estimates from Ethnologue data verified. For still 121 more languages, our data are sketchy, dated, or even simply a guess based on sociolinguistic characteristics of the particular region. This means that our information is only somewhat solid in half of the languages of Indonesia.<sup>10</sup>

A slightly less obvious yet important weakness lies within the Ethnologue (now ISO 639-3) language registry. Let's say we can assume that a language community (all the speakers of a single language) is monolithic in terms of vitality. Foundationally, however, basic language identification is an ongoing task in Indonesia (Lauder & Ayatrohaédi 2006:363). Is Wiyagar a distinct language from Kayagar [kyt]? Is Narau [nxu] a language or just a river name? Should Osing [osi] be considered a distinct language, or merely a dialect of Javanese [jav]? Are Makassar Malay [mfp] and Balinese Malay [mhp] really distinct and cohesive speech varieties? If the task here is to assign vitality values to ISO codes, first the ISO codes must somehow correspond to linguistic reality. For most of the country, this is roughly the case, but substantial exceptions must be made in parts of Papua, Nusa Tenggara and large swaths of West and East Kalimantan. A particular difficulty is that isolated tribal groups are often difficult to access, for a variety of reasons (Lauder 2006; Chou 2003:7–10, 19). Hammarström (2010; discussed in more detail below) demonstrates how this is not only true for individual languages but even for entire language families.

The remaining problems can be summed up by the acronym SALAH (Indonesian for 'wrong'): Sample bias, Adult acquisition, Linguistic Assimilation, and Hopeful reporting.

### 2.4.1 Sample bias

A foundational truth of sociolinguistics is that language use varies among different sectors of society. A researcher familiar with one segment of a speech community with distinct speech dynamics (males, females, educated, uneducated, old, young, etc.) may have a skewed perspective of the whole. While an issue in even the smallest language communities comprising, say, a single village, this is even more problematic in large and diffuse language groups like Gorontalo, Javanese, etc. Steinhauer (1992:1473) writes, "Most 'languages' in the [Wurm & Hattori (1983) language] atlas are only diasystems or convenient labels for groups of related 'dialects'. A comfortable number of speakers of language X therefore does not mean that that language is 'safe': the number may be the

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<sup>10</sup> Feedback is welcomed regarding the EGIDS levels of Indonesian languages. This can be sent to [NusantaraEgids@sil.org](mailto:NusantaraEgids@sil.org) or (better) via the website: <http://sites.google.com/site/nusantaralanguagevitality>.

sum total of a group of small language communities which are each on the brink of extinction.” Dynamics at play in one speech community may be vastly different than in another speech community of the same ‘language’, so reliably assigning a single EGIDS rating to that ‘language’ can be difficult. The practice of assigning EGIDS ratings to heterogeneous ‘languages’ may best be considered merely a provisional stepping stone to a clearer identification and rating of distinct speech communities.

For the present study, the following ‘rules of thumb’ were employed in cases like these: proportion/percentage, directionality and averaging. First, what proportions of the populations are affected in certain ways? A few Totoli [txe] speech communities of Sulawesi are maintaining their language with some slippage (EGIDS 6b) while, in the former center of the group, the younger generation has mostly switched to Indonesian. Given the proportional size of the latter group, Totoli was rated as 7 *Shifting*.

Similarly, most Indonesian language groups with overall strong oral transmission include at least some members who have switched languages, whether due to urbanization or other factors. The question asked in these cases is whether the percentage of speakers switching is greater than the natural population growth rate of the language group. If so, the effective speaker population is shrinking and the language was rated as 6b *Threatened*.

Another rule of thumb is the observed or inferred direction of change: What is the trend in language use throughout the group? How quickly is change occurring? Is it likely that this trend towards shift does not appear (yet) in more peripheral areas simply for reasons of lack of access, i.e. they would shift if they had the chance like their kin do in more accessible areas?

If none of these rules of thumb seem appropriate in the situation, the vitality rating may be averaged from the disparate segments of the language group. For example, speakers are shifting from Tolaki [lbw] in cities and towns (EGIDS 7), while language use is vigorous in many villages (EGIDS 6a). Hence EGIDS 6b was assigned to the group as a whole.

#### 2.4.2 Adult acquisition

The EGIDS model (and most vitality models) is built on the assumption that if a person does not acquire the (minority) vernacular as a child in the home he/she will never be fluent in the vernacular. While this is undoubtedly true in the majority of situations, a countervailing pattern can be seen in areas of Maluku and Papua. In these places, it is an established pattern that the children grow up speaking a language of wider communication (LWC), and only start speaking the ‘vernacular’ when they join the community of adults. This could be termed ‘adult acquisition’ although, given that children are regularly hearing the language from adults around them, it might be better termed ‘adult/delayed vernacular production’. The switch from LWC to ‘vernacular’ may be gradual, or show a sharp divide corresponding to initiation into adulthood. While this phenomenon may seem fantastic, it has been documented or at least observed by a number of researchers including Donohue and Nivens (p.c. April 20, 2011) in Indonesia, and Araali and Boone (2011) in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

An illustration of this phenomenon can be found in the Sentani language community surrounding Lake Sentani in northwest Papua as reported by Dwight Hartzler (p.c. April 26, 2011). Hartzler is one of only a small handful of outsiders ever to learn the Sentani language, and has worked with them in language development and translation since the 1970’s. At the beginning of his work in this fairly urbanized area, he was told by a missionary working with this group that “the Sentani language will be dead in five years” because of the already very high bilingualism in Indonesian/Papuan Malay. Although certainly some youth, especially those in urban areas, grow up and permanently leave

Sentani behind, if they wish to join Sentani society they must master the language as well, and the strong majority of youth continues to make that choice.

The problem this can pose for determining vitality is, how does one distinguish this from a situation where most/all the children have irreversibly shifted to an LWC? At first blush, the two scenarios seem identical when viewed at a single point in time. The most trustworthy solution would be to conduct resource-intensive longitudinal studies. How many languages currently rated as EGIDS 7 *Shifting* are actually in a fairly stable diglossic situation with adult acquisition? I don't know.

### 2.4.3 Linguistic Assimilation

If adult acquisition poses a problem for the application of the EGIDS theory in eastern Indonesia, linguistic assimilation poses a corresponding problem in western Indonesia particularly. What is meant by 'linguistic assimilation' here is simply any tendency for a language to increasingly absorb aspects of another intruding language, whether in its vocabulary, sound system, grammar/typology or discourse patterns.<sup>11</sup> Linguistic assimilation in a broad sense occurs in every language, but in more extreme cases can produce something unintelligible to less-assimilated varieties of the same language. Significant linguistic assimilation has been reported in many areas, but seems particularly endemic in Kalimantan.

The Sekak [iso: lce] language, spoken by a 'sea tribe' between Sumatra and Kalimantan, was documented in the form of two folk tales by a Dutch writer in 1881, then again by an Indonesian Language Center monograph one hundred years later in 1981. Anderbeck and Tadmor (in progress) discuss the substantial differences between the 1881 Sekak, which exhibits a possible non-Malayic substratum, and the 1981 Sekak, where most of this substratum has disappeared, leaving a more recognizable Malay dialect. Given the extent of evident assimilation, they question whether the 1881 and 1981 varieties should even be considered the same language. A similar phenomenon is reported among hunter-gatherer groups in the Philippines (Headland 2003).

Those active in research among the many Malayic varieties of Sumatra and Kalimantan have noted what we call "Malay stew" where, depending where and when you dip your dipper in, you may pull up certain or other commonly-occurring elements. Although strict longitudinal studies have not been done, it seems certain that more and more Indonesian-language elements are being added to the stew (cf. Anderbeck (2008:12)). With the increase in Indonesian-language exposure via mass media, education, cell phone and greater mobility, this will only become a more significant factor.

Lest this be considered solely a lexical phenomenon, in the Batanghari River basin we see a pattern suggestive of a phonological change from a 4-vowel system to a 6-vowel system. This innovation, originating in the capital city of Jambi, seems to be moving upstream on the Batanghari itself but not up smaller tributaries (Anderbeck 2008:31).

This phenomenon is not limited to western Indonesia. Paauw (2008:17) documents the paradoxical situation of Eastern Indonesian Malays, which are gaining floods of new speakers while simultaneously being Indonesianized to an "astounding" extent.

How does one report vitality in a situation like this? People may continue vigorously speaking a 'home variety', but the structure and content of that home variety continue to mutate. Up until now, this scenario is ignored in the EGIDS ratings.

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<sup>11</sup> What I am describing here may be similar to what Thomason (2001:234) calls "grammatical replacement". As an example, she cites the case of the Finnic language, Votic, which was in intimate contact with a closely related language. "Izora words and grammatical features made their way into Votic almost imperceptibly, until they achieved preponderance. Then the language of these Vots was no longer Votic, but Izora."

### 2.4.4 Hopeful reporting

‘Hopeful reporting’ may be described as a temptation to *overstate* endangerment in order to increase the likelihood of receiving funding for research, or to *understate* endangerment because of personal investment in a particular language community.

## 3 A Bit More Discussion on the Data

Now we move from how we conducted our research into what we discovered about the status of Indonesian languages. We begin with a look at regional differences in vitality, move to discussions of languages on the low and high end of the EGIDS scale, and end the section by shifting the focus to language families rather than individual languages.

### 3.1 Regional differences

Substantial differences in vitality profiles can be seen between the Indonesian macro-regions of Sumatra, Java/Bali, Sulawesi, Maluku, and Papua. This can be seen clearly by grouping the languages at EGIDS 1-6a, separating out the vulnerable languages (EGIDS 6b), and grouping the weakest languages for which intergenerational oral transmission has effectively broken down (EGIDS 7-10).<sup>12</sup> See Figure 3 for a percentage view and Figure 4 for an absolute numbers view.

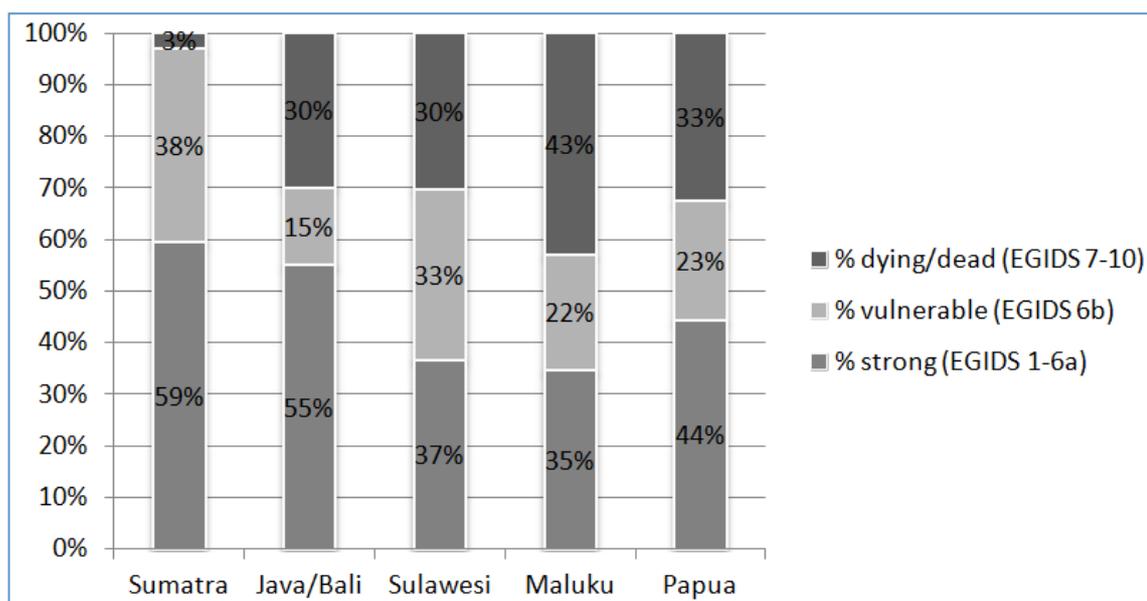


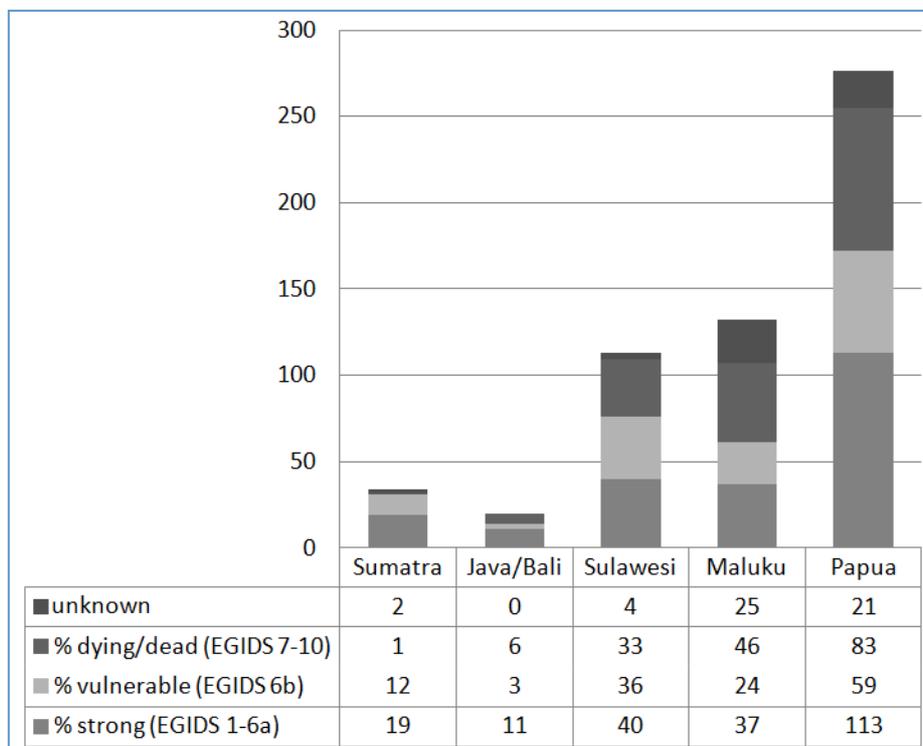
Figure 3: Vitality distribution by region by percentage

As others have treated the same topic with greater depth, this will mostly just be a review of the current data.

Florey (2005:59) reports that “centers of relative linguistic stability are reported among speakers of the larger Austronesian languages in other parts of Indonesia (Java, Bali, Nusa Tenggara).” While this may be true for Nusa Tenggara (we have little data to confirm or deny), the charts above would not seem to indicate that Java/Bali is relatively stable. As it turns out, Florey is focused on different things than is the Ethnologue’s language registry.

<sup>12</sup> Lumping EGIDS 7 *Shifting* languages in with more obviously dying languages might be a controversial move. Certainly it is often not too late to restore to greater vitality languages still spoken by the parent generation. But reversing a major sociolinguistic trend is no trivial task, undertaken by the exceptional speech community only.

It is true that “larger Austronesian languages” are relatively stable in Java and Bali; the unstable languages reflected in Figure 3 include two probably-extinct colonial-era creoles Petjo and Javindo as well as long-standing immigrant Chinese languages which were suppressed under the Suharto regime (Oetomo 1987:45). In Sumatra, the only language considered *Shifting* or worse is the *Sea Tribe* language Loncong (Sekak).<sup>13</sup> As such, our data would indicate that Sumatra should be added to Florey’s list of relatively stable areas.<sup>14</sup>



**Figure 4:** Vitality distribution by region, absolute numbers

Although it seems wrong to classify any language with millions of speakers as endangered, Florey’s ‘relative stability’ needs to be counterbalanced with Steinhauer’s (1994:761) analysis of census results which shows that many of Indonesia’s largest languages evince high levels of shift among younger speakers, generally to Indonesian. His analysis is corroborated by recent studies in Javanese (Kurniasih 2006; Smith-Hefner 2009) and Balinese (Kagami 2012).

Kalimantan is not discussed in detail here because of lack of reliable data; difficulties in measuring vitality in that region are discussed in §0. In short, vitality there seems to be relatively weak and language mixing is common. Steinhauer (1994:762, 766) concluded that Banjar Malay is growing quickly at the expense of smaller languages of Central and South Kalimantan, that East Kalimantan languages are under considerable pressure from Indonesian and Javanese, and that West Kalimantan is the most stable linguistically.

<sup>13</sup> Although Lom, spoken by the eponymous group on Bangka Island, is considered likely to be seriously endangered (Florey 2005), it is better considered an endangered *dialect* of a larger Bangka Malay language (Nothofer 1997).

<sup>14</sup> Some may observe that the number of Sumatran languages in the Ethnologue declined from 52 in the 14<sup>th</sup> edition (Barbara F. Grimes 2000) to 34 in the 16<sup>th</sup> edition (Lewis 2009). This is not due to some catastrophic loss of linguistic diversity but rather to better information; background research (cf. Hajek 1996 re. ‘Lowland Semang’) and language survey (cf. Hanawalt 2007 re. Krui, Ranau, Kayu Agung, etc.) made it clear that a number of Ethnologue listings were not actually distinct, mutually unintelligible languages. Any changes in the language registry since 2006 have been tracked by the [ISO 639-3 Registration Authority](#). See also §0.

Relatively fewer languages in Sulawesi are in serious danger. The main exception is in the north where Manado Malay has nearly completed its takeover of domains previously occupied by local languages. Languages in other areas of Sulawesi are generally stronger, but gradual slippage to Indonesian and other languages is still pervasive. A much more detailed analysis is found in Mead (2013).

Florey (id., 51) identifies Maluku as the area with the most serious vitality issues. Our data would identify Papua as not being far behind in this respect; in fact, in absolute numbers of endangered (EGIDS 7-8b) languages, it is well ‘ahead’. As with Sulawesi, so with Maluku and Papua: most serious endangerment occurs close to the centers of the respective regional Malays – Ambonese Malay and Papuan Malay near the northern center of Jayapura. While shift to Ambonese Malay appears to be quite an old phenomenon, dating from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century or earlier (Grimes 1991:100; Collins 2003:257), much of the endangerment in Papua seems to be recent and the percentage of endangered languages there may soon eclipse Maluku’s.<sup>15</sup>

### 3.2 Wider Communication, Educational and Developing Languages

EGIDS Level 3 *Wider Communication* is applied to languages used without official status in work and mass media to transcend language differences across a region. Twenty-odd Indonesian languages have been identified as fulfilling this function. The largest of these have already been mentioned, the Eastern Indonesian Malays. At the other extreme are languages like Yetfa [yet], spoken natively by only one thousand people, but also used as an LWC by neighboring groups Toweï, Murkim and Kimki.

Although the *Wider Communication* level presumes vigorous oral use, it does not presume use in education (EGIDS 4 *Educational*). Lewis and Simons (2010:3) state regarding Level 3 *Wider Communication*, “[t]he general pattern in the EGIDS is that each level adds to what is true in the next lower level; this is the one point where an exception is possible.” Thus one would not know, by looking at the twenty-odd list of Indonesian *Wider Communication* languages, whether they also fulfill the *Educational* conditions. The short answer is that no EGIDS 3 languages also fulfill the criteria for Level 4.

Another term for Level 4 is *Sustainable Literacy*: there is a group of people who use the language for reading and writing and there are sustainable institutions that are passing on literacy skills from one generation to the next (Lewis 2011).<sup>16</sup> Una of Papua was already mentioned in this regard. The primary institution for ensuring sustainable literacy is, of course, the government. The Indonesian government has supported a number of regional languages in the area of mother-tongue education, specifically Javanese, Sundanese [sun], Madurese [mad], Balinese [ban], Makasar [mak], (Toba?) Batak [bbc], Minangkabau [min], Acehnese [ace], and Sasak [sas] (Moeliono 1986:100). It is unlikely that all nine of these currently meet the conditions for sustainable literacy (Kosonen 2005:104–105), but at least Javanese and Sundanese do.<sup>17</sup> A few other (unconfirmed) languages which *may* be close to or at the *Sustainable Literacy* level are Kupang Malay in Nusa Tenggara, and Mek Nipsan and Yali-Pass Valley in Papua.

EGIDS Level 5 *Developing* encompasses languages for which oral transmission is consistent and vigorous but whose literacy status is not currently sustainable. Simply the

<sup>15</sup> If multinational lumber corporations succeed in clear-cutting Papua as has happened in much of the rest of Indonesia, the accelerating rate of language shift will likely shift into overdrive.

<sup>16</sup> See the conclusion of the report for a brief discussion of the *Sustainable Use Model for Language Development*.

<sup>17</sup> An analysis of which major Indonesian languages meet the five FAMED conditions for sustainable literacy (*Function, Acquisition, Motivation, Environment and Distinct niche*) could easily merit a separate paper.

existence of an orthography or vernacular written materials is not sufficient to move from EGIDS 5 to 4. Nearly 100 Indonesian languages are classified as the unsustainable EGIDS 5. If there is movement from one level of the scale to another, the default destination would be back to 6a *Vigorous*, where the written materials and/or development efforts slowly slide into obscurity. Additionally, while many more than these ninety-odd languages have discoverable vernacular written materials or some sort of orthography, their language must be considered at EGIDS 6b *Threatened* or worse because of weak oral transmission. It is not a safe assumption that (written) language development will arrest oral language decline (Rehg 2004).

### 3.3 *Moribund, Nearly Extinct, Dormant and Extinct languages – a thirty-year view*

Steinhauer (1994:756ff) listed a number of Indonesian languages he considered either extinct or moribund. Most of his sources, however (Collins 1983; Wurm & Hattori 1983; Silzer & Haikkinen 1984), dated from ten years earlier. Steinhauer listed one language that had recently become extinct: Mapia of Papua.<sup>18</sup> Lamenting the lack of ecological information in most linguistic descriptions, he also listed nineteen languages he considered to “have become endangered, if not extinct.” Of these nineteen, we have no updated information for the following six languages: Moi of Papua, Kamarian, Nusa Laut, Amahai and Hulung of Maluku, and Paku of Kalimantan. The thirteen languages for which we have recent information are listed in Table 2.

**Table 2:** Update on languages mentioned in Steinhauer (1994)

Language	Current EGIDS	Rating	Source
<b>Papua</b>			
Yawa [yva]	6b Threatened	2 Other reliable sources	Rachfri p.c. 4/2011
Ambai [amk]	6b Threatened	3 Fieldwork	D. Price p.c. 4/2011
Ansus [and]	6b Threatened	3 Fieldwork	Price and Donohue 2009
Waropen [wrp]	7 Shifting	2 Other reliable sources	Y. Sawaki p.c. 7/2012
Serui-Laut [seu]	7 Shifting or worse	2 Other reliable sources	D. Price p.c. 4/2011; experience from 2002
Woriasi (Wabo) [wbb]	7 Shifting or worse	1 Best guess only	D. Price p.c. 4/2011; experience from 2002
Inanwatan [szp]	8a Moribund	2 Other reliable sources	L de Vries p.c. 12/2012
<b>Maluku</b>			
Eti-Kaibobo [kzb]	8b Nearly Extinct	2 Other reliable sources	Y. Taguchi p.c. 3/2011
Paulohi [plh]	8b Nearly Extinct	2 Other reliable sources	Taber 1996:51
Kayeli [kzl]	9 Dormant	3 Fieldwork	Grimes 2000
Naka'ela [nae]	10 Extinct	2 Other reliable sources	M. Connor p.c. 5/2011
Loun [lox]	10 Extinct	2 Other reliable sources	M. Connor p.c. 5/2011
<b>Sulawesi</b>			
Bantik [bnq]	8a Moribund	3 Fieldwork	A. Utsumi p.c. 3/2011

We see mixed outcomes over the past couple decades. On the one hand, the dismal future predicted for the languages on Yapen Island (Yawa, Ambai, Ansus, Serui-Laut, Woriasi) has not played itself out as quickly as may have been guessed. Three of the five

<sup>18</sup> Steinhauer also mentioned Tomboka, which had gone extinct in 1815, and Batumerah, a recently-extinct dialect of Luhu. Following *Ethnologue*, I only consider here entire languages which have become extinct since the 1950's.

languages mentioned still evince transmission to the youngest generation, albeit with some interruption. Waropen actually seems stronger than reported earlier, while Inanwatan seems within two generations of extinction. The Sulawesi language mentioned (Bantik) seems to be in about the same shape as in the time of the Steinhauer article.

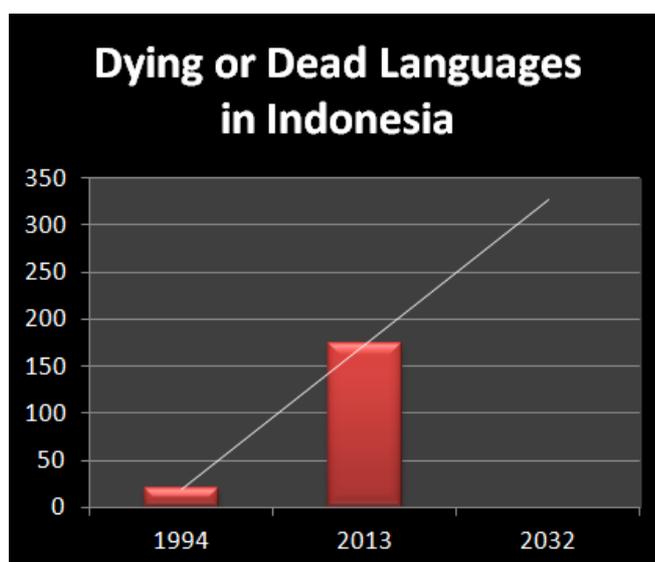
On the other hand, the Maluku languages are in worse shape; three of the five have evidently gone extinct. Eti-Kaibobo's vitality has also seemingly slipped over time.

Now let us turn our attention to the current listing of EGIDS 8a-10 languages. The full list of Moribund, Nearly Extinct, Dormant and Extinct languages is in Appendix 2. Thirty years after the bulk of Steinhauer's sources, we see a dramatic expansion in these categories of languages.

- *Moribund* languages: 2 in Java, 1 in Kalimantan, 6 in Maluku, 20 in Papua and 8 in Sulawesi. Total: **37**.
- *Nearly Extinct* languages: 14 in Maluku, 13 in Papua, and 3 in Sulawesi. Total: **30**.
- *Dormant* languages: 1 in Java, 1 in Kalimantan, 2 in Maluku, and 3 in Papua. Total: **7**.
- *Extinct* languages: 1 in Java, 9 in Maluku, 7 in Papua. Total: **16**.

Steinhauer listed 19 languages likely to be EGIDS 7 *Shifting* and worse. I have not even enumerated the EGIDS 7 languages (83 of them, for the morbidly curious). Just the *Moribund* and *Nearly Extinct* languages total 67. He listed one language that had become extinct in the past few decades; we can list 23.

Why is the number of dying and dead Indonesian languages several times higher than reported a few decades ago? Part of the answer must lie in the increased attention given to endangered languages, both theoretically and in terms of field research. But it also seems likely that the pace of language endangerment in Indonesia has significantly quickened during the same time period. Should these same two tendencies continue steadily into the future, we could be looking at a trend line such as is shown in Figure 5, with the number of doomed Indonesian languages exceeding 300 in under two decades.



**Figure 5:** Trend line for reported dying or dead (EGIDS 7-10) languages in Indonesia

In 1992, Steinhauer published an article entitled, "The Indonesian linguistic scene: 500 languages now, 50 in the next century?" (1992). It seems certain Steinhauer's "gloomy prospect" of catastrophic language loss in the next "two or three generations" is indeed too gloomy (at least too fast), but time will tell whether his prospect indeed plays itself out over a longer time period.

While it is impossible to perfectly predict the future of Indonesian languages, we can shed light on the subject by understanding some significant triggers for shift. In the following subsections we discuss three major triggers.

### 3.3.1 From Low to Lower

The first trigger is especially significant in eastern Indonesia. Paulston (2002:130) says, “When languages coexist ... without functional complementary distribution in a super-subordinate relationship, the norm is shift to the dominant language”. This situation can be contrasted with diglossia, where functional complementary distribution exists. In many areas of eastern Indonesia, ‘Eastern Malays’, traditionally trade languages, have acquired substantial numbers of native speakers in urban environments particularly. These languages, among them Manado Malay [xmm], Ambonese Malay [abs] and Papuan Malay [pmy], often exist as L (low language) in a diglossic relationship with the H (high) language, Indonesian. When speakers of local languages enter more deeply into speech networks where a regional Malay already functions as L (through, say, increased contact with an urban center or through intermarriage), immediate competition for L domains ensues. Triglossia, where three languages coexist in functional complementary distribution, seems to be quite rare.<sup>19</sup> In increasing cases of widespread contact, the winner for the (usually single) L slot is the regional Malay, *not* the local language. In western Indonesia (north Sulawesi excepted), such lingua francas are rarer and without such a dominant hold on the L slot.

### 3.3.2 Internal migration and urbanization as triggers for shift

Indonesia’s percentage of vital (EGIDS 1-6a) languages, at 46%, is significantly lower than the world average of 65% (Simons & Lewis 2011). At 46% Indonesia’s profile is nevertheless considerably better than the world’s worst-hit areas, namely Australia and New Zealand (only 7% vital), Northern America (9%) and South America (35%). Simons and Lewis surmise that Mufwene’s (2002) typology of colonies could help explain why some areas (like Central and Western Africa) are so much stronger than others.

Mufwene divides colonization patterns into three basic types: *trade*, *exploitation* and *settlement*. A trade colony involves visits at ports of call and prompts contact languages but little sociolinguistic change otherwise, while an exploitation colony ups the sociolinguistic ante slightly with colonial residence in plantations or trade centers. The type of colony with the greatest sociolinguistic effects is the settlement colony, where settlers in large numbers compete with the local population for resources and eventually impose economic and social integration. Unsurprisingly, Australia, New Zealand, the U.S., Canada and much of South America have been characterized by settlement colonialism. Indonesia’s three centuries of Dutch rule, like Central Africa, fall most closely into the exploitation colony type.

Then why is Indonesia’s level of language endangerment so much higher than Central and Western Africa? It could be argued that the difference primarily arises from Indonesia’s relatively greater integration with the world economy. As language choices correlate strongly with economic behavior (Karan 2011), major economic changes can cause major linguistic changes as well. This section examines two economically-motivated

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<sup>19</sup> See Fasold (1984:45) for a discussion of “double overlapping diglossia” involving English, Swahili and various Tanzanian vernaculars. It is not clear how stable this situation has turned out to be.

types of mobility in Indonesia which have surged in recent decades: internal migration and urbanization.<sup>20</sup>

Internal migration (called *transmigrasi* if government-sponsored) refers here to groups of people from overpopulated areas relocating to plantations or under-populated areas. Urbanization on the other hand is the movement of people from rural areas to the cities. Across Indonesia, internal migration rates have been steadily increasing over the decades; the percentage of people living in a different province than the province of their birth reached 10% in 2000 (Lottum & Marks 2012:4486). Similarly, urbanization in Indonesia has been “explosive”, urbanites growing from 15% of the population in 1950 to 48% in 2005 (Resosudarmo & Suryadarma 2011:1).

Internal migration (when the net result is ethnic groups newly coming into contact) is very similar to settlement colonization: in both cases outsiders move into a territory and upset the traditional dynamics. Urbanization, the “fourth pattern of economic contact with the external world” (Simons & Lewis 2011:16), is the opposite: people are forced to learn and operate in the dominant language of the city. Simons and Lewis argue that urbanization might have a disruptive effect equal to settlement colonization.

The effect of either population movement on speaker communities is greatest on the smallest. Based on the 2000 Indonesian census (Badan Pusat Statistik 2004), it seems that approximately one-fifth of Papua’s total population currently consists of recent internal migrants, and this percentage is increasing. In some areas these migrants form the majority. Steinhauer (1992:1472) writes, “On the whole it holds that wherever the [migration] program is successful, interethnic communication increases at the expense again of the use of local languages.” Walker (1993:74) and Remijnsen (2001:121) document its crucial impact in Papua, specifically how even a few outsiders in a village can powerfully change language use patterns. Regarding urbanization, it is almost a proverb how often the children of those who move to the city lose their vernacular (Mufwene 2007:384; Landweer 2006). Given that the United Nations expects 70% of the world’s population to be urbanized by 2050 (United Nations 2008), this economically-motivated movement could be the more significant of the two.

### 3.4 Papua: linguistic diversity at greatest risk

Two recent papers (Whalen & Simons 2012; Hammarström 2010) focus on the benefits to linguistics of identifying and documenting separate language stocks. From the perspective of contributions to linguistic theory, “it is especially interesting to document languages that are the most divergent from ones that are well-documented—in other words, those that belong to unrelated families” (Hammarström 2010:177). For determining linguistic relatedness, Whalen and Simons rely exclusively on Ethnologue classifications, while Hammarström also incorporates other research including his own. Both papers demonstrate that the greatest level of linguistic diversity is to be found on the island of New Guinea, listing numerous examples from Papua (but none from the rest of Indonesia).

Hammarström focuses attention on language families which have heretofore received the least (documented) attention from linguists. He lists twenty-seven families, most isolates, and most “situated in the lowland rainforest area between the Sobger (Papua, Indonesia) and the Upper Sepik (Papua New Guinea) Rivers of the island of New Guinea.” For convenience’ sake I have reproduced the Indonesian languages mentioned in his Table 1 (2010:181) and incorporated the latest understanding of their vitality. See Table 3.

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<sup>20</sup> These types correspond roughly to Himmelmann’s (2009) *immigration* and *emigration* language endangerment scenarios respectively.

**Table 3:** Indonesian (Papuan) least-documented language families

Family/Language	ISO code	EGIDS
Afra (Usku)	ulf	8a Moribund
Bayono-Awbono		
Bayono	byl	6a Vigorous
Awbono	awh	6a Vigorous
Dem	dem	6a Vigorous
Kapauri	khp	6b Threatened
Kehu <sup>21</sup>	khh	6b Threatened
Kimki	sbt	6b Threatened
Kosare	kiq	6a Vigorous
Lepki	lpe	6a Vigorous
Mawes	mgk	6b Threatened
Mor <sup>22</sup>	moq	8b Nearly Extinct
Murkim <sup>23</sup>	rmh	6a Vigorous
Namla-Tofanma		
Namla	naa	8b Nearly Extinct
Tofanma	tlg	6a Vigorous
Sause	sao	6a Vigorous
Tanahmerah	tcm	UNKNOWN
Yetfa/Biksi	yet	3 Wider Communication

It should be mentioned that Hammarström’s listing did not include those language families for which insufficient data are available even for basic classification; in Papua, this includes Kembra [xkw] (8b *Nearly Extinct*). Nor is the possibility precluded that additional undocumented isolates exist in Papua – at least one of the Papuan languages listed (Namla) was added to the ISO 639-3 registry as recently as 2006. As it stands, half of the world’s least documented language families are found in Papua.

Whalen and Simons (2012) identify 102 language families where “intergenerational transmission is reported to be broken in every surviving language within the stock.”<sup>24</sup> In EGIDS terms, that is level 7 *Shifting* and worse. Of these 102 language families, eight are found in Papua: the unclassified languages Kembra [xkw], Namla [naa] and Usku [ulf], and the evident isolates Hatam [had], Kehu [khh], Masep [mvs], Mor [moq] and Marori [mok].

However, this list can be amended with more recent data. First, Namla should be removed; Hammarström (2008) argues that Namla subgroups with Tofanma [tlg], a vigorous (while small) language. Similarly, unpublished 2007 survey results show that Kehu remains fairly vigorous; while its population is reported in Ethnologue as only 25 speakers, many others are reported to be living in more remote areas. Reports of Hatam’s demise seem similarly exaggerated (Reesink 2004:154–155). Besides these three removals,

<sup>21</sup> Kehu and Kosare were not included in Hammarström’s table of undocumented isolates, although he considered them undocumented. He now (p.c. 8/2012) deems both as isolates.

<sup>22</sup> Recent communication from a fieldworker (H. Hammarström p.c.) reveals only 30 remaining fluent Mor speakers. He has begun fieldwork in this language, so it probably will not be least-documented for long.

<sup>23</sup> Hammarström (p.c. 8/2012) now thinks Lepki and Murkim may be related (possibly Kembra also); however, since both are ill-documented, they can remain on this list whether together or separate.

<sup>24</sup> Whalen and Simons also identify fifty language families which have gone extinct since 1950; none are located in Indonesia.

the Mombum language family, consisting of two languages, should be added.<sup>25</sup> The revised list of endangered language families in Indonesia is given in Table 4.

**Table 4:** Indonesian (Papuan) endangered language families

Family/Language	ISO code	EGIDS
Kembra	xkw	8b Nearly Extinct
Massep	mvs	8b Nearly Extinct
Mombum		
Koneraw	kdw	7 Shifting
Mombum	mso	8a Moribund
Mor	moq	8b Nearly Extinct
Marori	mok	8b Nearly Extinct
Usku	ulf	8a Moribund

The careful reader will notice that two languages, Mor [moq] and Usku/Afra [ulf], make both lists.<sup>26</sup>

Whether the focus is on *endangered* language families (Whalen & Simons 2012) or *least documented* language families (Hammarström 2010), both analyses place Papua at the center of the world's linguistic priority zones.

## 4 Summary

The picture being painted here is not materially different from those painted by Dixon (1991), Steinhauer (1994), Florey (2005), Wurm (2007) or Musgrave (c2008). Many Indonesian languages are in serious danger, the problem is worse in the east than the west, and documentation (among other things) is urgently needed. The use of the EGIDS schema for reporting vitality, and the Sustainable Use Model for Language Development (Lewis 2011), have the advantage of capturing a broad range of vitality statuses, from various stages of development to various levels of endangerment, and suggesting language development, documentation and revitalization efforts appropriate to each level. That this vitality information has been captured, language-by-language, in a database based on as broad a sample as possible, provides the beginning of an opportunity to both talk specifically about a large number of languages as well as do some statistical comparisons.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The five-language Nimboran language family gets 'honorably mention' in this table; four of the five are *Moribund* or worse, while the strongest member (Kemtuik [kmt]) is at *Threatened*, trending towards *Shifting*.

<sup>26</sup> Tanahmerah [tcm], a low-population isolate, might also deserve a place on the endangered language families list (it is already listed as a least-documented language family). Although its vitality is unknown, several factors would point to its substantial vulnerability: only 500 speakers were reported in 1978, and its location on the coast and natural gas operations in its territory could create quite a destabilizing environment.

<sup>27</sup> I understand the latest (2010) Indonesian census was intended to include questions about language use. Instead of listing just 8 languages plus "other" as in earlier censuses (Steinhauer 1994:758), the entire ISO 639-3 registry of Indonesian languages was evidently used to identify the languages being used. If and when this census dataset is published, it will immediately overshadow this report. But it remains to be seen how compatible the 2010 questions will be with the census questions of 1970-1990, or how well the questions were implemented in the census.

#### 4.1 Dealing with Widespread Language Shift

What can be done about widespread language shift in Indonesia? The first thing would be to continue to seek information on the vitality of Indonesian languages. As the picture becomes clearer, diagnosis can become more accurate as well. While the EGIDS does not capture every conceivable vitality scenario or nuance, it strikes a good balance between descriptiveness and ease of use and thus is a good framework for querying and reporting vitality on a macro scale.

A significant number of Indonesian languages now being lost (or assimilating linguistically to the point of changing their essential character) have no or very little documentation. At the minimum, (better) documentation can and should be undertaken in these areas. Given the level of language family-level diversity in Papua, Dixon's (1991) call to focus documentation efforts there still seems prudent. It is hoped that this work of determining EGIDS values can help point to the areas most in need of such documentation.<sup>28</sup>

For those interested in a more activist approach to preserving local languages, the classic in the field is Fishman's (1991) *Reversing Language Shift*. In the (eastern) Indonesian context, a good resource is Florey and Ewing's (2010) article on language revitalization in Maluku. Jumping over a mass of helpful literature, I would also like to point out Simons and Lewis' recent writings on *The Sustainable Use Model for Reversing Language Shift*.<sup>29</sup> What is the most realistic sustainable level for this language? Is *Sustainable Orality* (EGIDS 6a *Vigorous*) an option for a community? What conditions need to be in place that are not in place now? If *Sustainable Orality* is extremely unlikely, how may language communities achieve a 'soft landing' at *Sustainable Identity* (EGIDS 9 *Dormant*)?<sup>30</sup> What are the necessary FAMED conditions (defined by Lewis as *Functions, Acquisition, Motivation, Environment, and Distinct niche*) for language use to be possible at that EGIDS level?<sup>31</sup> It is worth pointing out that what is needed are essentially community decisions and actions; the best that outsiders can do is facilitate and link to resources.

Recalling the three 'portraits' from the introduction, is *sustainable identity* the best that can be hoped for within the Marori group of Papua, and other groups like it? What can the community do to find a sustainable level of language use? What can outsiders do to assist, as well as preserve the knowledge rapidly being lost? For Gorontalo and probably hundreds of other Indonesian groups which are teetering on the edge of *sustainable orality* or beginning the slip down to *sustainable identity*, what would it take to reverse the incipient shift? Are community members aware of the impact of their cumulative choices? Finally, will language development efforts succeed in meaningfully bringing other smaller Indonesian languages besides Una into the world of *sustainable literacy*?

What will Indonesia's language situation look like in twenty or fifty years? What kind of portraits will be painted? Although there will certainly be substantial loss, possibly of 10% of Indonesia's languages within the next two generations, may the overall portrait be

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<sup>28</sup> The EGIDS scale lends itself well to mapping vitality. The Nusantara EGIDS website contains a few Indonesian exemplars of this.

<sup>29</sup> See Lewis (2010) for the theoretical model and Lewis, Moody, and Rose (2011) for an application of this in a Malaysian context. A "Guide for Language Planning" is being developed as a tool for activists to work with language communities within the context of this model.

<sup>30</sup> A realistic 'soft landing' perspective was expressed by Steinhauer (1992:1473): "Scenarios to preserve the existing linguistic diversity – if imaginable at all – must be qualified as utopic. But the unavoidable shift to Indonesian should be made as fluent as possible and without causing loss of respect for one's original language."

<sup>31</sup> I suspect that many seemingly "vigorous" languages, in Papua if not also elsewhere, are actually missing the condition of *Motivation*, so when some other factor like environment changes, the visible vitality begins to quickly decline. Activists should not confuse motivation with inertia or convenience.

that of language communities who are able to pass their knowledge and values on to their children and grandchildren.

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**Appendix 1: Indonesia language vitality by the numbers, by region.**

	Un knownn	0 Int'l	1 Nat'l	3 LWC	4 Edu	5 Writt en	6a Vig	6b Thrt ened	7 Shift ing	8a Mori bund	8b Nrlly Extinct	9 Dor mant	10 Ex tinct	Total
<b>All Languages</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>725</b>
<b>Java Bali</b>	0	1	1	0	2	2	5	3	2	2	0	1	1	20
<b>Kalimantan</b>	29	0	0	5	0	14	10	14	1	1	0	1	0	75
<b>Maluku</b>	25	0	0	2	0	7	28	24	15	6	14	2	9	132
<b>Ns. Tenggara</b>	25	0	0	3	0	11	19	16	1	0	0	0	0	75
<b>Papua</b>	21	0	0	8	1	34	70	59	41	20	13	3	6	276
<b>Sulawesi</b>	4	0	0	2	0	16	22	36	22	8	3	0	0	113
<b>Sumatra</b>	2	0	0	2	0	9	8	12	1	0	0	0	0	34

**Appendix 2: List of *Moribund*, *Nearly Extinct*, *Dormant* and *Extinct* Indonesian languages (database as of February 2013)**

Region	Language	ISO	Reliability	Source
<b>EGIDS 8a</b>	<b>Moribund</b>			
Java	Chinese, Min Dong	<u>cdo</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	A. Dawis p.c. 11/2011
Java	Chinese, Yue <sup>32</sup>	<u>yue</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	A. Dawis p.c. 11/2011
Kalimantan	Paku	<u>pku</u>	1 Best Guess Only	Steinhauer 1994
Maluku	Benggoi	<u>bgy</u>	1 Best Guess Only	M. Connor p.c. 4/2011
Maluku	Haruku	<u>hrk</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	J. Richards p.c. 4/2011
Maluku	Masela, Central	<u>mxz</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	M. Connor p.c. 4/2011
Maluku	Masela, East	<u>vme</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	M. Connor p.c. 4/2011
Maluku	Saparua	<u>spr</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	M. Connor p.c. 4/2011
Maluku	Serili	<u>sve</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	M. Connor p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Awyi	<u>auw</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Bonggo	<u>bpg</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	(Ethnologue)
Papua	Dineor	<u>mrx</u>	1 Best Guess Only	(Ethnologue)
Papua	Fedan	<u>pdn</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Gresi	<u>grs</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Karas	<u>kgv</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)
Papua	Kaure	<u>bpp</u>	1 Best Guess Only	J. Menanti p.c. 2/2011
Papua	Liki	<u>lio</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011

<sup>32</sup> Min Dong and Yue are claimed to be moribund in Indonesia, not necessarily elsewhere.

Papua	Mekwei	<u>msf</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Mombum	<u>mso</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Nafri	<u>nxx</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Sowari	<u>dmy</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Suabo (Inanwatan)	<u>szp</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	L. de Vries p.c. 12/2012
Papua	Tabla	<u>tnm</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Tarpia	<u>tpf</u>	3 Fieldwork	UNESCO
Papua	Towei	<u>ttn</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Usku	<u>ulf</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Viid	<u>snu</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Yelmek	<u>jel</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Sulawesi	Bantik	<u>bnq</u>	3 Fieldwork	Florey 2006
Sulawesi	Baras	<u>brs</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	Mead 2013
Sulawesi	Budong- Budong	<u>bdx</u>	1 Best Guess Only	Mead 2013
Sulawesi	Lemolang	<u>ley</u>	1 Best Guess Only	Vail 1991:91 via D. Mead p.c. 3/2011
Sulawesi	Liabuku	<u>lix</u>	3 Fieldwork	Berg via D. Mead p.c. 3/2011
Sulawesi	Ponosakan	<u>pns</u>	3 Fieldwork	Mead 2013
Sulawesi	Tomadino	<u>tdi</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	Mead 2013
Sulawesi	Topoiyo	<u>toy</u>	3 Fieldwork	Mead 2013
<b>EGIDS 8b Nearly Extinct</b>				
Maluku	Amahai	<u>amq</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)
Maluku	Aputai	<u>apx</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)
Maluku	Elpaputih	<u>elp</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	(Ethnologue)
Maluku	Emplawas	<u>emw</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)
Maluku	Hoti	<u>hti</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)
Maluku	Hulung	<u>huk</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)
N. Maluku	Ibu	<u>ibu</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)
Maluku	Kaibobo	<u>kzb</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	Y. Taguchi p.c. 4/2011
Maluku	Kamarian	<u>kzx</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)
N. Maluku	Malay, Bacanese	<u>btj</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	J. Bowden p.c. 6/2012
Maluku	Nusa Laut	<u>nul</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)
Maluku	Paulohi	<u>plh</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	Taber 1996
Maluku	Piru	<u>ppr</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)
Maluku	Salas	<u>sgu</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	M. Connor p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Kanum,	<u>khd</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)

	Bädi			
Papua	Kayupulau	<u>kzu</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Kembra	<u>xkw</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)
Papua	Kwerisa	<u>kkb</u>	1 Best Guess Only	(Ethnologue)
Papua	Mander	<u>mqr</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)
Papua	Masimasi	<u>ism</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Massep	<u>mvs</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	(Ethnologue)
Papua	Mlap	<u>kja</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Marori	<u>mok</u>	3 Fieldwork	Arka forthcoming
Papua	Mor	<u>moq</u>	3 Fieldwork	H. Hammarström p.c. 8/2012
Papua	Namla	<u>naa</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Tobati	<u>tti</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Woria	<u>wor</u>	1 Best Guess Only	Jones 1987, 8
Sulawesi	Lolak	<u>llq</u>	1 Best Guess Only	Mead 2013
Sulawesi	Ratahan	<u>rth</u>	3 Fieldwork	Mead 2013
Sulawesi	Taje	<u>pee</u>	1 Best Guess Only	Mead 2013

**EGIDS 9 Dormant**

Java	Javindo	<u>jvd</u>	1 Best Guess Only	(Ethnologue)
Kalimantan	Lengilu	<u>lgi</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)
Maluku	Hukumina	<u>hrr</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	Grimes 2000
Maluku	Kayeli	<u>kzl</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	Grimes 2000
Papua	Dusner	<u>dsn</u>	3 Fieldwork	J. Menanti p.c. 2/2011
Papua	Narau	<u>nxu</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Tandia	<u>tni</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011

**EGIDS 10 Extinct**

Java	Petjo	<u>pey</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	Amade 1997, 364
Maluku	Horuru	<u>huw</u>	1 Best Guess Only	M. Connor p.c. 4/2011
Maluku	Loun	<u>lox</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	M. Connor p.c. 4/2011
Maluku	Moksela	<u>vms</u>	3 Fieldwork	Grimes 2000
Maluku	Naka'ela	<u>nae</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	M. Connor p.c. 4/2011
Maluku	Nila	<u>nil</u>	3 Fieldwork	Engelenhoven 2010
Maluku	Palumata	<u>pmc</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	Grimes 2000
Maluku	Serua	<u>srw</u>	3 Fieldwork	Engelenhoven 2010
N. Maluku	Ternateño	<u>tmg</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	(Ethnologue)
Maluku	Te'un	<u>tve</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	Engelenhoven 2010
Papua	Burumakok	<u>aip</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	PJ de Vries p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Duriankere	<u>dbn</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	Vries 2004
Papua	Itik	<u>itx</u>	2 Other Reliable Sources	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 4/2011
Papua	Kofei	<u>kpi</u>	3 Fieldwork	J. Menanti p.c. 2/2011

Papua	Mapia	<u>mpy</u>	Ethnologue Calculation	(Ethnologue)
Papua	Saponi	<u>spi</u>	3 Fieldwork	SIL Papua survey team p.c. 8/2012

# 3 *Predicting the ethnolinguistic vitality of an endangered Philippine language: The case of three Batak communities in Palawan*

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TERESITA D. TAJOLOSA

## 1 Introduction

Palawan, the fifth largest island in the country, is home to a few of the Philippines' endangered languages. One of these is Batak, one of the 32 Negrito languages listed in Headland (2003) and identified as endangered (p. 9). Eder (1993), an American anthropologist who studied the Batak community for fifteen years, concluded that the Batak is a "disappearing tribe." Eder's personal census identified 272 with two Batak parents and 374 with one Batak parent (1987, p. 110). Novellino's (2005) provisional census found only 155 individuals with two Batak parents, indicating a 57% decline in the Batak core population within 33 years from the time Eder conducted his census. As of 2000, the Batak population, according to the City Planning Office (City of Puerto Princesa) was 293, with 149 males and 144 females. A more recent figure based on the 2010 census is 416 Batak, but this figure includes the children of mixed marriages between a Batak and another ethnic group.

It was twenty two years ago when Krauss (1992) predicted that only 600 languages of the 6,809 languages in the world will survive in the next century. With only 10% of these languages spoken by 90% of the world's population, it is highly likely that 90% of the languages that are minority languages will die by 2100, according to Romaine (1989). Radical estimates assume that as many as twenty languages will die every two months. Although there is still debate among linguists as regards the rate of language attrition, it is nevertheless a fact that people's languages are fading.

Krauss (1992), one of the most cited linguists of the world, made a four-way classification of language vitality: (1) *Extinct languages* are those that are no longer spoken; (2) *Moribund languages* are those that are no longer being learned by children as a mother-tongue; (3) *Safe languages* are those that will continue to be spoken into the indefinite future due to large numbers of speakers and/or official state support; and (4) *Endangered languages* are those languages which do not fall under the other three categories and "will—if the present conditions continue—cease to be learned by children during the coming century" (p. 6).

The present study however, adopted Whaley's (2003) reclassification of two of Krauss' (1992) categories. The first is a subdivision of the category *Moribund languages*, i.e., those

which are not being learned by children as a mother tongue versus nearly extinct languages, which are those that lack a speech community. That is, they are not being used by anyone on a regular basis. With the first subcategory, Whaley believes that the language could conceivably survive if there were a substantial shift in attitudes about the desirability of transmitting the language to children. However, with the second subcategory, the nearly extinct languages, Whaley maintains that long-term survival is almost inconceivable.

Aside from the ‘*Moribund*’ languages category, the ‘*endangered languages*’ category was also subdivided into (1) ‘at risk’ and (2) ‘disappearing.’ By at risk, Whaley (2003) means a situation for which ‘a language is in a relatively stable situation in a bilingual/multilingual community where it is spoken but threats to language maintenance are present. By disappearing language, Whaley means one for which ‘there is an observable shift to another language in most or all of the communities where it is spoken (p. 966).’ That, according to him, does not mean that children are not learning the language, but only an increasingly small percentage of children are.

Giles, Bourhis and Rosenthal (1977) define ethnolinguistic vitality as “...that which makes a [linguistic] group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations... (p. 308). They assert that “[e]thnolinguistic minorities that have little or no group vitality...eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups (1977, p. 308). On the contrary, when a group’s distinctive identity flourishes, it will have higher ethnolinguistic vitality, and its members will be more likely to maintain their competence in the use of their ethnic language.

Factors determining ethnolinguistic vitality can be classified into three kinds: (1) sociological factors, (2) socio-psychological factors, and (3) psychological factors. Although some dominant factors affecting language vitality in a speech community have been highlighted in previous studies, the interaction of these three groups of factors have been recognized.

The present study aimed to examine the ethnolinguistic vitality of three Batak communities and predict whether language maintenance or shift will prevail. Specifically, this research purported to answer the following questions:

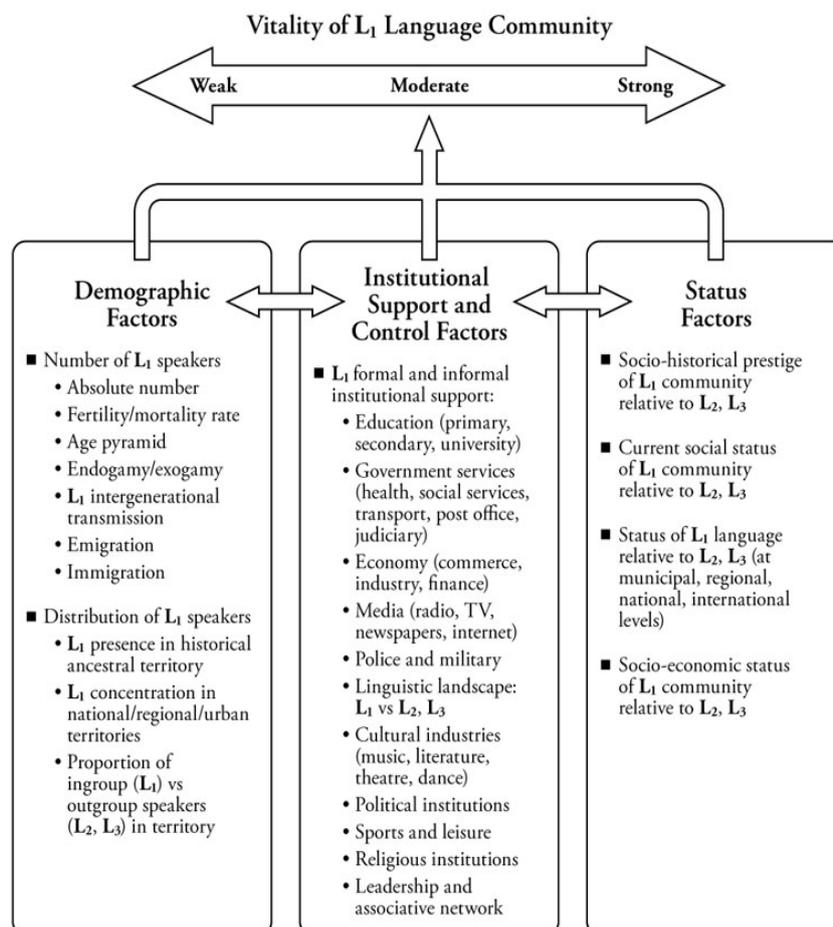
1. What sociological factors influence the language behavior of individuals, in Sitio Riyandakan, Sitio Kalakuan, and Sitio Mangapin in terms of the following:
  - a. Demographic factors
  - b. Political factors
  - c. Economic factors
  - d. Cultural factors
  
2. What is the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of the Batak, Tagbanua and Cuyonon languages in each of the three Batak communities?
  - a. Sitio Riyandakan
  - b. Sitio Kalakuan, and
  - c. Sitio Mangapin
  
3. Which among the following variables is/are correlates and predictors of language attitude, language use and actual language proficiency?
  - a. age
  - b. sex
  - c. birthplace
  - d. occupation
  - e. educational attainment

- f. first language
- g. interpersonal network of linguistic contacts (INLC)
- h. beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality
- i. ethnic identity
- j. language attitude and language use
- h. reported language proficiency
- i. actual language proficiency

4. What is the nature and direction of language change in selected lexical and grammatical morphemes?

### 1.1 Theoretical framework

This study draws on the social identity theory developed by Tajfel and Turner (1986), Giles, Bourhis and Taylor's (1977) theory of ethnolinguistic vitality and Allard and Landry's (1987) macroscopic model of bilingualism. Giles, et al. originally viewed their Ethnolinguistic Vitality concept as a theoretical framework for analyzing the sociological factors influencing intergroup relations among different ethnolinguistic groups within a contact situation. One prominent model that broadly covers the three dimensions of bilingual/multilingual development in analyzing a language situation is the ethnolinguistic vitality model. The model below illustrates the sociological factors defining the objective ethnolinguistic vitality.



**Figure 1** Taxonomy of sociological factors affecting the vitality of language community L1 in contact with language communities L2 and L3. (Adapted from Bourhis, 2001)

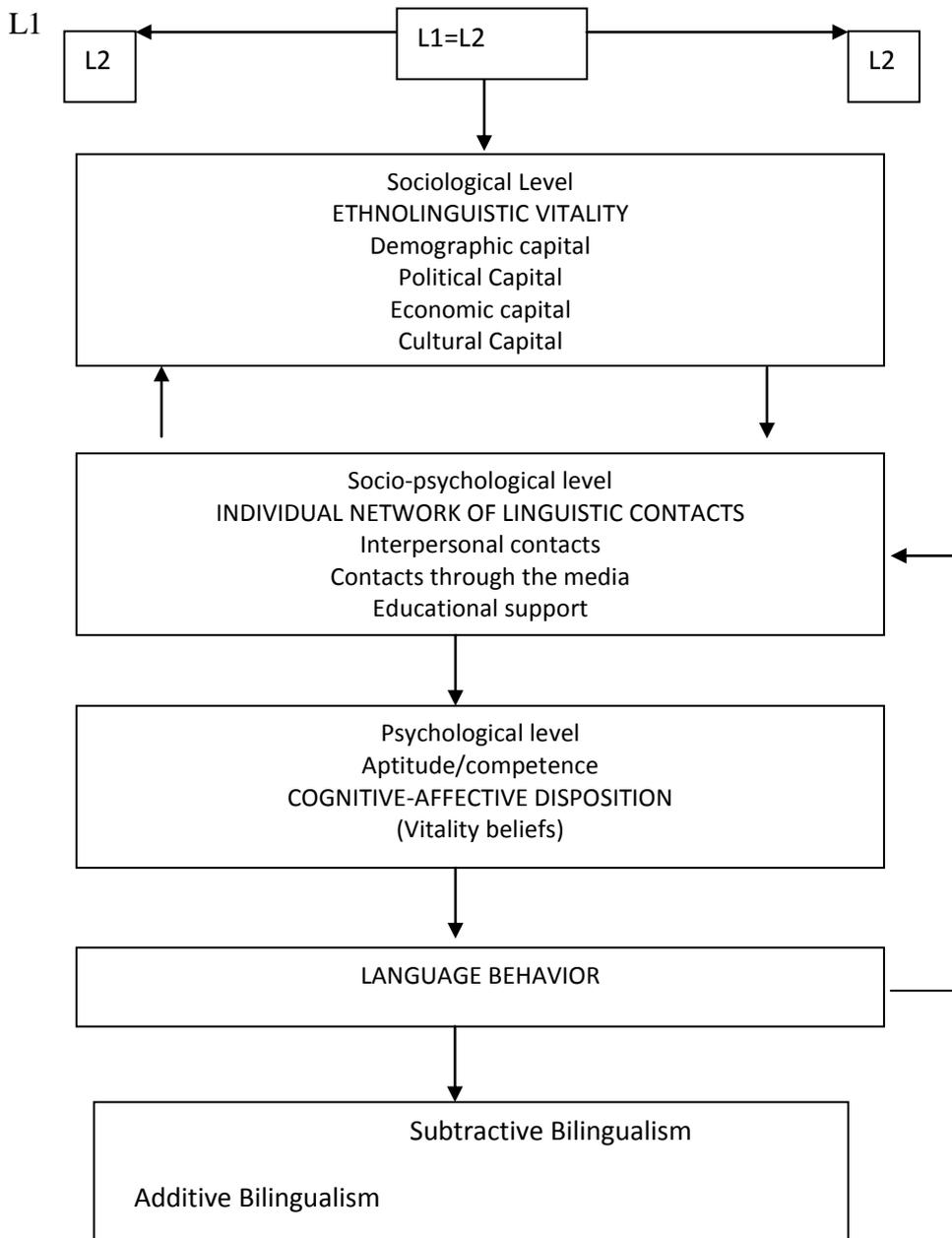
The objective language vitality model consists of three major components, namely, (1) the demographic variables, (2) institutional support and (3) social status. The first component of ethnolinguistic vitality – the demographic variables – are those related to the absolute number of members composing the language group and their distribution throughout the urban, rural or regional territory. The number factors are usually determined by the following linguistic indicators: (a) L1 as the mother tongue of community speakers, (b) knowledge of the first (L1) or second (L2) language, and (c) L1 and/or L2 language use in private settings such as the home and with friends. Number factors refer to the language community's absolute group numbers, its birth rate, mortality rate, age pyramid, endogamy/exogamy, and its pattern of immigration into and emigration out of their ancestral territory. Distribution factors refer to the numeric concentration of speakers in various parts of the territory, their proportion relative to outgroup speakers, and whether or not the language community still occupies its ancestral territory. Taken together, the demographic indicators can be used to monitor demolinguistic trends, such as language maintenance, language shift, language loss, and intergenerational transmission of the L1 mother tongue.

The second component of the framework, institutional support is defined as the degree of control a group has over its own fate relative to co-existing linguistic outgroups (Sachdev & Bourhis, 2001, 2005). Institutional control is the dimension of vitality needed by language groups to maintain and assert their presence within state and private institutions, such as education, the mass media, local government, health care, the judicial system, commerce and business. Institutional support is related to the concept of “institutional completeness” originally developed by Breton (1964, 2005).

The third major component refers to the social status variables which are related to a language community's socio-cultural status within the state (e.g. funding agencies), its current status as a dynamic, culturally and economically vibrant community, and the prestige of the language and culture locally, nationally and internationally. The higher the status ascribed to a language community, the more vitality it is likely to possess (Bourhis, Giles & Rosenthal, 1981).

### **1.1.1. The macroscopic model of bilingualism**

Landry and Allard (1987) proposed a macroscopic model in order to explain the bilingual development of minority group members in an intergroup setting. Based on Lambert's (1975) conception of subtractive bilingualism, Landry and Allard (1987) argue that the language behavior of the members of a minority group in various settings indicates the probability of their language survival. Figure 2 illustrates Landry's and Allard (1987) Macroscopic Model of Bilingualism/Multilingualism.



**Figure 2** The Macroscopic Model of Bilingualism (Landry & Allard 1987, p. 527)

1. The Sociological Level

The sociological level refers to the degree of ethnolinguistic vitality minority group has, defined along the lines of Giles, et al (1977) as the degree to which a group is likely to behave as an active and distinct collective entity under certain circumstances. However, for empirical and conceptual reasons, the sociological factors defining vitality are grounded using the notion of “capital” as used by Bourdieu (1982, 1991, in Knooihuizen, R. (2008)). Thus, the ethnolinguistic vitality of a community can be assessed by the analysis of four types of social capital: demographic, economic, political, and cultural. Demographic capital is parallel to the demographic factors in Giles, Bourhis & Rosenthal’s (1977) model and includes the same variables mentioned earlier. Economic capital can be estimated by the quantification of economic resources and includes variables such as control and ownership of industry and commerce, occupation, salary, unemployment, and language of work. Political capital can be analyzed by focusing on various indices of political power,

such as the number and the power status of members of the community within the political structure of society, language rights and use of language in government services. Cultural capital can be determined by variables such as the degree of educational support, mass media services, cultural resources, and activities within the community (Landry & Allard, 1994). Without a minimum amount of ethnolinguistic vitality, that is, capital, a linguistic community cannot survive as an active and distinct entity (Giles, Bourhis and Rosenthal, 1977), and is likely to follow the pattern of language shift. Linguists have realized, however, that the objective assessment of language vitality, although important, is not sufficient to determine the total vitality of the language; hence, the creation of a complementary component, the subjective perception of vitality. For assessing the vitality of a language solely on the basis of such 'objective', non-psychological factors is, according to Giles, Leets & Coupland (1990, cited in Sachdev & Hanlon, 2001), ignoring the significance of language survival "being effected through the minds and acts of individuals" (p.70). This notion justifies the development of the notion of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality.

## 2. The socio-psychological level

The ethnolinguistic vitality, i.e., the degree of demographic, political, economic, and cultural power or capital of each ethnolinguistic group, provides a social setting that will largely determine, at the socio-psychological level, the quantity and the quality of the opportunities for linguistic contact in L1 and L2. At this level, the model identifies the individual's network of linguistic and social contacts (INLC) that permit the development of competencies in the first and second language.

These opportunities of social and linguistic contacts can be analyzed according to three different perspectives: (1) by dividing the social network into three sub-networks of : a mother tongue network (L1), a second language network (L2), a third language network (L3) and a mixed network in which two or three languages can be used; (2) by looking at different types of opportunities for linguistic contact: interpersonal contacts, contacts through the media, educational support; and(3) by examining four important domains: family, school, work and religion.

## 3. The psychological level

On the psychological level, the model identifies two main factors that determine people's individual's language behavior in the bilingual/multilingual context: the individual's language aptitude-competence and their cognitive-affective disposition towards L1, L2 or even L3. The first factor refers to the ability to learn and use both languages. The second factor refers to willingness to use and/or learn the L1, L2 and/or L3 based on people's beliefs, attitudes and perceptions towards the languages and minority/majority groups. The model proposes that the cognitive-affective disposition of people towards the language can be conceptualized and effectively measured as people's "subjective ethnolinguistic vitality" (Bourhis, Giles & Rosenthal, 1981).

Then in 1987, Allard and Landry developed the Beliefs on Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ), to provide a more comprehensive way of predicting language behavior. The model of belief systems was based on the cognitive orientation model of human behavior developed by Kreiter and Kreiter (1972, 1976, in Lenk 2007), who organized it into four basic types of beliefs, namely, (1) general or factual (is, is not); (2) about self (I am, I am not); (3) normative (about norms and rules, should, should not); (4) about goals (I want, I don't want). Allard and Landry further developed these four categories of beliefs into eight different subgroups (Figure 1) of beliefs pertaining to ethnolinguistic vitality. For the purpose of clarity, the present study will consistently use

the term ‘factors’ throughout the study to refer to the sociological variables determining language vitality.

Both the sociological and socio-psychological levels reciprocally affect one another and in turn affect the third level, i.e. the psychological level.

## **2 Methodology**

### **2.1 Participants**

The Batak population, according to the latest survey of Puerto Princesa City Planning Office as of 2010, is 416. The figure refers not only to the ‘core’ Batak speakers but also to the children of a marriage between a Batak and a member of another ethnic group. The respondents consisted of 121 Batak speakers. Of the 120 estimated population in Kalakuasan, 74 became respondents, constituting 62 percent of the population. Riyandakan, on the other hand, has an estimated population of only 49. The 25 respondents therefore constitute 51 percent of the total inhabitants. Mangapin has 50 respondents constituting 67 percent of the estimated 75-member population in the community. Sampling was not possible since the figures given in the three communities represented only the number of households. The office of the Barangay Chairman who has jurisdiction over each of the three communities bears no record of the total number of males and females across ages. The researcher therefore decided to get at least 60%-75% of the total population of adults and the same percentage of the young to ensure that the population would be represented. For better results, all the speakers present during the visits were interviewed and observed.

The participants were classified into four age groups based on people’s common perceptions of age, namely, (1) “children” composed of 17 years old and below, (2) “young adults” as between 18 and 30, (3) “middle aged” as from 31 to 50 and (4) “old” as over 50 years old. These groupings along with male/female division, education, occupation and L1 and L2 were the primary social variables considered in the samples. Aside from the researcher, two research assistants who were personally trained by the researcher assisted in the gathering of data. Observation of the Batak inhabitants’ actual language use and informal interviews were deemed significant in determining the objective vitality of Batak language.

### **2.2 The Research Areas**

Sitio Kalakuasan in Barangay Tanabag is home to 31 Batak households, most of whom have two Batak parents. This Batak community is five to six kilometers away from the national highway and is at least one and a half-hours walk from the highway. One has to make ten river crossings to reach the Batak settlement although during summer, it is accessible through shuttle buses. Kalakuasan River with its deep and clean waters is a favorite tourist destination for foreigners. The researcher observed that Batak is the language of the home and neighborhood, and children use Batak with peers in conversations and at play. The researcher surveyed the Batak who were around when she visited the area and found that at least six adults have one Tagbanua parent.

Sitio Riyandakan is approximately 6.5 kilometers from Barangay Maoyon proper, and one has to make twenty river crossings to reach Riyandakan. It was noted that all the thirteen families consist of a Batak and partner from another ethnic group, most of whom are Tagbanua.

Sitio Mangapin in Barangay Langogan can be reached by taking a motorcycle from the national highway to Sitio Macandring. Sitio Macandring is nine kilometers away from the Langogan proper. From Macandring, one has to make a five-kilometer walk with four river crossings to reach Mangapin. This Batak community has around twenty households, but according to the local leader and elders of the community, there are only twenty adult Batak, fourteen of whom are married. Of these fourteen, twelve are married to a spouse from another ethnic group.

### **2.3 Research Instruments**

The study employed three research tools: (1) observations of ingroup's language behavior; (2) guided interviews for the following questionnaires: (a) personal profiles, (b) reported language use and language ability, (c) Allard and Landry's (1992) Interpersonal Network of Linguistic Contacts (INLC), (d) the Beliefs in Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ), and (3) language tests such as the lexical ability and sentence translation test adapted from Kobari (2009) and the actual language proficiency test adapted from Quakenbush (1989) to analyze possible lexical and morphological changes in the speakers' language.

## **3 Results and Discussions**

### **3.1 Sociological factors affecting ethnolinguistic vitality**

The Batak of all three localities are highly multilingual. Most adults met by the researcher have an impressive command not only of Batak but also of Tagalog and an active or passive skill in either Tagbanua or Cuyonon. Children and adults in the three areas generally use Batak in more domains of communication in the community. Analysis of qualitative data derived from sociological factors in the three Batak communities points to some important facts about the objective vitality of Batak. Employing the three-fold classification of vitality, *high*, *medium* and *low*, the present study can appropriately describe Batak vitality in Kalakuasan to be *high*. Sociological factors which are not favorable for language maintenance were present such as small population, low birth rate, little institutional support, relatively weak social network, low group status and poor economic status. However, positive factors such as high concentration of speakers, high rate of endogamy, low migration rate, medium support from religious and charitable institutions, marginal access of the area during rainy days and more domains for Batak language use balance the effects of the negative factors. Taking Whaley's (2003) reclassification of Krauss' (1992) description of 'endangered languages', the Batak language is no doubt an endangered language, but not (yet) moribund.

Based on observation, Riyandakan and Mangapin can both be classified as having 'weak' objective vitality since there are more sociological factors not favoring language maintenance. Demographic factors (small population and low birth rate for Riyandakan, high rate of migration and exogamy, relatively few domains for Batak language use, relatively weak social network and poor economic and social status) and institutional support (very little support from local institutions) contribute to this weak vitality. Among the factors mentioned, it is the high rates of migration and exogamy that pose the greatest threats to language maintenance. The situation in Riyandakan and Mangapin is worsened by the destruction of their rivers which may result in relocation of the inhabitants in the future.

## **3.2 Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality**

### **3.2.1 Speakers' Beliefs in Batak, Tagbanua and Cuyonon Ethnolinguistic Vitality**

For the beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality and its relationship to language use, the first question that needed to be answered was "What is the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Batak, Tagbanua and Cuyonon languages in the three Batak communities"? Literature on language maintenance and shift has established at varying degrees the effects of socio-psychological and psychological factors governing language vitality. As opposed to sociological factors governing language vitality, speakers' beliefs about these socio-psychological factors and their perception of their group and their knowledge of their goals and personal beliefs about life, constitute the subjective vitality. The subjective ethnolinguistic vitality therefore reflects speakers' identity as individuals and as a collective group.

To assess this subjective vitality of a particular language in a community of speakers, Landry and Allard's (1987) developed the Beliefs in Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (BEVQ). The questionnaire consists of eight sections representing the eight cognitive orientation beliefs and beliefs on ethnolinguistic vitality, namely: (1) The Present Resources of Batak in the Community; (2) The Future Resources of the Language in the Community; (3) Legitimate Vitality (What Would Be Just and Fair in This Community); (4) Social Models (The Present Behavior of My Friends in This Community); (5) Valorization (What You Consider to be Important); (6) Goals (What I Want To Do Or be Able To Do in This Community); (7) What I Am Capable of Doing; and (8) Ethnic Identity (My Feelings of Belongingness). The first two sections and the fourth section represent the general or factual beliefs (what is, is not); the third section represents the normative beliefs (what should, should not be); the fifth, seventh and eighth sections represent personal beliefs (what I am, I am not); and the sixth section represents goals and desires of the speaker (what I want, I don't want). Owing to differences in the realities of respondents in Allard and Landry's study and that of the Batak, the content of the BEVQ was modified to suit the Batak context.

During the pretesting of the BEVQ, it was found that interviews would last from an hour to one and a half. It was also found that children who are below 18 years old could not sustain long interviews such as the BEVQ. Besides, most items in the BEVQ seemed abstract to them. It was decided therefore, that such questionnaires would only be administered to those 18 years old and above in the three sites of study. Each section of the BEVQ administered to the Batak is composed of 12 items, like the original questionnaire, and the subject addressed in item number one in the first section is the same subject addressed in the number one item of the remaining sections of the questionnaire. This section presents the results of the BEVQ administered to the Batak respondents. Tables 1 to 3 present the quantitative results.

**Table 1:** Mean Scores for the Batak Vitality Perception by Batak Speakers

<b>Sections of the BEVQ</b>	<b>Batak Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Kalakuasan</b>	<b>Batak Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Riyandakan</b>	<b>Batak Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Mangapin</b>
Present vitality	3.89	3.14	3.27
Future vitality	3.74	3.03	3.20
Legitimate vitality	3.91	3.43	3.72
Social Model	4.10	4.03	3.70
Valorization	4.01	3.46	3.89
Goals and desires	3.91	3.46	3.71
Personal Efficacy	3.58	3.18	3.50
Ethnic identity/ Belongingness	4.95	4.71	4.90
<b>Total mean Scores</b>	<b>3.99</b>	<b>3.56</b>	<b>3.75</b>

Analysis of responses in the BEVQ revealed that Kalakuasan has a strong ethnolinguistic vitality (3.9941), followed by Mangapin and Riyandakan with moderately strong vitality. A comparison between the objective vitality positions of the three locations and the speakers' perceptions of the linguistic vitality of their own community, indicates a mismatch between the objective and the subjective vitality of Riyandakan and Mangapin. It should be recalled that the objective vitality of these two areas were considered weak but the Batak inhabitants themselves perceive the Batak language vitality to be strong. These findings suggest that sociological factors in the community do not necessarily predict speakers' beliefs in the ethnolinguistic vitality of their community.

Table 2 reports the mean scores for Tagbanua vitality perceptions by Batak speakers.

**Table 2:** Mean Scores for the Tagbanua Vitality Perception by Batak Speakers

<b>Sections of the BEVQ</b>	<b>Tagbanua Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Kalakuasan</b>		<b>Tagbanua Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Riyandakan</b>		<b>Tagbanua Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Mangapin</b>	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
Present vitality	45	2.15	15	2.38	29	2.52
Future vitality	45	2.34	15	2.7	29	2.53
Legitimate vitality	45	2.21	15	2.6	29	2.3
Social Model	45	1.48	15	1.7	29	1.0
Valorization	45	2.31	15	2.3	29	3.0
Goals and desires	45	1.72	15	1.99	29	2.2
Personal Efficacy	45	1.75	15	2.2	29	2.0
Ethnic identity/ Belongingness	45	1.0	15	1.0	29	1.0
<b>Total Mean Scores</b>	45	<b>1.85</b>	15	<b>2.1</b>	29	<b>2.0</b>

As shown in Table 2, it is in the Social Model Section and Ethnic Identity/Belongingness Section that Tagbanua language vitality is rated the lowest. This suggests that the Batak have not established a strong network with Tagbanua speakers and neither

do they identify with the Tagbanua ethnic group. Although Batak speakers may establish strong networks with both Batak and Tagbanua, it is rare that they identify with the Tagbanua ethnic group. Except in Mangapin where Valorization has a mean score of 3.0, all the other mean scores are below 2.7, which signify low vitality perception. Overall, it can be derived that Batak speakers perceive the Tagbanua vitality in their respective locality to be weak.

**Table 3:** Mean Scores for the Cuyonon Vitality Perception by Batak Speakers

<b>Sections of the BEVQ</b>	<b>Cuyonon Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Kalakuasan</b>		<b>Cuyonon Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Riyandakan</b>		<b>Cuyonon Ethnolinguistic Vitality in Mangapin</b>	
Present vitality	45	2.6	15	2.5	29	2.6
Future vitality	45	2.2	15	2.8	29	2.7
Legitimate vitality	45	2.3	15	2.5	29	2.5
Social Model	45	1.54	15	1.8	29	1.0
Valorization	45	1.0	15	2.3	29	3.3
Goals and desires	45	1.5	15	2	29	2.2
Personal Efficacy	45	1.6	15	2.2	29	1.9
Ethnic identity/ Belongingness	45	1.1	15	1.0	29	1.1
<b>Total Mean Scores</b>	45	<b>1.7</b>	15	<b>2.1</b>	29	<b>2.2</b>

As shown in Table 3, it is in Present vitality (Section 1) and Future vitality where the Cuyonon language was given by participants the rating of more than 2.0, which by itself is a low rating. It can be noted too that the lowest ratings of below 2.0 were given for the Social Model (Section 4) and Belongingness (Section 7) sections in all the three locations. Overall, it is in Kalakuasan where Cuyonon vitality is very weak (1.7) while it is relatively weak in Riyandakan (2.1) and Mangapin (2.2).

**Table 4:** Summary of Mean Scores for the Three Languages in the Three Batak Communities

	<b>Kalakuasan</b>	<b>Riyandakan</b>	<b>Mangapin</b>
Batak ethnolinguistic vitality perception	3.99	3.56	3.75
Tagbanua ethnolinguistic vitality perception	1.85	2.1	2.0
Cuyonon ethnolinguistic vitality perception	1.7	2.1	2.2

It can be derived from Table 4 that the Batak language has the highest ethnolinguistic vitality in the three locations, followed by Cuyonon, and Tagbanua. The figures indicate that all three areas have strong Batak ethnolinguistic vitality and low Tagbanua and Cuyonon ethnolinguistic vitality. This implies that the high presence of Tagbanua and Cuyonon migrants in Riyandakan and Mangapin will not necessarily lead the Batak to acculturate.

### 3.3 Correlation Analyses

This section discusses the relationships among variables in the study. The first step in the analyses was to determine the correlations between the independent and dependent variables. Initial correlation computations showed the strong influence of the age variable

on other variables. Therefore, Pearson zero-order correlations and partial correlations controlling for the potential relationship of age with other independent variables under study were calculated. Furthermore, the age variable was controlled in the analyses to determine the extent to which language use and language attitude can be predicted by other factors besides age. It was necessary to calculate partial correlations controlling the effect of age to eliminate the effect of this variable by removing the proportion of overlap between language use and the variable in question, thereby revealing the ‘true correlation’ between language use and the variable examined.

The following discussion deals with the summary of results of correlation analyses conducted on the language use variables in the study. This section presents in tabular form the summary of the zero-order and partial correlations of the demographic variables.

### 3.3.1 Correlation Analyses of Language Use Variables

Tables 5 to 7 present the socio-psychological and psychological variables tested for correlation in Kalukuasan, Riyandakan and Mangapin.

**Table 5:** Language Use Variables in Kalukuasan

Variable	Zero-order Pearson Cor	Level of Significance	Partial –order Pearson Cor.	Level of significance
1. Age	.085	.517	Control variable	
2. Sex	-.161	.218	-.179	.57
3. Birthplace	.234	.58	.221	.57
4. Occupation	-.124	.345	-.137	.301
5. Education	.291	.024*	.285	.029*
6. First language	constant		constant	
7. Reported language proficiency	-.110	.401	-.108	.414
8. Actual language proficiency	.268	.039*	.255	.051
9. Language attitude	.278	.032*	.280	.032*
10. Interpersonal network of linguistic contacts	-.268	.027*	-.288	.027*
11. Beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality	-.177	.276	-.174	.290
12. Ethnic identity	.517	.001*	-.522	.001*

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 (2-tailed)

\*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 (2-tailed)

As shown in Table 5, only four out of the twelve variables tested were found to correlate significantly with language use. These are education, actual language proficiency, language attitude and ethnic identity. Contrary to previous findings, age did not correlate significantly with language use. This may be due to the fact that there is lack of variety in Batak responses to language use. The significant correlation between education and language use implies the tendency for respondents who had formal education to use the Batak language less than those who did not have formal education at all. The significant correlation between actual language proficiency and language use implies that the more proficient speakers are, the more chances that they will use the Batak language. The

significant correlation between language attitude and language use implies that speakers who express a positive attitude toward the Batak language are more likely to use the Batak language than those who have a negative attitude toward the language. Finally, the significant correlation between ethnic identity and language use implies that speakers who identify themselves as members of the language group will more likely use the language than speakers who no longer identify themselves as members of the language community.

**Table 6:** Language Use Variables in Riyandakan

Variable	Zero-order Pearson Correlation	Level of Significance	Partial- order Pearson Correlation	Level of Significance
1. Age	.611	.001	control variable	
2. Sex	-.034	.895	-.062	.813
3. Birthplace	.521*	.027	.515*	.034
4. Occupation	-.260	.298	.461*	.020
5. Education	.140	.579	.227	.381
6. First language	.495*	.037	.517*	.034
7. Reported language proficiency	-.705	.762	-.063	.811
8. Actual language proficiency	.689**	.002	.764**	.000
9. Language attitude	.705**	.001	.702**	.002
10. Interpersonal network of linguistic contacts	.455*	.044	.607*	.005
11. Beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality	-.109	.666	.164	.485
12. Ethnic identity	-.121	.633	.169	.475

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 (2-tailed)

\*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 (2-tailed)

Table 6 shows the zero-order correlations and partial-order correlation results for the language use variables. Aside from the age variable, the same set of significant variables are produced by zero-order and partial order Pearson correlation computations, namely (1) birthplace, (2) occupation, (3) first language, (4) actual language proficiency, (5) language attitude and (6) interpersonal network of linguistic contacts.

The positive correlation between *birthplace* and *language use* implies that the original inhabitants of the community or those who are born there are more likely to use the language. The existence of *occupation* as a significant variable implies that persons who are more attached to their traditional means of livelihood (i.e. gathering almaciga and honey), are more likely to use the Batak language more often. According to the men interviewed, Batak is the language of work. Besides, since men's work is attached to *age*, those who gather almaciga often come from the young adult to middle-aged group who speak the Batak language very well. As a correlate of *language use*, *first language* implies that inhabitants of the community whose first language is Batak are more likely to use the language. *Age*, *social network* and *language attitude* have been established as correlates of *language use* in previous literature on endangered languages. The present findings

therefore, in the present study, confirm previous findings as regards relationships among variables..

### 3.4 Correlation Analyses of Language Use Variables in Mangapin

Table 7 presents the language use variables and their correlation scores.

**Table 7:** Language Use Variables in Mangapin

Variable	Zero-order Pearson Correlation	Level of significance	Partial-order Correlation	Level of Significance
1. Age	.525 **	.003	control variable	
2. Sex	.086	.555	.019	.899
3. birthplace	constant			
4. occupation	.270	.156	.240	.219
5. education	-.474	.009	-.0236	.345
6. first language	.429	.020	.284	.143
7. reported language ability	.381 **	.006	.369 **	.009
8. actual language proficiency	.430	.020	.265	.174
9. language attitude	.493 **	.007	.501 * *	.007
10. interpersonal network of linguistic contacts	.192	.318	.145	.460
11. beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality	.014	.941	.076	.701
12. ethnic identity	-.050	.798	.024	.905

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 (2-tailed)

\*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 (2-tailed)

Table 7 shows the zero-order correlations between language use and the language use variables. The zero-order correlations showed that language use was correlated significantly with age, language attitude and reported language ability. The partial correlations controlling for the age factor indicated also that language attitude and reported language ability are significantly correlated with language use. These findings imply the following: (1) that older speakers are more likely to use the Batak language, (2) that speakers who have developed a positive attitude toward the Batak language are more likely to use it, and (3) that those who reported higher Batak language ability are more likely to use the Batak language.

The lack of significant correlation between language use and other variables such as sex and beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality could be interpreted to mean that such variables are not directly related to speakers' choice of language. However, these findings do not automatically mean that these variables are not important at all in language use; rather, they may be indirectly related to language use. It should be stressed that homogeneity in responses of informants can affect statistical findings. On the other hand, the fact that birthplace, first language, actual language proficiency, language attitude, and interpersonal network of linguistic contacts (INLC) social network did not come out in the Mangapin data as correlates of language use, does not remove the close relationship between those factors and language use established by the Riyandakan data.

Considering all the correlational findings in the three locations, out of the twelve variables, only two variables did not appear at all as correlates of language use – sex, and

beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality. On the other hand, seven variables appeared at least once in the data as correlates of language use (i.e. birthplace, education, occupation, first language reported language ability, actual language proficiency and ethnic identity). The remaining three variables (i.e. age, language attitude, and social network) appeared twice in the data as correlates of language use.

### 3.4.1 Multiple Regression Analyses

The complex patterns of correlation among the respondents' variables (i.e. age, educational attainment, occupation, L1, reported and actual language proficiency and language attitude) led to a multiple regression analysis to determine which variables actually contribute significant effects to speakers' language choice/patterns of language use.

#### 3.4.1.1 Predictors of Language Use in the Three Batak Localities

The analyses reported above were informative about specific differences in variables such as age, education, language attitude, ethnic identity and other variables in relation to language use but were less revealing about the predictive utility of variables and their importance to predicting language use. To determine the predictive power of variables, a multiple regression approach was employed, involving all the variables tested for correlation, regardless of whether they correlated with language use in the first place or not. There are generally three groups of variables tested for correlation with language use: the demographic variables and the socio-psychological and psychological variables. The demographic variables consist of (1) age, (2) sex, (3) education, (4) birthplace, (5) occupation and (6) first language. The socio-psychological variables consist of the interpersonal network of linguistic contacts while the psychological variables are composed of (1) reported language ability, (2) actual language proficiency, (3) language attitude, (4) beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality and (5) ethnic identity. The same set of variables were tested for Multiple Regression.

Table 8 presents the summary of predictor variables of language use per area.

**Table 8:** *Predictor Variables for Language Use*

Area	Ethnic identity	Age	Language attitude	Total Variance Explained
Kalakuan	26.8%			26.8%
Riyandakan		21.1%		21.1%
Mangapin		28.8 %	18%	46.8%

Summary results of Multiple Regression Analyses showing percentage variance accounted by language use predictor variables (all figures shown in the table are statistically significant at least at  $p < .01$ )

Table 8 presents the results of the regression analysis in summary form because of the large number of variables. Out of the twelve variables tested, three surfaced as significant predictors of language use: *age*, *language attitude* and *ethnic identity*. In the multiple regression analyses, the total variance explained by the full set of variables per area ranged from 21.1% (Riyandakan) to 46.8% (Mangapin). Although the total amount of variance seemed moderate, statistical analyses revealed significant patterns. As expected, *age* positively predicted Batak *language use* as shown in the results for Riyandakan and

Mangapin. This finding implies that older Batak reported greater use of the Batak language than younger Batak. The results for Kalakuasan revealed that Batak language use was significantly predicted by ethnic identity which implies that participants who identified with the Batak language group are more likely to use their native language. Another variable, *language attitude*, was found to significantly predict *language use* in Mangapin. The same pattern of response was given by participants in Riyandakan for *ethnic identity* and *language attitude* regardless of *age*, aside from the fact that there was very small sample to establish variety in responses.

Although previous literature established the close relationship between language use and age (Heaton, 1989; Saxena, 1995; Fink, 2005; Sachdev & Hanlon, 2009), language attitude and ethnic identity variables (Vdovichenko, 2011), these three did not come out together in the Multiple Regression analyses of the three areas studied, for justifiable reasons. For instance, respondents in Kalakuasan regardless of age have exhibited strong loyalty to the Batak language, as evident in very high mean scores for the language use questionnaire and the qualitative data. The uniformity in the participants' responses affected the statistical finding. Likewise, the same participants reported high positive attitudes toward the Batak language regardless of age. As regards Mangapin, although there are a good number of children who are products of mixed marriages and who admitted that their first language is not Batak, like their parents, they reported identification with the Batak community. As a matter of fact, both the Batak in Kalakuasan and Mangapin reported the very high mean score of 4.9 out of the 1-5 Likert Scale. The lack of variety in responses owing to the very high mean score is expected to affect the statistical finding. In sum, the present study has established three significant predictors of language use—age, ethnic identity and language attitude—though not all three are equally predictive in each location.

### 3.5 Direction of Language Change

This section discusses the results of analysis of data from the lexical ability test and sentence translation test administered to the Batak respondents.

#### 3.5.1 Lexical Ability Test

To determine the nature and direction of language change in the three Batak communities being studied, a twenty-four-item lexical test and twenty-item sentence translation test were given to available respondents in the three areas. The lexical test was given to determine the respondents' familiarity with Batak vocabulary. The sentence translation was given to elicit grammatical morphemes. To identify correct and incorrect answers for lexical items, responses were compared to linguistic items provided in the unpublished Batak-English Dictionary compiled in 1993 by Audrey Mayer and Rosemary Rodda of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Philippine Branch, and a Batak wordlist compiled by Warren (1959). Those items which are not identical to the unpublished baseline Batak linguistic data documented by Rodda, et. al., (1993) and Warren (1959) were considered incorrect. Likewise, respondents' answers in the sentence translation tests were compared and with the help of the baseline data, a few elder Batak and missionaries/pastors who had worked in Batak communities since the early 1990s assisted in identifying correct answers.

The answers were divided into four groups depending on the percentage of correct answers. The first group consists of words where the Batak exhibited perfect stability; the second group consists of words where at least two areas exhibited 100 percent accuracy; the third group consists of words where the group scored with 69% correctness but not

higher than 95%; and the fourth group consists of words where the respondents from the three areas scored relatively low with a diversity of incorrect answers. Table 6.1 presents the respondents' responses on the lexical ability test.

From a set of twenty-four items, two items exhibited perfect stability among the respondents in the three areas, and these are the items *abaga* 'shoulder blade' and *manlukbo* 'to run'. A second group of items consisting of five lexical items and one grammatical morpheme where the respondents exhibited nearly perfect stability are *lambong* 'cloth', *bayuu* 'turtle', *dakel* 'many', *getyek* 'small', *ugdaz* 'worm', *ya itu* 'this' and *bangkian* 'to bite'. For these items, it was noted that one respondent from Kalakuasan gave the word *sapno* instead of *lambong* for 'cloth', and another gave the answer *matama*, which is a Cuyonon term for 'many'. A few speakers from the three areas answered *bakoko* which is a Cuyonon word for 'turtle', instead of *bayuu*. Another respondent from Kalakuasan gave the word *padan* for 'small'. It was found that *padan* must be *padaan*, a Batak word that also means 'small'.

The third group is composed of six items, namely, *kadawaan* 'flesh', *kayto* 'here', *maglampud* 'to come down', *muat den* 'to go', *ya itu* 'this' and *pirek* 'eyelashes'. For these items, it was noted that there was a tendency for respondents to give *seled* 'inside of' for 'flesh', which is wrong. This must have happened because the Filipino equivalent of *seled*, *laman*, is polysemous, and can also mean 'flesh'. *Kayto* is a term for 'here', and is commonly replaced by another Batak lexical item *ya itu* 'this'. *Muwat den* 'go there' tends to be substituted by *muat sini* 'come here', a Batak lexical item, or *magpanaw* 'to go' which is a Cuyonon term. *Maglampud* means 'will run', but a good number of Batak from Kalakuasan and a few speakers from Riyandakan and Mangapin tend to use *luwampud*, which is the past tense form of the word. *Ya itu* 'this' tends to be replaced by half of the interviewees in Mangapin as *ya iyan* 'that'. The word *pirek* tends to be substituted by *amemerek* and *tamemerek*, which are Cuyonon terms for eyelashes.

However, the respondents' group scores in the remaining nine words exhibited a preference for Tagbanua and Cuyonon terms. Answers for *udum/panganod* 'cloud' illustrate semantic confusion with the semantically similar Batak items *kudlap* 'lightning', *gabon* 'fog', *abagat* 'the southwest wind' and *langit* 'sky, heavens'. *Ibtang* 'to put' is commonly replaced by a greater majority in all three areas by *ibutang*, which is a Cuyonon/Visayan term. *Garawak* 'to cry' is substituted by *magtangis*, a Cuyonon term, by 75 to 94 percent of the respondents in the three areas. *Talon* 'forest' is commonly substituted by *kagubaan*, a Tagbanua term, and there was occasional use of Tagalog counterparts *bukid*, *kagubatan* and *kabukidan*. *Adalem* 'below' tends to be substituted by *seled* and *adalen* by more than half of the respondents in Mangapin, the former the result of semantic confusion. *Adalen*, however, does not exist in the baseline data for Batak lexicon nor is it identified as Cuyonon or Tagbanua. *Magkanta* 'to sing' is replaced by its past tense form *kuwanta* by nearly half of the respondents in the three locations. The lexical form *muno* 'how' occurred as *pauno* with more than ninety percent of the respondents in the three locations. This seeming juxtaposition of the two lexical items, *muno* and its Tagalog counterpart *paano*, could be a product of contact with Tagalog speakers. *Palapalad* 'palm' is often replaced by *raparapa*, which is an Agutaynen term for sole of the foot. *Rugud*, which is an inclusive term to refer to relatives, is substituted by *ilog*, a Cuyonon lexical item with the same meaning. Other semantically similar terms were used in place of *rugud*, such as *ari* 'younger sibling', *amayan* 'uncle' and *kamanaken* 'niece, nephew', which are also part of the Batak lexicon..

Overall, the substitutions made in Cuyonon by a few Batak speakers for the second and third group of words were too low in frequency to be considered a sign of linguistic diffusion or language shift. The seeming preference for Cuyonon terminology is more evident in the fourth group of lexical items and is most pronounced among Batak

respondents in Mangapin and Riyandakan. This phenomenon may be aptly considered language assimilation, a by-product of language contact.

### 3.5.2 Sentence Translation Test

To further test the possibility of language shift, the respondents were asked to translate twenty sentences in Tagalog into Batak. Based on the responses given by informants in the three locations, only five items/sentences were answered/translated by respondents in the three areas with at least fifty percent accuracy. In addition, there were only two items for which two locations obtained at least fifty percent accuracy—the locations being Kalakuan and Riyandakan in both cases. The remaining ten items are those where not even one community scored higher than fifty percent. For instance, *Duateng ta na* is the correct Batak translation of the Tagalog *Umuwi na tayu* ‘We went home’. However, *duateng* tends to be replaced by *muli*, which is its Tagbanua counterpart. Another trace of Tagbanua influence is the use of *wai* to mean ‘water’ or ‘river’, instead of its Batak counterparts *danum* or *sapa*, and the use of *Mamuerto ako* to replace *Muat ako dun kat Puerto*. More lexical borrowings are of Cuyonon origin. For instance, for item number two, the standard Batak sentence is *Papai ka?*. However, *Papai ka* is replaced by *Ari ka nagpanaw*, where *ari* and *magpanaw* are both Cuyonon words. Some other lexical borrowings are *magalangen* instead of *masunudon* (item no 6); *mabawl* instead of *dakula* (item no.7& 11); *ninuno* instead of *gura-gurang* or *apu-apuan* (item no 8); *makuri* or *pobre* instead of *malusud* (item no. 13); *maambeng* instead of *matinlo*; *magmakuri* instead of *nagladu* (item no. 16); *nadekep* instead of *napisi* (item no. 20), and *barkada* instead of *iba-iba* among others. These replacements are all Cuyonon words.

Another observation is that at least seventy-five percent of the respondents in the Kalakuan and Mangapin who were not able to answer some items in the test were children (less than eighteen years old).

The inability of the respondents in the three areas to translate fifty percent of the Tagalog sentences into Batak and the replacement of Batak lexical items by their Tagbanua and Cuyonon counterparts is an indication that some Batak lexical items may be lost to the informants, either because they never had them in the first place, or they may have acquired them when they were young but, due to lack of use, such terms were just forgotten. The many instances of lexical borrowings from Cuyonon indicate that the Batak language is undergoing changes. There were also instances of semantic shift, where a particular word in Batak is used to refer to another object. However, such changes do not necessarily signal language attrition.

The present study presumed that when language change is taking place, the Batak language would become more intelligible to the outgroup, either to Tagbanua or Cuyonon speakers. A casual test of intelligibility was conducted where two Tagbanua speakers and two Cuyonon speakers who never had any exposure to the Batak language were asked on separate events to listen to the sentence translations in Batak and also to a few of recorded Batak utterances. Although the informants could guess possible meanings of sentences which contain at least one Tagbanua or Cuyonon lexical item, oftentimes they would make mistakes. The unintelligibility of most of the Batak sentences and the recorded utterances to Tagbanua and Cuyonon speakers demonstrates the enduring distinctiveness of the Batak language.

### 3.5.3 Grammatical Morphemes

To further test whether language diffusion has taken place, a group of grammatical morphemes derived from the participants’ responses to sentence translations were

analyzed. Warren's (1959) Batak vocabulary and Mayer and Rodda's (1993) Batak-English dictionary served as baseline data. The presence of grammatical features in the baseline data was the basis for determining whether the morphemes found in the sentence translation responses were accurate. In addition, the placement of the morphemes in the samples were compared to determine whether substitutions by counterparts in Tagalog, Tagbanua or Cuyonon were taking place. Table 9 presents the grammatical morphemes in Batak alongside their English equivalents.

**Table 9:** Grammatical Morphemes in Participants' Responses in Sentence-Translation Test

Grammatical Morpheme	Meaning in English	Percentage of Retention		
		Kalak	Riyan	Mang
1. ta	"you and I"/ ours	93%	77%	84%
2. na	"now", having become	100%	81%	84%
3. it	Actor, possessor	100%	100%	100%
4. kita	You and I, possessor	90%	84%	82%
5. kanya	He/she/it first class personal pronoun	100%	100%	100%
6. daa	"no more"	65%	63%	65%
7. kanimu	"To you", 3 <sup>rd</sup> class pronoun	100%	100%	100%
8. kat	"to" or "at"	100%	85%	95%
9. tu	Construction marker indicating that the ff word is the topic of utterance	54%, 46% use "tu" and "it" interchangeably	58%	55%
10. men	"we" exclusive	71%	65%	70%
11. ya	3 <sup>rd</sup> person personal and poss. pronoun	33%, 31% (no answer), 10% ("mo"), 20% ("iya")	30%	45% , 24% (use "ya and "iya" interchangeably
12. ay	"because"	87%, 13% did not produce the morpheme	70%	45%
13. gwa	only	67%, 33%(did not produce the feature	70%	66%
14. kanamen/amen	"to us" exclusive	80%, no answer (20% %)	70%	67%, 33%(no answer)

Legend:

Kalak= Kalakuasan

Riyan= Riyandakan

Mang=Mangapin

As shown in Table 9, only the morpheme *ya* showed linguistic diffusion. A few of the respondents tended to use *mo*, which is a Tagalog counterpart of the word. *Iya*, which cannot be found from the baseline data, is also another feature used by the respondents. The data for the rest of the thirteen morphemes exhibited a high degree of retention among the respondents in the three locations.

Overall, the structural analyses of the Batak language in the three communities seem to indicate relatively little language change. However, it would be premature to make a conclusive statement regarding the degree of change based on the limited set of items. Obviously, a longitudinal study that will include an in-depth analysis of lexical, morphophonemic, morphological, syntactic and semantic analyses of the language would be timely and appropriate.

#### **4 Conclusion**

The present study examined sociological factors influencing the behavior of individuals in Batak communities and examined their beliefs about the ethnolinguistic vitality of their own language as well as two other languages (Tagbanua and Cuyunon) in their multilingual context. It attempted to determine which variables are predictors of language attitude, use and actual proficiency. It also briefly explored the nature and direction of actual language change through tests of selected lexical and grammatical items. The study generally supports the findings of previous studies regarding expected patterns of language use, proficiency and vitality.

In the Batak context, the following null hypotheses were all rejected:

1. There is no correlation between age and language use;
2. There is no correlation between actual language proficiency and language use;
3. There is no correlation between birthplace and language use;
4. There is no correlation between reported language ability and language use;
5. There is no correlation between language attitude and language use;
6. There is no correlation between ethnic identity and language use, and
7. There is no correlation between interpersonal network of language contacts and language use;
8. There is no correlation between reported language ability and actual language proficiency.

Conversely, the following null hypotheses are all accepted in the study:

1. Sex is not a predictor of language use;
2. Occupation is not a predictor of language use;
3. Educational attainment is not a predictor of language use;
4. Beliefs in ethnolinguistic vitality are not a predictor of language use.

Overall, the outcomes of the multivariate statistical analyses are supportive of previous research in that the respondents' use of Batak language was predicted by actual language competence, linguistic contacts, ethnic identity and attitude associated with the Batak language.

The replacement of Batak lexical items by Tagbanua and Cuyonon counterparts is an indication of language change made possible by the continued contact of Batak speakers with speakers of those language groups and the syntactic similarities among their languages. The intact Batak grammatical morphemes, however, indicate that the rate of language change in the three locations is relatively slow. Moreover, lexical replacements may be due to speakers' "difficulty in retrieval rather than total loss" (Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992, cited in Hulsen, 2000, p. 5).

Considering the existence of high objective vitality, high subjective vitality, positive language attitude, high ethnic identity, relatively stable language structure and relatively healthy language use, it would be safe to conclude that the actual language vitality of Kalakuasan is high. Owing to these characteristics, the Batak language in Kalakuasan is predicted to exist for many years and decades to come.

On the other hand, with weak objective vitality, relatively high subjective vitality, positive language attitude and high ethnic identity of speakers, relatively stable language structure and relatively healthy language use, the Batak language in Riyandakan is considered to have medium actual language vitality. The language may exist for many years if the low rate of population growth increases and the high rate of migration becomes controllable.

Similarly, with weak objective vitality, moderate subjective vitality, positive language attitude and high ethnic identity of speakers, relatively stable language structure and relatively healthy language use, the Batak language in Mangapin is considered to have medium actual language vitality. Unless migration and intermarriage have become uncontrollable and intergenerational transmission becomes interrupted, language maintenance is expected to prevail in the area for many years to come.

Overall, the speakers in all three locations have generally demonstrated, in varying degrees, additive bilingualism/multilingualism, in that the learning of Tagalog, Tagbanua and Cuyonon did not entail the loss of the Batak language. While Tagalog is indisputably dominant in the domains of school, church, politics, media and public interactions, it is not embraced as a Batak identity marker; hence, the Batak language continually occupies the domains of home, neighborhood and work in all three areas. The mismatch between the objective vitality of Batak in Riyandakan and Mangapin and the perceptions of speakers about the ethnolinguistic vitality of their respective communities is only one of the many indicators of the complexity of predicting language situation.

The present research would like to stress that language change is a natural occurrence in a multilingual context and does not necessarily equate to language death. The case of the three Batak communities studied may be considered a classic case of contact-induced change, a reminder to linguists that language indeed does not occur in isolation. However, replacements of Batak lexical items should be taken seriously. The Batak speakers should be made aware of the language situation of their respective communities. For if this trend (of lexical substitutions) continues, the Batak language may eventually be lost as it blends into one of its neighboring languages as Headland (2003) forecasts for a number of Agta languages.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A. Lexical Ability Test.

- A. Vocabulary translation. Give the Batak equivalent of the following words/expressions in Tagalog. *Ibigay ang kahalintulad na salita sa Batak*

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_ Place of residence \_\_\_\_\_

Tagalog	English Translation	Batak equivalent
1. balikat	shoulder blade	1. abaga
2. damit	clothing	2. lambong
3. daga	rat	3. angbe
4. laman	flesh	4. kadawaan
5. ulap	cloud	5. udum/ panganod
1. ilagay	to put	6. ibtang
2. pagong	turtle	7. bayuu
3. tumakbo	to run	8. lukbo, manlukbo
4. marami	many	9. dakel
5. umiyak	to cry	10. Garawak, guwarwak
6. maliit	small	11. getyek
7. ito	this	12. itu
8. gubat	forest	13. talon
9. ilalim	below	14. adalem
10. ditto	here	15. kayto
11. bumaba	to come down	16. luampud/maglampud
12. uod	worm	17. ugdas
13. kumanta	to sing	18. magkanta
14. pumunta	to go	19. muwat den
15. kagatin	to bite	20. bangkian
16. paano	how	21. muno
17. talampakan	foot	22. palapalad
18. pilik-mata	eyelashes	23. pirek
19. pinsan	cousin	24. rugud

### Appendix B. Sentence Translation Test.

Ibigay ang katumbas na pananalita sa wikang Batak. (Translate the following sentences/expressions into Batak).

Test Item	Batak sentence	Meaning
1. Umuwi na tayo.	1. Duateng ta na.	1. Let's go home.
2. Saan ka pupunta ?	2. Papai ka?	2. Where are you going?
3. Ayaw ko nang umalis	3. Da ko na guarang.	3. I don't want to leave anymore.
4. Mapagbigay ang mga Batak	4. Blaging garukan mga Batak.	4. The Batak are generous.
5. Pupunta ako sa bayan sa Linggo	5. Muwat doon ako kat Puerto kat Lingo.	5. I will go downtown on Sunday.
6. Masunurin ang mga bata.	6. Magdasun tu mga anak.	6. The kids are obedient.
7. Malaki ang kinita ng mga kalalakihan sa almaciga	7. Dakula nakayag it mga iba-iba men it parang.	7. The men earned so much from harvesting almaciga.
8. Pagkagutom at sakit ang dahilan ng kamatayan ng mga ninuno namin.	8. Darun dahilan it kiyapatay ti mga ninuno.	8. Hunger and illness were the causes of our elders' death.
9. Di tayo makakatawid. Malalim na ang ilog.	9. Daagwa kita kadipag. Adalem tu danum.	9. We can't cross the river as it is deep.
10. Simple lang ang gusto naming buhay	10. Simple guwa tu gusto men kat buhay men.	10. We just want a simple life.
11. Mas maraming ani ang kapitbahay naming ngayon kesa nung nakaraang taon.	11. Mas dakel tu patubas sera tubag kaysa sumanyan.	11. Our neighbor harvested more this year.
12. Mabigat ang sako ng almacigang pinapasan ng mga kabataang lalaki	12. Mabugat it bagtik pagpisien it mga lalaki bagtik.	12. The almaciga resin are heavy for the kids.
13. Mas marami ang mahirap sa atin kesa hindi.	13. Mas dakel tu malisud kanaten.	13. There are more people who suffer in poverty.
14. Masarap matulog sa tabi ng ilog.	14. Masabor it madep kat wai.	14. It's good to sleep beside the river.
15. Mahilig kumain ng lamang ugat at	15. Mahilig kuwaon may lanaw at taro it	15. The Batak are fond of eating

pulot ang mga Batak.	mga Batak.	rootcrops and honey.
16. Bakit nagkasakit ang nanay niya?	16. Ay di magkangalngal I ina ya?	16. Why did her mother get sick?
17. Maraming puwedeng makain sa kagubatan.	17. Dakula makaon kat bukid.	17. There are more to eat in the forest.
18. Nalungkot siya ng husto ng lumipat na ng tirahan ang kaibigan niya.	18. Napungaw kanya usto gyaringit iba iba ya.	18. She became sad when her friend moved to another house.
19. Dito ako pinanganak ngunit sa kabilang baryo ako lumaki.	19. Kayto ako pyanganak, doon ako nagbawl.	19. I was born here but I grew up in another barrio.
20. Marami kaming nahuling baboy ramo.	20. Dakula napisi meng baboy.	20. We caught many wild boars.

### Appendix C. Actual Language Proficiency Test.

(Questions will be read by the researcher/research assistant to the participant. The interview will be recorded. Respondent's responses will be rated by the researcher and select elders in the community).

S-1	<p>A. Maari bang tubayan it mga ingkot tungkol kat rugal mo, ing kasal ka ba o daagwa, it aldaw it ipiyanganak kanimo? (<i>Can you understand and respond correctly to questions about where you are from, if you are married, your occupation, date and place of birth?</i>)</p> <p>B. Kaya mo bang isugid kat isang daagwa kakilala pauno makaawat situ kat Kalakuasan? (<i>Can you tell someone how to get from the highway to your community?</i>)</p>
S-2	<p>A. Puwede mo bang isugid kanaken, itanang sa dili mong ampang na pagbuaten mo kat aldawaldaw o kat hanapbuhay? (<i>Can you describe in detail in your own language your day to day activities or your work?</i>)</p> <p>B. Puwede mo bang isugid kanaken ipanguyom mong plano o pangarap kat buhay? (<i>Can you tell me about your immediate hopes and plans?</i>)</p>
S-3	<p>A. May timpo bang daagwa mo maawat kat ampang mga Batak I gusto mong awaten? (<i>Do you sometimes find yourself not knowing how to say something in Batak?</i>)</p> <p>B. Kaya mo bang makipagsuway gamit it ampang it Batak? (<i>Can you argue well in Batak?</i>)</p> <p>C. Kaya mo bang bugay it dipot mga kabuuang ampangan mga gustong gusto mo kat Batak? (<i>Can you listen and then summarize accurately a talk or an informal discussion on something you are interested in?</i>)</p>
S-4	<p>A. Nagkakamali ka ba en paggamiton I Batak? (<i>Do you make mistakes when speaking in Batak?</i>)</p> <p>B. En mga tribung magsuruway , magkaawat mo ba kami e gusto mong awaten? (<i>Can you serve as peacemaker between two members of the community who have misunderstanding?</i>)</p> <p>C. Mausay ka bang maampang it Batak pag maisog ka? (<i>Do you speak well in Batak when you're angry?</i>)</p>
S-5	<p>A. Kaya mo bang gumamit it ampang it Batak pareho it Tagbanua pati Cuyonon? (<i>Can you speak in Batak as well as you speak in Tagbanua or Cuyonon?</i>)</p> <p>B. Pag nag-iisip ka unong ampang paggamiton mo? (<i>When you're reflecting over things, in what language do you think?</i>)</p> <p>C. Mausay ka din ba ampang Tagbanua pati Cuyonon ing makipagsadong sadong kanira? (<i>Do you speak Batak as well as a Batak speaker?</i>)</p> <p>D. Madali ka bang awaten nga di ka tunay na Batak base kat ampang mo? (<i>Can people say you're not a Batak speaker by the way you speak Batak?</i>)</p>

# 4 *Language contact: A case study of Balinese in the transmigration sites of Lampung*

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NI LUH NYOMAN SERI MALINI AND NI MADE DHANAWATY

## 1 Introduction\*

The language dynamics in Balinese transmigration sites in Lampung province Sumatra are the logical result of the diversity of its speech community. Immersed in the language environment of Lampung, far from its origins in Bali, Balinese has undergone sustained contact with various local languages as well as Bahasa Indonesia; it has thus developed differently. The presence of the Balinese people in this and other areas for extended periods has caused the transformation of customs, cultures and languages among different ethnic groups. Of these three, the language component is the most easily transformed, because it is more receptive to outside influences than are customs and culture. Moreover, in its settlement system, Lampung province has pursued *integrated pluralism* rather than *segregated pluralism* (Dhanawaty 2002, Malini 2011), such that intensive interaction between diverse groups is allowed to occur.

This study investigates the language dynamics of Balinese in Lampung. In so doing, it serves to broaden our understanding of macro-linguistics, particularly in the realm of language contact. Field research, interviews and data recording were conducted in the territory of the Balinese transmigrants in the Lampung province. To what extent Balinese is capable of maintaining its existence in the transmigration area could reveal a significant phenomenon in the area of language contact. This phenomenon is especially intriguing due to its theoretical, practical and prospective contribution to sociolinguistic theorising.

## 2 Setting the Context

Lampung province is Indonesia's first transmigration destination area and the first destination area for Balinese transmigrants. The transmigration program is an Indonesian government plan based on the movement of citizens from dense to less dense populations (Sutjaja, 1996). It was started in the era of the Pre-Five Year Development Plan in 1957. Fifty-six years is a significant amount of time for the Balinese language in Lampung to have been separated from its origin. Over those years, it is possible that Lampung-Balinese diverged from the Balinese spoken in the other transmigrant areas located within

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\* We offer our appreciation and thanks to Jaclyn Gishbaugher, English Language Fellow of RELO Indonesia, for editing our English language in the first draft of this article.

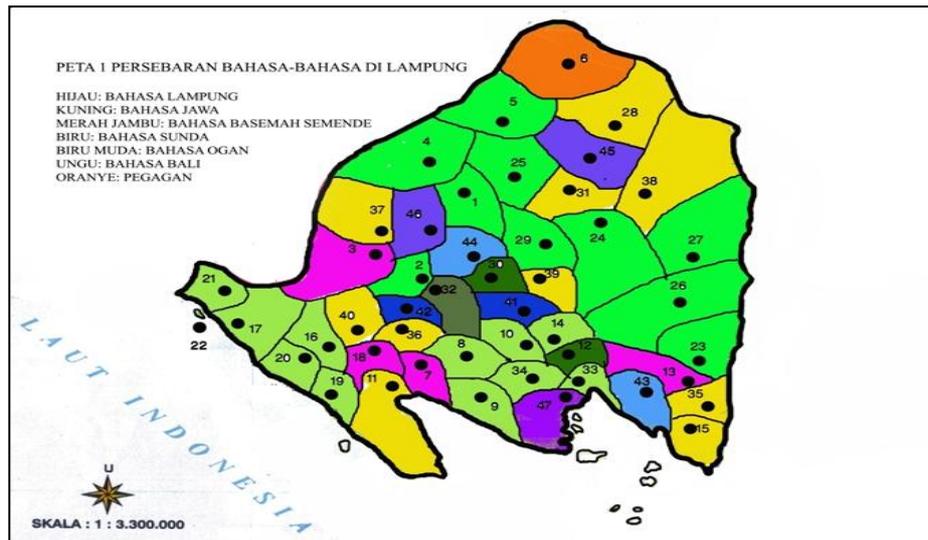
the different transmigration destination provinces, such as South East Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara. To commemorate Balinese transmigrants in Lampung, the government of Lampung Province built a monument illustrating the people's arrival in Lampung Timur (East Lampung) and Lampung Tengah (Central Lampung) (Figure 1).



**Figure 1:** The monuments in Lampung Timur and Lampung Tengah

Because transmigration is a government program, not only Balinese but also Javanese people have followed the transmigration program. The plan transformed Lampung province into a multiethnic society that now embraces a variety of languages, including Bahasa Indonesia, Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Minang and Lampungese.

The Lampung Language Office (2008) reported a wide distribution of the regional languages in Lampung. The province's language conditions are separated into 24 distinct geographical areas. The Lampung language spans through out the 24 areas, whereas Javanese spans 10. Sundanese, Basemah and Balinese are found primarily in two areas. Whereas the Ogan, Bugis, Pegagan and Komerling languages are found in one. The Semende language is used mainly in three areas. The distribution is illustrated in the map below.



**Figure 2:** Distribution of languages in Lampung  
 (Source: Lampung Language Development Office)

Our research revealed that the intensity of Balinese language contact with other languages in Lampung, such as Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia, is very high. Balinese language speakers constantly adjust their language to that of other speakers. Informants and respondents can often speak Javanese. Moreover, in schools, ethnic Balinese and Javanese people teach the Lampung language. All of this indicates that the Balinese transmigrants have a very high accommodative stance in communicating (Malini, 2011).

The Balinese language is tightly woven within the fabric of Balinese culture; for example, most cultural performances are in Balinese. Balinese transmigrants also have receptive attitudes towards maintaining their culture and, therefore, continue to form associations like those in Bali. When the transmigrants arrived at the new settlement in Lampung, they prepared agricultural land and built Hindu temples, or *Pura*, which serve as symbols of unification and social protection. In areas that are socially and economically established, the people maintain a variety of groups called *sekeha*; these are percussion, dance or *pesantian* groups of religious singers and youths. To foster goodwill, the farmers often form groups called *sekeha manyi*. These groups work together to improve planting and harvest systems. Watering is a major undertaking in Balinese agriculture. Because it is critical to farming life, as in Bali, traditional irrigation management systems, called *subak* (which also include special temples) have been established. These various groups or organisations ethnically identify with their Balinese culture, which is reinforced by the use of language among residents in these Bali institutions.

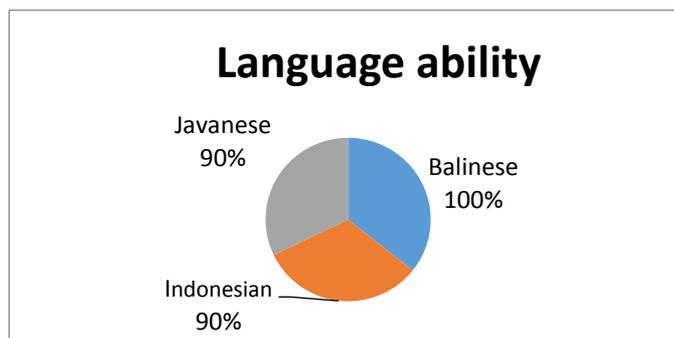
### 3 Language Choices of Balinese Transmigrants in Lampung

We noted that the use of Balinese is maintained and developed across generations. In Central and East Lampung, environmental factors support these efforts because settlement patterns tend to separate the groups of Balinese and non-Balinese speakers. Therefore, Balinese language speakers who come to Central and East Lampung feel at home.

This phenomenon has significant implications for the role of the family as the main line of linguistic inheritance to the younger generation. Formerly, Balinese people used the language to interact within the family; however, recently they have begun to use

Indonesian and Javanese as well. Balinese children interact with not only other Balinese people but also speakers of other languages, including Bahasa Indonesia. Bahasa Indonesia is the *lingua franca* of all ethnic groups and is the language of official communication. The Balinese mostly use Bahasa Indonesia in interactions with non-Balinese ethnic groups. In addition, they may use Javanese when communicating with Javanese friends.

We found that most Balinese transmigrants in Lampung are able to speak Balinese, Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese. The majority can speak Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia (90%), and virtually all can speak Balinese, especially in East Lampung and Central Lampung (see Figure 3).

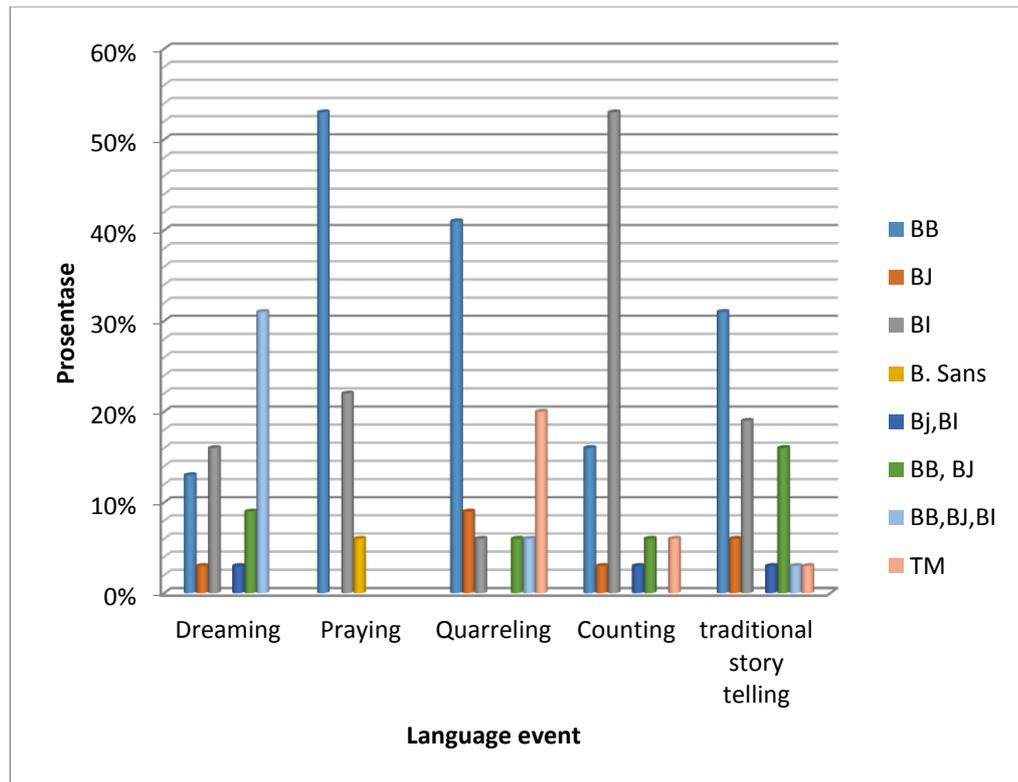


**Figure 3.** Language Ability

The use of Balinese transmigrants to interact in the realms of home, closeness/intimacy, religious activities and art still dominates in Central Lampung and East Lampung. Within the realm of the family, the Balinese language is the most dominant, spoken 60% of the time between parents and children. In the realm of intimacy, the language choice depends on the language used by the transmigrant which is 50% (fifty percent) of migrants frequently use the languages of other areas in communication; while in the realm of employment, the uses of Balinese, Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese remain balanced.

Balinese is dominant in the domains of family, intimacy, religious activities and arts in Central and East Lampung regencies. In the working domain, the uses of Balinese, Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese are evenly balanced. The highest tendency to accommodate is in the domain of intimacy because in this domain the interlocutors come from different residents and ethnic affiliations due to the multiethnic composition of the Lampung population. A different result was found in the Tulang Bawang regency, where Lampung Javanese is the dominant language used by the Balinese transmigrants for their interactions in the family, intimacy and working domains. The Javanese language is the *lingua franca* in Lampung. The language colours all conversation among the transmigrants there, especially the younger generations, who use Javanese words, such as *bocah* 'kids', *basing* 'mixed' and *tumburan* 'crash'.

The patterns of the Balinese transmigrants' language choices in varying language events are coloured by the use of Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese, including the language events that are sensitive to the use of the Balinese language, like dreaming, praying at home, fighting and telling traditional stories. In the context of dreaming, most respondents described the use of mixed Balinese, Indonesian and Javanese (31%). When praying at home, the use Balinese language is still dominant (56%). However, in prayer, Bahasa Indonesia infiltration was reported, either in the form of mixed code (19%) or in the use of Bahasa Indonesia (22%). In counting, more than 50% apply Bahasa Indonesia.



(BI = Bahasa Indonesia; BB = Bahasa Bali; BJ = Bahasa Jawa; B.Sans = Bahasa Sanskerta; TM = Tidak Menjawab ['did not answer'])

**Figure 4.** Language event

This tells us that the proficiency and usage of those languages are mentally and emotionally entrenched in the minds of the Balinese transmigrants. In social interactions, language choice patterns among these people in Lampung are affected by factors such as participants, situations and content of the discourse.

#### 4 Language Features of the Young Generation of Balinese Transmigrants in Lampung

To learn the extent to which the younger generations understand the Balinese language, we distributed questionnaires to capture data on the Balinese language skills among this group. The questionnaire consists of 40 basic vocabulary entries in Indonesian. The vocabulary was taken from a Swadesh list, which included the classification of plants, animals, nature, body parts, events and circumstances. The respondents were asked to complete three columns about ordinary Balinese, Bali *Alus*, and *Aksara* Bali or to write Balinese script.<sup>1</sup> All of the respondents must answer three columns and the result shows

<sup>1</sup> Balinese has a speech level called *Sor Singgih*. Suastra (2002:131) stated that the *Sor Singgih* Balinese language consists of two categories; namely, the forms of *Alus* and *andap*. The forms can be classified *Alus* on *Alus Singgih*, *Alus Sor*, and *Alus Madia*, while *andap* from the speech level are associated with certain social values. The link between these values is determined primarily by the caste system or dynasty, employment and degree of formality. In this writing, I used two categories: Bahasa *Alus* and Bahasa *biasa* (ordinary Balinese).

that they completed the answers in the first column (BB biasa-ordinary Balinese), and 50% completed BB Alus in Bali and BB Alus in Lampung, whereas 100% failed to write in Balinese script. All of the respondents answered questions about the Balinese language used. We also presented a children's story to the respondents to measure code mixing and switching.

#### 4.1 The use of *Sor Singgih Bahasa Bali* in Lampung

We found that some words considered Bali Alus by the younger generations in Lampung are actually Javanese. Figure 5 presents several examples.

<b>BI</b>	<b>BB biasa</b>	<b>BB Alus di Bali</b>	<b>BB alus anak muda di Lampung</b>	<b>English</b>
<i>ekor</i>	<i>ikut</i>	<i>ikuh</i>	<i>buntut</i>	tail
<i>daging</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>ulam</i>	<i>iwak</i>	meat
<i>akah</i>	<i>akah</i>	<i>akah</i>	<i>akar</i>	roots
<i>kotor</i>	<i>not, endut, dekel, daki, maong, dekil</i>	<i>daki</i>	<i>reget</i>	dusty
<i>rumput</i>	<i>padang</i>	<i>dukut</i>	<i>suket</i>	grass
<i>ular</i>	<i>lipi, lelipi</i>	<i>ula/uler</i>	<i>ulo</i>	snakes

**Figure 5:** Different comprehension of BB Alus in Bali and Lampung

The table shows the different definitions between the standard language of Bali Alus in Bali and Bali Alus in Lampung as follows: *ikuh* → *buntut*, 'tail' *ulam* → *iwak*, 'meat' *daki* → *reget*, 'dusty' *padang* → *suket*, 'grass' *ula/uler* → *ulo* 'snakes'.

The difference is the result of ignorance of the vocabulary in question and the influence of the vocabulary of the Javanese language, as in the words *buntut* and *iwak*. The words *reget* and *suket* are from the dialect of Karangasem Bali, since some respondents hailed from there. *Ulo* is a Balinese word, yet phonologically, *Alus* influenced the Javanese language; that is, by changing the phoneme /ə/ to /O/, *ula/ulə/* (Balinese) becomes *ulo /ulo/* (Javanese).

In addition to the understanding of the Bahasa Bali Alus, the respondents reported that other words were commonly used in everyday conversation (figure 6).

<b>BI</b>	<b>BB biasa</b>	<b>Other words</b>	<b>English</b>
banyak	<i>liu, begeh</i>	<i>akeh</i>	many/much
basah	<i>belos, belus</i>	<i>teles</i>	wet
gemuk	<i>mokoh, gembrot, moleh</i>	<i>lemu</i>	fat
hitam	<i>Badeng</i>	<i>ireng</i>	black
ular	<i>lipi, lelipi</i>	<i>ulo</i>	snakes

**Figure 6:** Other words known by children

The table shows that the respondents considered the word *sakeh, teles, lemu, ireng* and *ulo* Balinese. However, those words are found in the Javanese dictionary. This means that the use of Javanese vocabulary in everyday speech has created a young generation unaware that they consider some Javanese language Balinese.

In oral language, Balinese transmigrants, especially adults, are still able to recognize and use a variety of speech levels, but this is not the case among the younger generations. Our language consultant stated that he still remembers some Bahasa Bali Alus. The statement below reveals that, as a member of the younger generation, he can speak Balinese but he cannot speak Bahasa Bali Alus:

*Kalau anak tiange (saya) di rumah pake Bahasa Bali. Bahasa Balinya yang biasa. Masalahnya niki kalo driki (begini kalau di sini) kan kalo anak tiang (saya) dari pulang kampong bingung mase (juga)... Cuma untuk berbahasa dalam Bahasa Alus ya mereka kurang tanggap.*

[My children use ordinary Balinese at home. The problem is, when we went to our hometown [Bali-red], my children were a bit confused about Basa Bali Alus[High Speech Level]. They weren't so responsive to Bahasa Bali Alus.]

In Bali, speech level is a function of social stratification. According to Sutjaja (1996:217-218) courtesy and respect are combined in a hierarchy, so that a person using a variety of Alus is high caste, while the equally common variety is usually used in a Bali intergroup equivalent. He also said that the topic, level of seniority and degree of formality or familiarity are also influential. The use of *Sor Singgih* seems complicated because the uses are influenced by complex factors, as submitted by one respondent:

*Saya pun hamper lupa dengan Bahasa Bali. Banyak Bahasa Bali alus yang saya tidak mengerti. Terlalu banyak tingkat dan ragam dalam Bahasa jadi membuat bingung, orang Bali pun bingung dibuatnya. Ragam Bahasa Bali Badung, Tabanan, Bahasa Bali halus, agak halus, dan lain-lain. Kalau diterjemahkan satu per satu mungkin benar, tapi kalau digabungkan menjadi kalimat tida cocok kedengarannya.*

[I almost forget with Balinese. I didn't know many words in *Basa Alus*. Many levels and variation confuse me. Other Balinese people are also confused about the speech levels. There are many variations, such as Bali Badung, Bali Tabanan, *Basa Alus, Middle*, etc. [Badung and Tabanan are the regencies in Bali-red]. It may correct if we translated word by word, but it sounds strange if we compose the words into a sentence.]

In Lampung, a variety of neutral or equally common languages developed more as the result of democratic choice. It should be noted that the choice was not attributed to deliberate forms of disrespect; that is, the change of the choice and use of speech levels, especially among younger people, was not developed in accordance with its sociolinguistic function. One significant example of this phenomenon is associated with the systematic greeting, as in the following dialogue with an informant:

I : *Di sini saya biasa dipanggil Bu Ida.*

Ir : *Oo, apa setiap Ida Ayu, Dayu di sini niki biasa dipanggil Bu Ida?*

I : *Ya, Nak Ida Bagus dipanggil Pak Ida.  
Dayu di Bali...Disini Bu Ida*

I : Here [in Lampung-red] I am usually called Bu Ida.

Ir : Is every Ida AyuDayu[in Bali-red] called Bu Ida?

I : Yes, here in Lampung, Ida Bagus is called Pak Ida, Ida Ayu (Dayu) is called Ibu Ida

(I = Language consultant; Ir=Interviewer)

Forms of greeting are the words or phrases people use to greet one another (Braun, 1988:7 in Suastra, 1996:27). The form of greeting varies between languages. Suastra (1996) said that the form of greeting in Bali is very complicated, and the choice is determined by social status and other social variables, such as age, gender and generation. Dynasty, or the caste system, is a key factor in social status among the people of Bali. Roles and levels of politeness are very important in the Balinese greeting (1996:28-34). For example, people from the Brahmin castes are called *Ida Bagus (man)* and *Ida Ayu (woman)*. In an intimate situation, while still showing respect for the customary greeting, *Ida Bagus* becomes *Gus*, and *Ida Ayu* usually becomes *Dayu*. However, in the province of Lampung, the people greet *Ida Bagus* by *Pak Ida (Mr Ida)* and *Ida Ayu* by *Ibu Ida (Mrs Ida)*; thereby revealing that the Balinese greeting was devalued through the adoption of the Indonesian greeting system.

#### 4.2 Balinese script writing (*aksara*) in Lampung

Warna et al(1983:3) stated that Balinese has its own system of writing called *Aksara Bali*, or 'Balinese script'. According to our survey results, the majority of people in the younger generations are unable to write *Aksara Bali*. The respondents confirmed that they did not have the knowledge to master Balinese script because it was not taught at home or school. Some respondents admitted that they had class lessons on Balinese script in their *pasraman*<sup>2</sup>; however, the time allotment was only one hour per week. It appears, then, that the older generation is no longer transmitting Balinese script to the future generations. This is likely because the older generations are beginning to forget Balinese script.

Ir : *Nu bapak inget teken Aksara Bali ne pak? 'Masihkah bapak ingat Aksara Bali?'*

I : *Nu inget langkah-langkah tiang nika. Nulis kenaja ben bedik-bedi ktapi nu liunan engsap.'Saya masih bias mengingat sedikit.Menuliskannya masih bisa, tapi lebih banyak lupa dari pada ingatnya.'*

Ir : Do you still remember Balinese scripts?

I : I just remember a little. I can still write it, but I have forgotten more than I remember.

However, it is surprising that several temples in Central Lampung have nameplates using Balinese script, as seen in figure 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Pasraman* is the place where Hindu students study religion. While they mostly study religion, the instructor inserts Balinese culture.



**Figure 7.** Balinese Script in Lampung

These images feature signs promoting Balinese script to the Balinese people. The promotion, which was created by the Balinese Hindu elite,<sup>3</sup> has had a positive effect on the younger generation, though only in promoting cultural awareness of Balinese script. The populists<sup>4</sup> in their homes also promote script. The example below shows an image of a sign marking the completion of construction of a man's house.



**Figure 8:** Balinese script marking the finishing of house

Leaders have begun to increase education in Balinese script by allotting more time in *pasraman*. Previously, Balinese script lessons were only once a week but are now twice. However, these efforts, especially in sensitive domains, such as *awig-awig*, do not seem to affect the Balinese transmigrants. *Awig-awig* is a written or convention ruling system of Balinese people in every facet of life. *Awig-awig* continues to use Latin, because the people are generally more familiar with it.

#### 4.4 The Phenomena of Code Mixing and Switching

According to Grosjean (1982:146), code mixing and switching are very common characteristics of the speech in bilingual or multilingual societies. The speech of Balinese transmigrants, which includes Javanese, Indonesian, Balinese or even Lampungese, is no exception.

<sup>3</sup> Balinese Hindu's 'elite' refers to the leaders of Hindu religion, such as *pemangku*, *pedanda*(priest).

<sup>4</sup> Balinese Hindu's 'populis' refers to Balinese people who have educational and economic power in transmigration society.

We observed these phenomena by telling the transmigrant Balinese respondents specific stories with images, then asking them to retell the stories based on the images. One of these stories told the tale of a dog and a goat. The images from the story are presented in Figure 9.

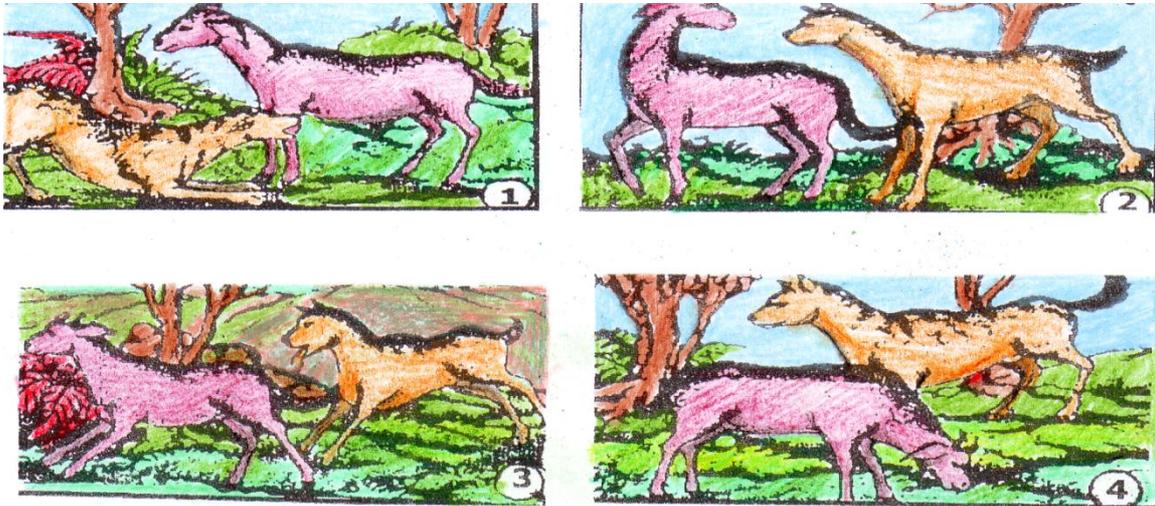


Figure 9. Story line

Following is two respondent's retelling of the story.

*Ada cerita tentang I Kambing jak I Cicing. Jani I Cicing ne ngelah tanduk kan. Jak I Cicing ngelah tanduk, **tapi** metimpal ajak I Kambing. I Kambing sing ngelah tanduk. Jani I Kambing nagih nyilih tandukne I Cicing. I Cicing kan ngemaang. Terus I Kambing nyilih tandukne. **Sejak** to I Kambing metanduk. **Tapi** ia I Cicing lakar nagih tanduk e, jani sing ia baange. I Kambing liu ne **muji** ia karena ia ngelah tanduk. **Tapi** ia I Cicing merasa ia iri. **Dan ingin menagih** buin tandukne I Kam... I Cicing ajak I Kambing. Tapi I Kambing sing maang... sing nyaknguliang. **Tapi** si An... terus I Cicing **ngejar** I Kambing lakar nagih tandukne. **Tapi Sang Kambing terus malaib sampek akhirne buntutne I Kambing gepak e.. gepak e** ken Cicing terus Terus... terus gelekange. si Ci... Cicing **sampek** saat ini I Kambing **mebuntut** pendek bertanduk. Tapi I Cicing meikut dawa tapi sing metanduk*

*Ada cerita tentang I Kambing dan I Cicing (Anjing). Saat ini I Cicing yang punya tanduk kan?. I Cicing mempunyai tanduk tapi berteman dengan I Kambing. I Kambing tidak punya tanduk. I Kambing mau meminjam tanduknya I Cicing. I Cicing lalu memberikannya. Lalu I Kambing meminjam tanduknya. Sejak saa itu I Kambing bertanduk. Kemudian I Cicing mau meminta tanduknya tapi tidak diberikan oleh I Kambing karena banyak yang memuji I Kambing karena ia punya tanduk. I Cicing merasa iri. Dan ingin menagih kembali tanduknya. Tapi I Kambing tidak mau mengembalikan. I Cicing mengejar I Kambing mau meminta tanduknya. Tapi Sang Kambing terus berlari sampai akhirnya ekornya I Kambing digigit oleh I Cicing lalu ditelan. Sehingga sampai saat ini I Kambing berekor pendek dan bertanduk. Sedangkan I Cicing berekor panjang dan tidak bertanduk.*

[There is a story about a goat and a dog. Previously, the dog had horns. He made friends with the goat. The goat did not have horns, but he had a long tail. The goat then wanted to borrow the dog's horns. The dog lent its horns to the goat. Since then, goats have had horns. Other animals praised the goat because he used the horns, so the dog envied him. He wanted his horns back, but the goat did not want to return it. The dog then chased the goat to ask for his horns. But the goat kept running until, finally, the goat's tail was bitten by the dog, who then swallowed it. So, that 's why now goats have short tails and horns, and dogs have long tails and no horns.]

The data above show code mixing in the words *Ada cerita tentang, tapi, sejak, muji, gepak, ngejar* and *sampek*. The respondent used some Indonesian and Javanese words in reproducing the story. In addition, the Indonesian words used the conjunctions *tentang* 'about', *sebagai* 'as', *dari* 'from' and *akhirne* 'finally'. The other category includes the use of adjectives indicating qualities and circumstances, such as *yakin* 'sure', *pasti* 'sure', *setia* 'faithful', *keju t*'shock', *bahagia* 'happy', *kecewa* 'disappointed', *keedinginan* 'cold', *rakus* 'greedy' and *sopansantun* 'manners'. The dominant category indicates activity, such as *ngundurin diri* 'resign', *ngangkat* 'elected', *ngelanjutin* 'continue', *ngelaporin* 'report', *nemuin* 'meet', *manggil* 'call', *ngerasa* 'feel', *muji* 'praise' and *ngegagalin* 'defeat'.

The reproduction is also coloured by the use of Javanese in various domains of daily life, such as *bocah-bocah* 'anak-anak', *basing* 'campuran', *sopo* 'siapa', *opo* 'apa', *onourap* 'adaurap', *metumburan* 'bertabrakan', *ngonokui* 'yang begitu' and *gepak* 'gigit.'

The mixed code used by the younger Balinese migrants in Lampung is the result of their deficient recognition of the code; that is, the speakers switch because they do not understand the equivalent words, phrases or clauses in basic Balinese. Code mixing occurs mainly among the speakers who practice Balinese or Javanese. These speakers use the other languages in their daily codes, which is evident the exploitation of Javanese words such as *asgepak* 'bite' and *buntut* 'tail'. The speakers apply these words to compensate for limited vocabularies in Balinese, as is evident in the following statement.

'...liu Bahasa Bali yang ing nawang, dadi ne anggo gen... basa Jawa.... wongkonco ne wuakeh basa Jawa dadi nengerti....'...Banyak Bahasa Bali yang saya tidak tahu, jadi saya gunakan saja Bahasa Jawa, karena teman-temannya juga banyak berbahasa Jawa jadi cepat mengerti.'

[...I did not know many Balinese words, so I used Javanese. We have many Javanese friends and my Balinese friends also speak Javanese, so I am sure they understand what I say.]

## 5 Conclusion

The pattern of language choice of the Balinese transmigrant community in Lampung in various languages events, including those that are sensitive to the use of Balinese (e.g. dreaming, praying at home, fighting and telling traditional stories) is largely mixed with Indonesian and Javanese. The ability of transmigrants to use Balinese grammar and spelling, especially among the younger generations, has been devalued.

Mastery of the Balinese speech levels among younger generations and children is very low. The logical consequence of this phenomenon has been the development of a more neutral common register. Degradation in the mastery of the lexicons of Balinese transmigrants in Lampung (particularly among children) mainly occurs in words categorized as greeting forms, activities, qualities and conditions. The linguistic characteristics of Balinese transmigrant speakers in the transmigration areas in Lampung are marked by high occurrences of code switching between Balinese, Javanese and Indonesian.

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# 5 *Preliminary results of university-community partnerships and participatory action research methods in a youth for language revitalization project*

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APAY AI-YU TANG

## 1 Introduction

Among projects that attempt to revitalize an indigenous language in a multilingual and multicultural context, some focus on models or strategies such as language immersion (Reyhner 2010) or master-apprentice programs (Hinton 2008), others place emphasis on the space for agency (McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol & Zepeda 2009), and still others stress communities' ambivalent attitudes and competing ideologies of development and decolonization (Messing 2009). However, based on her study of L1 German Jews, Schmid (2002:191) concludes that 'what is at the heart of language attrition is not so much the opportunities to use the language, nor yet the age at the time of emigration. What matters is the speaker's identity and self-perception.'

During the process of implementing grassroots language revitalization, attempting to help a young language learner to identify himself or herself as part of a community and to desire this recognition as a member is one of the great challenges language researchers and activists face. Working in the context of strong indigenous language attrition and language shift where the members of the entire speech community are currently on a cline of linguistic proficiency that decreases with age, we agree with Schmid that if a speaker, user, or learner has an ethnic identity and chooses to be identified as a member, s/he must be willing to exercise even limited abilities in the native language under various pressures. When the number of speakers or users increases, the key factor of language revitalization—intergenerational transmission—can then become possible. Challenges abound: the initial results of the implementation of our Truku revitalization project in eastern Taiwan, which began in January 2012 with support from the National Geographic Genographic Legacy Fund, have allowed us to observe that many community members are unaware of the ongoing process of language loss. In addition, the current situation of the Truku language supports McCarty and Wyman's (2009) observation that the socio-cultural environments that indigenous youth face are far more complex than words imply.

Hence, we propose that language revitalization efforts at the grassroots level should (i) focus on the community itself and its members (Perta 2008:1222); (ii) position youth as the key change agents in (reversing) language shift (Fishman 1991:287), noting that their

decisions about language can empower them to take the risks necessary to support their choices and imagined future (McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol & Zepeda 2009:304); (iii) employ a participatory action research (PAR) method to empower the youth to participate as partners, and sometimes as key directors, of various research processes; and (iv) adopt university-community partnerships (UCP), if possible, as a model for strengthening the youth's consciousness and mobilization in education and development.

This paper describes the significance of university-community partnerships (UCP) and positioning the youth as the key change agents by employing a participatory action research (PAR) method in a multilingual context or language shift situation. In this UCP, researchers and students work in collaboration with a local language revitalization project, involving community elders, agency staff, community youth, and members of grassroots organizations. We believe that employing PAR in the UCP may increase the autonomy of both Truku and non-Truku participating youth by strengthening intergenerational ties, addressing the pressures on youth language choices, and further affecting larger social and systematic change.

Section 2 provides a brief introduction to the PAR method, UCP, and youth as agents. In Section 3, cross-generational decline and ambivalent identity in the Truku Seediq community are briefly described. Section 4 presents the current study including the process of implementation, the methodology, the site, the participants, and a preliminary analysis and findings. A brief general discussion appears in Section 5, and Section 6 concludes the paper.

## **2 Background: University-community partnerships for language revitalization through participatory action research for youth**

As noted earlier, this project puts emphasis on the significance of UCP and on positioning the youth as key change agents by employing a PAR method in a multilingual context and language shift situation. However, it is widely acknowledged that endangered-language speakers' identities often appear to be ambivalent; many, especially in the younger generations, identify themselves as mainstream speakers, which negatively influences their attitudes toward their own linguistic identity. In addition, as I note in an earlier study (Tang 2011:197) on Truku Seediq, 'speaker identity and motivation have repeatedly been shown to influence their language choice.' Therefore, language maintenance efforts should begin by considering psycholinguistic factors such as speakers' identity and attitude, because 'the decision to abandon one's own language always derives from a change in the self-esteem of the speech community' (Brenzinger, Heine & Somner 1991:37), and as noted earlier, the key factor of language attrition and loss is the speaker's identity and self-perception.

Hence, the key change actors—youth—should first foster awareness of language endangerment and positive attitudes toward the usefulness of their native tongue before planning how to increase the ability to use it and its actual frequency of use.<sup>1</sup> Definitions of key concepts and the role of UCP in language revitalization through a PAR method for youth are discussed in the following sections.

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<sup>1</sup> Cooper (1989:61–62) proposes four stages of acceptance of a language behavior: (i) awareness (knowledge that the phenomenon exists), (ii) evaluation (forming a favorable attitude toward the usefulness of the language behavior), (iii) proficiency (ability to use the language), and (iv) usage (actual frequency of language use).

## **2.1 Participatory action research**

Elden and Levin (1991:131) define PAR as ‘a way of learning how to explain a particular social world by working with the people who live in it to construct, test, and improve theories about it, so they can better control it.’ They further argue that PAR as learning can empower in three ways. First, the participants are empowered when they discover new understandings and possibilities during the process of finding better explanations of their social reality.

Second, in contrast to typical schooling experiences where people are not instilled with passion for learning and therefore often do not know how to learn, PAR offers them an opportunity to dialogue with and learn from each other, and thus enhance their understanding about reality throughout the process.

Third, they are empowered when they learn how to transform their social reality with others. Therefore, the process of learning becomes a process of taking control. On top of empowerment, this definition implies a belief in people’s capability to take part in the research process as well.

The epistemological assumption of PAR is consistent with that of indigenous epistemology, which refers to ‘a cultural group’s ways of thinking and of creating and reformulating knowledge using traditional discourses and media of communication (e.g., face-to-face interaction) and anchoring the truth of the discourse in culture’ (Gegeo 1998:290). Similarly, participatory action researchers emphasize that three integrated components involved in the process of creating knowledge are thinking, feeling, and acting (Balcazar et al. 2002:20). Moreover, both recognize the fact that ‘epistemological agents are communities rather than individuals. In other words, knowledge is constructed by communities—epistemological communities—rather than collections of independently knowing individuals’ (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo 2001:58.)

## **2.2 University-community partnerships**

Mattessich and Monsey (1992:11) define collaboration as a well-defined and mutually beneficial relationship that is entered by two or more organizations to achieve common goals. In UCP, faculty and students collaborate in a variety of community settings and programs from grassroots groups and community-based organizations to human service agencies and schools (Suarez-Balcazar et al. 2002:106). Roussos and Fawcett (2000) point out that within these mutually beneficial unions, partners are engaged in mutual reflection and analysis of the needs and values of the community, work in partnership for the research endeavour, and use findings to support social change efforts. Similar to the PAR method mentioned above, concepts that guide these partnerships include the concepts of empowerment and collaboration with each other; therefore, partners become active members of the research team.

## **2.3 Youth as agents**

Youth, as Shohamy (2006:48) points out, are the ones who set the language policy of the home and want to make decisions on choosing the language(s) they use with their peers and in public domains depending on a variety of considerations. Similarly, Harrison (2007:8) argues that the ‘youngest speakers—acting as tiny social barometers—are acutely sensitive to the disfavoured status of their elders’ languages...and may choose to speak the more dominant tongue.’

Therefore, in a setting where language shift is already evident, a strong body of agents is needed to have sufficient influence on regaining the choice of native language use in

various domains. Because youth are able to thoughtfully and critically express the underlying causes of language endangerment, many researchers (e.g., McCarty & Wyman 2009:287; Messing 2009:361, among others) in indigenous language practices emphasize the need to view youth as actors in their endangerment settings.

Moreover, Romaine (2007:121) points out that the pulse of a language clearly lies in the youngest generation. McCarty and Wyman (2009:279) disfavor the stereotypical assumption that indigenous youth simply orient away from local communities and identities and toward dominant languages, and argue that young people ‘negotiate relationships of power, assumptions about languages, and diminishing opportunities for ancestral language learning in rapidly changing sociolinguistic ecologies.’ However, they caution that youth cannot be expected to act alone.

### **3 Cross-generational decline and ambivalent identity**

Many scholars would agree that the original ‘homeland’ of Austronesian languages must be sought in Taiwan (Blust 1999). A total of twenty-four Formosan Austronesian languages are known to have existed in Taiwan. Nine of the Formosan indigenous languages are already extinct, and the others are declining rapidly (Zeitoun, Yu & Weng 2003:218). Truku Seediq is an example of a language in decline and continues to rapidly lose its functions, yet lacks protection and promotion from the government. Together with Teuda and Tkdaya, Truku is one of the three dialects of Seediq, an Austronesian language spoken northeast of Puli Township in Central Taiwan. The Seediq dialects are spoken in the area north of Wushe village and in the valleys to the east and northeast of the village, as well as throughout the Central Mountain Range, as far as Truku Gorge and the Pacific coast (Holmer 1996:9).

Tang (2010, 2011) uses both on-line and off-line measurements to assess Truku language shift and language attrition, and finds that there are strong signs of cross-generational decline and further erosion in the youth compared to the young adults. In addition, these studies’ results make it clear that the members of the entire Truku speech community, from ages ten to sixty-five, are currently on a cline of phonological, lexical, morphological, and syntactic proficiency that decreases with age.

In terms of ethnolinguistic identity, Truku show ambivalence. They both value their Truku ethnolinguistic identity and identify themselves as Mandarin/dominant language speakers in their responses to the question ‘Please name the cultures with which you identify’ (Question 6) in the Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q) designed by Marian, Blumenfield, and Kaushanskaya (2007:940–967). Tang (2011:173) suggests that ‘the ideology of Truku as a monolingual identity has been shifting to a desire to become a multilingual Truku for socioeconomic reasons; shifting from Truku to Mandarin does not only refer to the shift of Truku language identity but also the addition of Mandarin speaker identity.’ This situation suggests the urgent need to foster awareness of Truku endangerment and positive attitudes toward the usefulness of Truku by implementing the UCP revitalization project, to which we now turn.

### **4 The study**

The questions guiding this study include (a) how can we help position the youth as the key change agents in a multilingual context or language shift situation? and (b) what factors are helpful to the youth from both university and community bottom-up language revitalization efforts?

The ongoing project, entitled 'Being Seediq: Preserving Indigenous Culture at the Intersection of Language Revitalization, Relationship Rebuilding, and Community Collaboration,' was proposed by the author and Man-chiu Amay Lin, PhD candidate at Arizona State University, in June 2011, received support from the National Geographic Genographic Legacy Fund in November 2011, and began to be implemented in January 2012. It is designed to raise local awareness about the linguistic and cultural loss faced by indigenous and traditional communities. In addition, the project aims to create opportunities for both elder-youth and university-community partnerships by offering teaching groups, one-on-one mentoring, and ongoing dialogues while following a PAR approach.

This collaborative process allows both community and academic members to actively participate and teach in the program and leads to a better understanding of the history and culture of the community and more authentic perspectives on social reality. Hence, all team members, especially from both the Truku and non-Truku younger generations, may develop greater autonomy, especially in addressing the pressures on youth language choices.

#### **4.1 The process of implementing the language project**

There are three main steps for implementing the revitalization project: planning with community members, implementing the program, and initially assessing the impact of the UCP. First, an extensive amount of participation was elicited from community activists, elders, and youth during the initial stages of the planning to discuss the curriculum of the language program, the master-apprentice language program, the pacing of the program, and the location of the program.<sup>2</sup> The goal of having a weekly program offered in a pavilion at a rice field in Qowgan village is to provide a natural environment and good access for the participants to involve them in the process of creating knowledge via thinking, feeling, and acting (i.e., the epistemology of PAR).

Second, in accordance with the empowerment-oriented model of PAR, the elders from the community, along with the Chinese and indigenous scholars, started to incorporate two young Truku women into the teaching, which has thus far included a weekly planning meeting on Thursday and a two-hour class on Saturday over a period of thirty-six weeks, continuing to the present time. During this program, Truku children learn Truku language through interactions with visiting elders, learning songs and prayers, making hunting tools, planting traditional vegetables, working with clay, learning traditional songs and dances, and so forth, which is a contrast to their typical schooling experience.

Simultaneously, due to the need to teach young children in the program, the two young Truku women are learning Truku traditional knowledge and epistemology from the elders and participating in designing the curriculum for the weekly program on Thursdays. Moreover, this process allows them to interview other elders in the village and produce video clips to document the interviews for pedagogical purposes.<sup>3</sup>

Subsequently, ten college students joined the program and have been collaboratively teaching the children in small groups on a weekly basis since February of 2013. The students, who miss the process of designing the curriculum on Thursdays, need to aggressively learn vocabulary and short dialogues online for the specific topic prior to the

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<sup>2</sup> A master-apprentice language program teaches native speakers and young adults to work together intensively so that the younger members may develop conversational proficiency in the language (Hinton 2008:217).

<sup>3</sup> This process allows the youth to collect and document materials related to traditional knowledge, stories, songs, prayers, and so forth that can be used in the ongoing weekly language activities; hence, this collaborative effort can contribute to attaining the purposes of language documentation and revitalization.

weekly meeting on Saturdays. In addition, a regular session for dialogue and discussion is held to share program contents, difficulties, and thoughts with the community members and the work team immediately after the weekly ‘class’ or ‘activity.’

## 4.2 Methodology

This study focused on the Saturday language program, and the subject of this study included four young members and their classes, two each from the community and the university. It seems that in order to understand participants’ indigenous language ideologies and practices and use them to inform others, it is appropriate to use praxis-oriented (reflection after action) ethnographic research that employs collaborative ethnographic methods (e.g., dialogues, participant observation, field notes, researcher’s journal, home visits, interviews, audio-recording). Therefore, we provide an ethnographic portrait of the research context and explain how the youths’ linguistic and cultural identity can be strengthened by conducting participatory action research (PAR) while collaborating in the UCP program. Relatively few ethnographic studies in language revitalization have dealt with the youth from both indigenous and non-indigenous communities as well as from both community and university.

Data were collected at Qowgan, an indigenous village in eastern Taiwan, over a fourteen-month period by the following means: (a) retrospective journal entries by Dong Hwa students; (b) video classroom observation made by A-Cin Chen, a Chinese computer specialist; (c) teacher/student questionnaires after the semester ended; and (d) post-observational interviews. From the beginning, all the youth were informed that the study was about language revitalization efforts in the indigenous community.

## 4.3 The site

The language program was conducted in a bamboo pavilion (*biyi* in Truku) next to a vegetable field in Qowgan Village in Hualien County in Taiwan.<sup>4</sup> The curriculum designed for this weekly Saturday class from eight to ten in the morning or beyond was based on a Truku child socialization process—learning by doing—targeting the younger Truku learners. Therefore, the classes included designing traps, growing vegetables, knowing the names of animals and plants, building a campfire, learning Truku traditional songs and dances, and so forth. The lead elder in this working team, Ciwang, once said, ‘The most important thing for traditional Truku is land. Wherever we go, we first build a *biyi* next to the farming land where we can talk, rest, and discuss our culture with our family members and the young generation.’

## 4.4 The participants

The approximately forty participants in this Truku revitalization program can be divided into two groups. The first group is the twenty to twenty-three Truku young learners ranging in age from six to fifteen years old. They all are growing up in Qowgan Village and regularly join the program, learning Truku from the teaching group that includes both community members and an academic team. There are almost even numbers of males and

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<sup>4</sup> The classroom can be seen at <https://www.facebook.com/groups/150656285058267/> and we created a group on Facebook called *Pnkari ta Truku hug* ‘Let’s speak in Truku’. Contents of the weekly class are posted in advance, so all the young members of this group may preview and review the Truku words, phrases, and songs before and after the class.

females. All the children can only utter a few lexical items related to greetings or basic terms such as body parts or nature images.

The second group is the teaching group, consisting of seventeen members, which includes two Truku female elders in their sixties (Asuy and Aun), two Truku females in their twenties (Apaw and Biyah) who studied outside the village and have returned for a couple of years, one Chinese computer specialist (A-Cin Chen) who has been documenting the contents of various meetings and activities in the program, and ten college students currently taking the class 'Learning through Service' at National Dong Hwa University in eastern Taiwan (four are ethnic Truku and six are Chinese, but none of them speak Truku), one Chinese PhD candidate (Man-Chiu Amay Lin) who is temporarily absent, and the author, who is a community member from Qowgan Village and currently works at Dong Hwa University as well.<sup>5</sup> The key leadership and affiliated groups that have been involved with the project are listed in Appendix A, and all the participants' names are pseudonyms.

#### **4.5 Analysis**

Analysis and interpretation were based on the collective insights and reflexive feedback from the participants and researchers. These data, together with the questionnaire data, were transcribed and coded for themes associated with the youth's ideologies and attitudes while collaborating on this language revitalization project.

The procedure and analysis of the questionnaires and interviews were as follows. First, a three-page questionnaire to be administered to participants was designed to elicit their opinions and ideas about the impact of UCP (see Appendix B). Respondents were asked to give a brief personal and linguistic background, marking their degree of agreement to statements about language ideologies and the UCP model by using the typical five-point Likert scale from 1 to 5, 1 being 'Strongly disagree' and 5 being 'Strongly agree.' They were also asked to write about their responses related to the implementing process.

Second, in structuring the interviews, we concentrated on questions about their responses to (i) language teaching in a small group, (ii) the experience of collaborating in the UCP, and (iii) the impact of the language revitalization project after each weekly program.

#### **4.6 Findings**

As noted earlier, only four young members' brief profiles are provided in this paper; they were chosen due to their enthusiasm and willingness to participate in the classes fully. The four include one Truku novice teacher in her late twenties from the community (Apaw), one nine year old Truku learner from the community (Atay), one twenty year old Truku male student at Dong Hwa University who works as a novice Truku teacher in the project (Yukang), and one twenty year old Chinese female student at Dong Hwa University who works as a novice Truku teacher in the project (A-Hwa) as well. All ten college students and the two young Truku teachers took part in the structured interviews. Five out of ten students and the two young Truku from Qowgan village responded to the questionnaires. The preliminary results are presented in this section.

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<sup>5</sup> This class is led by Dr Amy Pei-Jung Lee, an associate professor in the Department of Indigenous Language and Communication.

#### 4.6.1 Apaw

I was not really aware of the importance of my mother tongue at the beginning. However, after I was involved in this language classroom on Saturdays and tried to teach children in Truku, I started to realize how significant it is to identify myself as a member of our community; I feel I want to know more about my mother tongue. I especially feel very encouraged to see that young children get more interested in learning Truku. (interview, June 29, 2013)

Born and raised in Qowgan Village in eastern Taiwan but attending university in another town, Apaw graduated with a major in childhood education, returned to the village two years ago, and has been preparing to earn a kindergarten teacher's license since last year. In April 2012, invited to join the project by the two co-leaders—the author and Man-Chiu Amay Lin—Apaw expressed her belief that the mother tongue played a crucial role in human development as a whole and immediately agreed to be one of the Truku teachers of the Saturday language program. During the process, Apaw has explained that she is learning along with the children about Truku traditional values, culture, and various uses of the language. In addition, as the leader of the Sunday School of the Qowgan Presbyterian Church, she has used what she learns in this class to teach children there in Truku.

At the early stage of teaching, despite her frustration and disappointment with children in her kindergarten group who were naughty or unfocused, Apaw kept her enthusiasm and patience for teaching younger Truku. She understood that the language socialization was a process, and was deeply committed to motivate them to be active learners. After a year, her students experienced a natural transformation of understanding their ethnic identity and began to urge their parents or grandparents to speak Truku to them at home.

#### 4.6.2 Atay

Then...I think if there is no Truku language, there will be no Truku ethnic group. If you don't speak Truku, Truku will no longer exist. Quickly, speak Truku. Truku can give us new knowledge. (interview, September 14, 2012)

Faithfully attending the language classroom on Saturdays from June 2012 until the present, Atay is a nine year old female Truku learner from the village who calls herself a Truku language ambassador. A rather introverted, shy, and less talkative child, Atay quietly walked into our first meeting in February 11, 2012 with her little sister Iming and their mother. She usually had little interaction with her peers, and only briefly responded to teachers' questions. Nevertheless, she has been one of the few young learners who have been punctual, cooperative, and responsible about all of the tasks in the class.

To our surprise, one day close to Christmas 2012, during the break time of the class in the bamboo pavilion, Atay picked up a bamboo stool and pestle as musical instruments and spontaneously sang a couple of Truku traditional songs that she had been taught. A short while later, the children around her joined in, singing and dancing with great delight.

I enjoyed the activities we had on Saturdays. I like singing and dancing in Truku. In addition, we planted and grew some vegetables, and we picked them up, and then sold them to villagers. Many people sold them...many people bought them. It was fun. (video clip, May 16, 2013)

### **4.6.3 Yukang**

I feel my Truku language has greatly improved since I taught this class. However, in my observation, some Truku children's proficiency is much greater than mine. Therefore, I think this class is effective and hope it can be continued. Having been living in an urban area, I just realized how much I did not know about my own cultural values and tradition. I am very grateful for this opportunity to learn all these with the children. Although I am given the title of 'Truku Teacher' in the class, I actually learn a lot from this program. (journal, June 1, 2013)

Born, raised, and educated around the suburb of Hualien City of the eastern Taiwan, Yukang was a nineteen year old Truku male freshman at Dong Hwa University and worked as a novice Truku teacher in the project. Yukang's identity and attitude toward Truku has been naturally transformed through his experience of teaching Truku over a period of six months. He initially felt intimidated by the extraordinarily outgoing Truku children in the class. After learning with them for about half a year, he gradually began to express that he appreciated these children because they help arouse his motivation to learn and restore his interest in his own culture and language. When he left the program, he found that he had grown attached to them.

Moreover, Isaw had originally not thought that he would be successful in teaching Truku to the younger generation. After his teaching experience, he felt much more confident and determined to learn more Truku language and cultural values in the near future. 'A sense of achievement and satisfaction filled my heart,' he wrote in his journal on the last day of the semester.

### **4.6.4 A-Hwa**

Seeing the Truku elders' enthusiasm and patience to teach young learners makes me feel so touched and encouraged. I really appreciated this opportunity to truly walk into a village and be able to get familiar with Truku language, culture, and environment. To me, this is a brand new experience, and it gives me a chance to grow. Together with the Truku ethnic group, we should strive for protecting indigenous language and culture. These are worthwhile. I hope indigenous people can help instruct us, so we all can learn and make efforts to revitalize indigenous language and culture collaboratively. (journal, March 26, 2013)

An outgoing and intelligent Chinese student from Dong Hwa University, A-Hwa, Yukang's classmate, was a very passionate and responsible Truku novice teacher in this class. Although she had neither been to an indigenous village nor spoken any Truku before, A-Hwa felt much curiosity and little anxiety about teaching young Truku learners to pronounce Truku words. She would aggressively learn Truku vocabulary and songs in advance via the video on Facebook provided by Biyah, a young Truku teacher in the village. A-Hwadid not want to give up learning and tried to build close relationships with the children. Furthermore, she expressed that it had been a great joy and honour to be able to work with the elders from the village, because she could learn many traditional skills and values which could not be taught anywhere else.

#### 4.6.5 Questionnaires

On the first part of the questionnaire, all seven respondents marked 'I agree very much' for all twelve questions. In other words, they showed positive attitudes toward the UCP model and were supportive of the language program.

On the second part of the questionnaire, where they were asked to answer questions in their own words, interesting responses to Question 11, 'Is it important to include elders in the community activity, and why?,' included 'we learn much from the elders because they know the traditional knowledge and skills'; 'we need them to interpret Truku throughout the activities'; and 'the elders may have an opportunity to transmit what they know to the younger generations, and mobilize other community members to participate in the language revitalization program.'

For Question 12, where they were asked to give comments on 'It is important to include the youth in the community activity, and why?,' the respondents expressed that 'the youth are one of the major change agents who should aggressively join the community project, ensuring cultural and linguistic intergenerational transmission'; 'this gives the youth an opportunity to experience the significance of cultural inheritance'; 'this will help the youth build up their concern for their own community, and pass down what they learn to others'; 'the youth need to learn by doing and through service. In addition, this program helps those who are originally from urban places to understand the life and culture in rural areas.'

When asked to describe struggles, challenges, or difficulties while joining in this program, responses included: 'I need to learn Truku language more, so that I can be a better teacher in small groups'; and 'I need to know how to discipline the children when they misbehave.'

#### 4.6.6 Interviews

The responses of the indigenous youth (from both the community and the university) and those of the non-indigenous college students are described separately.

Indigenous youth who help teach the Truku children in this program made the following comments: (i) 'I feel very touched when I see children's willingness to learn our mother tongue. In addition, in the process of videotaping and collecting some traditional songs and stories from the elders in our community, I feel our culture and language are very valuable and we should be responsible to pass them down to the younger generations'; (ii) 'I want to improve my own Truku proficiency, so that I can give and help them even more'; (iii) 'I can connect with community members more, and have good rapport with them'; (iv) 'we can learn our own culture from each other and I can learn many traditional skills'; (v) 'I can grow and mature throughout the process'; (vi) 'Dong Hwa university has a geographical privilege of connecting with community members, and has a responsibility to collaboratively maintain or revive cultural inheritance with them'; and (vii) 'I learn pedagogical and communicative skills from the elders and community members, as well as with Truku children.'

The non-indigenous college students made the following comments: (i) 'I experience the significance of cultural inheritance in an ethnic group'; (ii) 'I gain some knowledge in indigenous culture and traditional customs'; (iii) 'I learn some pedagogical skills'; (iv) 'I am very touched by the teaching team from the community including the elders and youth who are willing to spend their time and efforts for this cultural inheritance'; (v) 'I want to aggressively learn Truku linguistic and pedagogical skills, so I can be more effective in teaching Truku children and build up good rapport with them'; (vi) 'I feel very grateful and encouraged because children can learn their language through our assistance, and I think it is very significant to transmit Truku cultural inheritance to the young ones.'

## **5 Discussion**

Five main points can be supported by the data presented and discussed in this paper. These points are based on Balcazar et al.'s observations on PAR approaches (2002:22–24) and Suarez-Balcazar et al.'s views on UCP (2002:107–110). First, based on trust and mutual respect, this UCP provides an opportunity for youth to learn from each other; they become empowered in the process of finding new understanding and specific insights about their linguistic and cultural realities. Such awareness may change the way indigenous youth see themselves and their potential. For instance, many indigenous college students are very encouraged and mobilized by the elders and peer indigenous youth from the community, so they become role models to the young students while guiding the children as they learn Truku together. Moreover, through the process of collecting the pedagogical materials by interviewing and videotaping the community elders, the youth from the community make new discoveries about their social reality and their own perspectives toward themselves.

Second, because the UCP in this case works toward addressing the linguistic issues and problems identified by the community members, the weekly agenda is guided by the concerns of the community. Hence, all the participating youth, from both the university and the community, need to actively participate in the program in accord with this goal, leading to a better understanding of the history and culture of the community and a more authentic analysis of social reality. For example, both indigenous and non-indigenous youth from the community and college indicated that they learned and appreciated more about the traditional culture and nature of the community. Such awareness not only develops their mutual respect and understanding, but can be considered as training for future advocacy purposes.

Next, the UCP is characterized by its open lines of communication, and hence offers the indigenous youth in particular an opportunity to engage in a dialogical approach to action that leads to critical awareness. In other words, 'dialogue can lead participants to reflect on their history and the factors that maintain their condition of oppression or exploitation' (Balcazar et al. 2002:24). The process of reflection helps people transform their victimized view of themselves to a perception of themselves as agents responsible for forging their future. In this language revitalization project, the constituents discuss issues openly, provide necessary updates, and convey all information to one another, as well as to others outside the collaborative team.

Fourth, the diversity of the partners who bring a variety of skills, perspectives, and experiences into the UCP provides an opportunity for the youth to recognize people's strengths and raise their awareness about their existing resources, as well as mobilizing them to help themselves. Helping people build from strengths is a way of reinforcing people's capability to act (Balcazar et al. 2002:24). Marginalized people's self-perceptions often focus on and internalize drawbacks. Taking action brings them an opportunity to transform their mindset and re-evaluate their marginalization in the mainstream society. During this endeavour, people who have diverse knowledge, skills, or perspectives come together in these collaborative efforts. For instance, the elders may possess years of experiences that cannot be learned in an academic setting. The youth from the community interview and videotape elders in the community to compile Truku pedagogical materials, and the college students bring a variety of knowledge and perspectives to contribute while participating in the program. Building from their individual strengths may create a force with which they can act, and taking action leads in turn to a re-examination of their abilities.

Finally, in this collaborative effort, the youth are considered as agents with the ability to decide and reflect, and the capacity to participate and to teach the younger generation.

Similarly, this situation where young people are involved in the decision making process may in turn empower them and give them the determination to choose to speak their mother tongue, and even to take the risk of trying to sustain an endangered language in the present and in the future. The weekly discussions and designing the curriculum for the program offer ample opportunities for the youth to engage in decision making about language with the community elders, leading to a process of transformation and empowerment.

## **6 Conclusion**

This project is being conducted under the assumption that positioning youth as actors in their endangerment settings, and arousing their motivation and reinforcing their language identity will help maintain language choice. The main purpose of this paper is to show the significance of UCP and of positioning the youth as crucial agents with the ability to maintain language choice and to further affect larger social change by employing PAR while conducting language revitalization efforts in a multilingual context.

The language revitalization program described herein involves ongoing reciprocal feedback and communication between the elders and the youth, and between youth from the community and youth from an academic setting. In this case study, the youth participating in this program possess a high degree of willingness to collaborate and commit to the process, as well as a certain degree of control over the language revitalization endeavour.

Data drawn from retrospective journal entries, video classroom observation, interviews, and questionnaires suggest that this UCP should directly benefit the youth from the community and the university in various ways. Further, adopting PAR in the UCP not only helps youth gain traditional knowledge and skills, but simultaneously reinforces their development of consciousness and of mobilization toward language maintenance including language revitalization efforts. Nevertheless, this paper can only be a very modest beginning in dealing with the issue of positioning the youth as key agents for language maintenance work by employing PAR. UCP and PAR methods applied to youth for language revitalization are significant, and their in-depth investigation and comparison are worthwhile topics for future research.

## Appendix A

### List of participants involved in the project

Name (duration of participation)	Division of labour	Ethnic affiliation/Title or occupation
Asuy Yudaw (April 2012–present)	Leading the project team by her exceptional knowledge of Truku language and culture; providing first-hand oral histories and knowledge; mentoring the youth and children; creating songs; telling stories; recruiting participants	Truku/Elder; hunter; grandmother of three
Apay Yuki (January 2012–present)	Co-leading the project team; contacting external agencies for sustained support; coordinating communication among different parties; teaching children Truku; bringing in outside resources; managing the budget; recruiting participants	Truku/Assistant professor in National Dong Hwa University
Man-Chiu Amay Lin (February 2012–December 2012, afterwards over the phone)	Assisting Asuy and Apay; befriending and dialoguing with elders and children; coordinating events; recruiting participants; collecting ethnographic information about the villagers and children's progress to inform the project	Chinese/PhD candidate at Arizona State University
Apaw (October 2012–present)	Co-organizing the weekly Truku language class; collaborating with elders; teaching children Truku	Truku/Preschool teacher
Biyah Miki (November 2012–present)	Co-organizing the weekly Truku language class; updating the online (FB) learning resources; documenting the process; providing tech support for elders	Truku/College student
A-Chin Chen (January 2012–present)	Documenting the activities; providing insights and advice from a systematic perspective; editing the documentary	Chinese/Computer engineer
Bilih Kinciang (February 2012–October 2012)	Co-organizing the weekly Truku language class; teaching children Truku	Truku/Mother of three
Ukah Yukang (January 2012–present)	Providing advice and feedback; proofreading the handouts and our written language	Truku/Elder; pioneer in Truku language documentation
Aun Yudaw (January 2012–present)	Co-organizing the weekly Truku language class; informing the group of Indigenous knowledge; teaching children Truku	Truku/Elder; mother of three Truku children
Cikan Yudaw (January 2012–present)	Helping recruit children to participate in the project; teaching children Truku	Truku/Elder; director of Indigenous and Multicultural Association, Hualien
Yadu Yahaw (February 2012–October 2012)	Helping recruit families to participate in the project; recruiting locals to join the project	Truku/Grandfather of four; retired public servant
Abi Bitay (February 2012–June 2012)	Helping recruit families to participate in the project; visiting families to promote intergenerational Truku language transmission; teaching children Truku	Truku/ Grandmother of three; certified Truku language teacher

Agil Agin (February 2012– September 2012)	Visiting families to promote intergenerational Truku language transmission; teaching children Truku	Truku/ Certified Truku language teacher
Am Apih (March 2012– present)	Providing advice and support for Bowtung; proofreading the handouts; participating on occasion	Truku/ Truku language teacher in elementary school
Lowking Umaw (October 2012– present)	Recruiting families and friends to build the <i>biyi</i> for children; making stage props and providing other cultural tools necessary for cultural activities	Truku/ Hunter; construction worker; father of two grandchildren
Baay Aman (July 2012 – September 2012)	Co-organizing the weekly Truku language class; teaching children Truku	Truku/ Preschool teacher; grandmother of two
Abas Bakan (February 2012– June 2012)	Co-organizing the weekly Truku language class; preparing food for cultural events	Truku/ Elder; great grandmother of many
National Dong Hwa University: Amy Pei-jung Lee and her students (February 2012– present)	Co-managing the weekly Truku language class; learning and teaching Truku to children; interviewing the elders; documenting the process	Among the ten college students, four are ethnic Truku, and six are Chinese, but none of them speak Truku. Professor Lee is Chinese and teaches linguistics at the university.

## **Appendix B**

### Teacher-student questionnaire

#### I. Personal Linguistic Background

Name:	Gender:
Email:	Date of birth:
Place of birth:	Current status: <input type="checkbox"/> student <input type="checkbox"/> work
Place of current residence:	Marital status:
First language (learned as a child):	
Second language (learned later on):	
Third/Other language (learned later on):	
Language you are most comfortable using every day with family:	
Language you are most comfortable using every day with non-family/coworkers:	
Other languages you can speak or understand:	

## II. Statements: Please use check [✓]

	I agree very much.	I agree.	I have no opinion.	I do not agree.	I disagree very much.	Comments
	5	4	3	2	1	
1) It is very important for indigenous people to speak their own mother tongue.						
2) I like to work with community members.						
3) Community is one of the important places to learn mother tongue.						
4) It is important for university to work with community.						
5) Building trust and respect is important between university and community.						
6) University-Community Partnerships are good because they can learn from each other.						
7) University-Community Partnerships open an opportunity for me to learn diversity and mutual respect.						
8) University-Community Partnerships open a door for me to learn about the culture of the community.						
9) University-Community Partnerships are based on the needs of the community.						
10) University-Community Partnerships share accountability of partnership success and opportunities.						
11) It is important to include elders to join the community activity, and why?						
12) It is important to include the youth to join the community activity, and why?						

## III. Questions

1) How do you feel before and after joining the revitalization project?

2) What are the things that you feel were touching or impressive during the process?



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# 6

## *The Matukar Panau online talking dictionary: Collective elicitation and collaborative documentation*<sup>1</sup>

GREGORY D. S. ANDERSON<sup>2</sup>, DANIELLE BARTH<sup>3</sup>,  
AND KADAGOI RAWAD FOREPISO<sup>4</sup>

### 1 The Matukar Panau language

The Matukar Panau language of Papua New Guinea is a member of the Eastern branch of the Bel family of the Ngero-Vitiaz linkage within Oceanic. Matukar Panau is the local autoglottonym for the language known in the linguistic literature as simply Matukar or Matugar; it is also referred to locally as Panau alone, which means ‘give it to me’ in the language. The reasoning behind the use of this phrase as the autoglottonym reflects the population’s knowledge that they migrated to this region in the past and displaced the original inhabitants, euphemized in the expression *panau* ‘give it to me’.

According to the *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al. 2013) based on data from 2003, Matukar Panau [iso: mjk] has 430 speakers,<sup>5</sup> or roughly 62% of the total population of the two

<sup>1</sup> A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the 12<sup>th</sup> ICAL in Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia. Thanks to the members of the audience and other attendees at the conference and an anonymous reviewer for valuable comments in the discussion that followed the paper and elsewhere. All errors of course remain the responsibility of the authors. This research was made possible by generous support from Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages and National Geographic Society under the auspices of the Enduring Voices Project. This support is gratefully acknowledged. Photos are provided courtesy of Danielle Barth, Rudolf Raward, Kadagoi Rawad Forepiso and others.

<sup>2</sup> Founding Director and President of Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages; initiated the Matukar Panau project in 2009 in Matukar village, trained Rudolf Raward in language technology and helped him develop the Matukar Panau orthography in 2010; also arranged and paid for visits by Barth in 2010 and 2011 and also partly supported the 2013 field trip.

<sup>3</sup> Eliciting linguist for Matukar Panau Online Talking Dictionary, Living Tongues Fellow since 2010.

<sup>4</sup> Matukar Panau community member, general editor of Matukar Panau text translations and transcriptions, primary consultant and teacher of Danielle Barth

<sup>5</sup> The claim in *Ethnologue* 17 that the language is classified as Vigorous and alleged to be spoken by all of the residents of Matukar village is emblematic of how inaccurate data in this reference source with respect to the languages of Papua New Guinea can be, and underscores the fact that one must not rely on this reference source for judging either vitality or numbers of speakers (neither too for making funding decisions) despite the 2013 publication date. If actually based on field data gathered in the community, the survey techniques used must have been very flawed since it is simply inaccurate that 100% of the community used the language in 2003 and to call the language vigorous and not endangered in either 2003 or 2013 defies comprehension. Certainly some elders have passed on since 2003 that spoke the language fluently so there were more speakers then, but virtually no one born after 1980 uses the language and this would have been obvious to anyone in 2003. It is difficult to believe any linguist

communities identified with this language, viz., Matukar proper (population 479) and Surumarang (population 219<sup>6</sup>). See Figure 1 for the language's location in PNG. However, the number of fluent, active daily users is much lower, and only the older members (aged 50+) of the community who number a mere 26 speakers, can be considered dominant language users of Matukar Panau. Pidgin (Tok Pisin) has taken over as the preferred medium of communication for younger generation community members and in trans-generational interactions (Table 1). Note that many of the speakers of Matukar Panau also speak the Trans-New Guinea Madang language Bargam.

There are no schools in Matukar and Surumarang that teach in Matukar Panau. The school present in Surumarang is only for the youngest children. Other children walk between 4 and 6 kilometers to schools in other villages. The language of their schooling is Tok Pisin. Because of the lack of Matukar Panau in schools, and because the parents of the children in the two villages where it is spoken do not often use Matukar Panau among themselves, the language's vitality has drastically decreased in the last two generations. Even grandparents who still use the language mix it frequently with Tok Pisin.

**Table 1:** Speaker Demographics of Matukar Panau speech community

Under 30 years old ~ Native dominant Tok Pisin speakers	541
30-50 years old ~ First language Matukar Panau, but dominant Tok Pisin speakers	131
Over 50 years old ~ Native, proficient Matukar Panau speakers	26

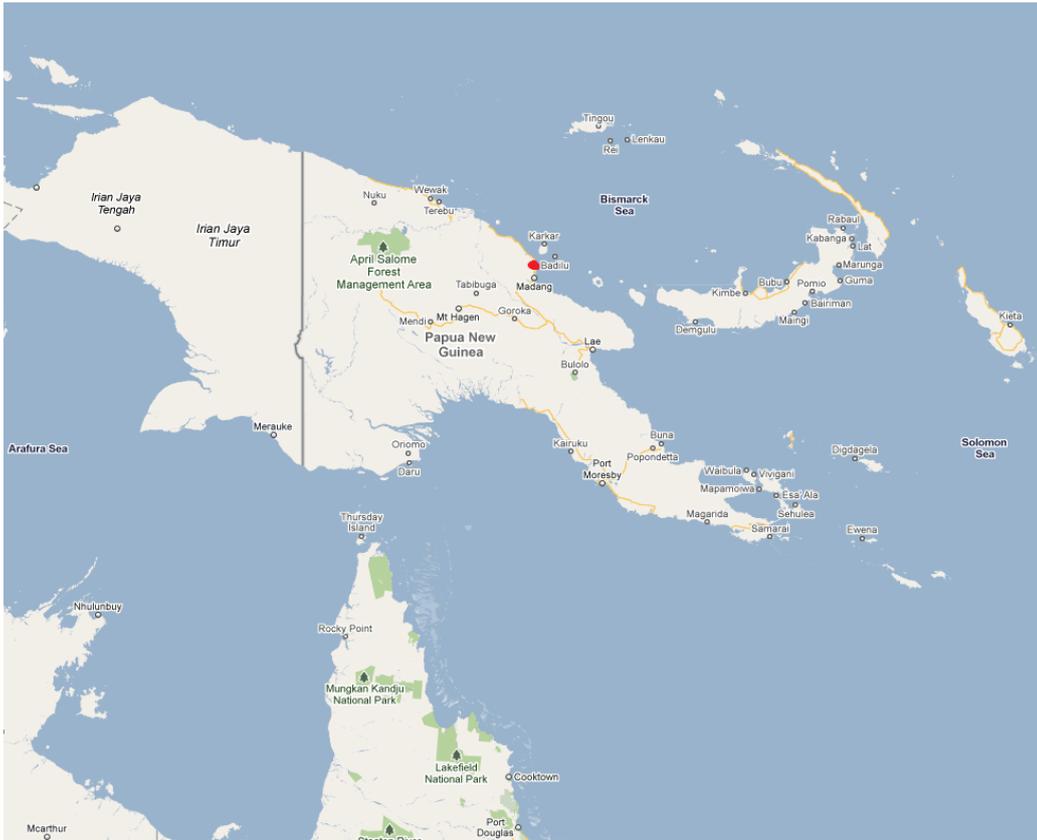
Ross (2008) classifies Matukar Panau as an E. Bel language. Its closest linguistic relatives are Dami and the moderately geographically distant (Awad-)Bing and Wab. However, Matukar is geographically in the W. Bel area, physically closer to such languages as Gedaged, Bilbil, Mindiri, Megiar and Takia. Although taxonomically an Eastern Bel language; perhaps unsurprisingly Panau appears to have undergone W. Bel metatypic restructuring in its verbal system (Ross (2008: 162). Figure 2 shows the position of Matukar Panau in the Bel family, based on Ross (2008: 149). Note that Panau is an SOV language with clause-chaining, typical of Oceanic languages of this part of Papua New Guinea that have undergone metatypy on a Trans-New Guinea, Madang family model, as appears to have been the case with Bel languages (Ross 2008: 149).

Apart from several studies of Takia (Ross 1994, 2002), a grammar on Gedaged (Dempwolff, n.d.), a dictionary (Simons & Simons 1977) and complex clause description (Bennett & Bennett 1998) of Bing (Biliau), and some comparative/historical and typological studies of various Bel languages by Ross (1987, 1988, 1996, 2003, 2007, 2007-ms), relatively little has been published on Bel languages in general. For Matukar Panau there is Kaspruś's (1942) description of the language that includes roughly 700 words and 20 sentences, some partial verb and possessive paradigms (Z'graggen 1969), a 188-word list on the Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database (Greenhill et al., 2003-2011) and small number of other sentences (Ross 2008).

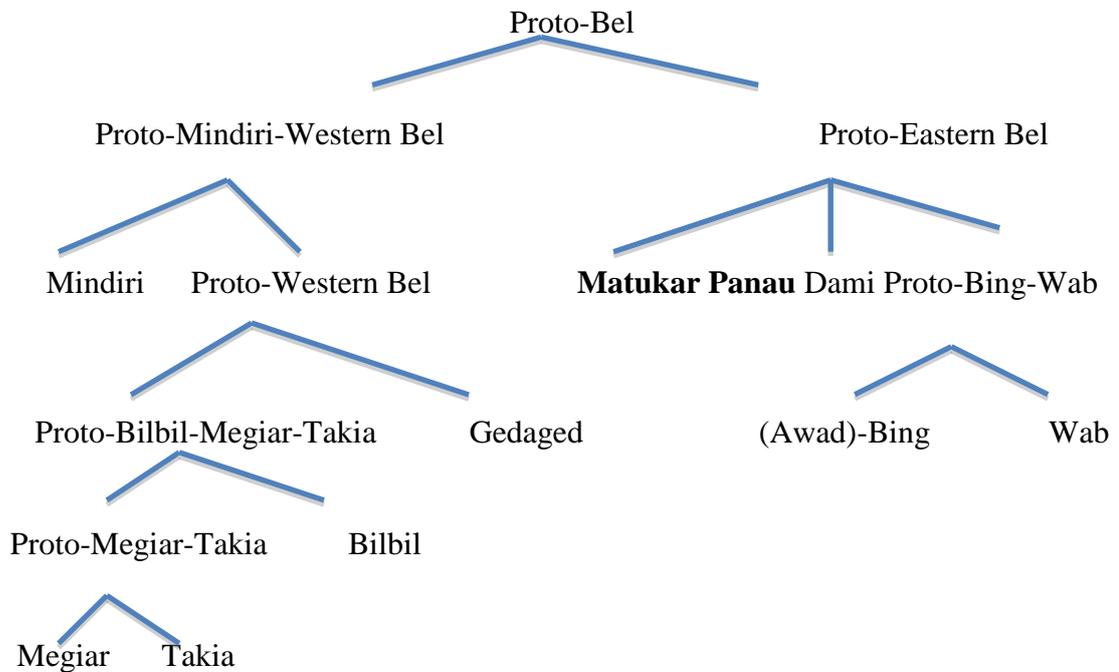
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visiting Matukar in 2003 would have claimed this and one is left wondering what the actual source for the information in the source cited in *Ethnologue* 17 really was.

<sup>6</sup> Population and speaker numbers from Matukar and Surumarang village recorder Gabriel Nali Gall, 2010.



**Figure 1:** Location of Matukar in Papua New Guinea



**Figure 2:** Family tree of The Bel family, Ngero-Vitiaz linkage (W. Oceanic)

## 2 Matukar Panau online talking dictionary

When we first visited Matukar village in 2009, there was an air of excitement and anticipation due to coming changes to the community—electrical lines were being extended down the North Coast road and would soon be there. This meant that the Internet would soon follow (it took 2 more years) and Matukar would have a chance to have its voice heard in this collective transnational forum. So was born the idea that Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages would help the Matukar community build an online multi-media resource and tool for the community, among other language-development related projects. From these original discussions has resulted the present day Matukar Panau online talking dictionary (Anderson et al. 2010-2013) and some other outcomes outlined briefly below.

Our data set for the Matukar Panau online talking dictionary in its present form comes from one brief and two long stays in Matukar village. We recorded the first words for the dictionary in July of 2009, where roughly 250 words and 12 sentences were collected. Between February and April 2010 we collected 3,260 words and phrases, 1,044 sentences and 4 texts. During July and August 2011 we collected a further 340 words and phrases, 558 sentences and 21 texts. A third long stay in 2013 produced 49 more texts. Data from this trip is still being processed at the time of writing, but will eventually be added to the dictionary. The online talking dictionary uses proprietary software for building multi-media resources of this type developed specifically for this purpose by researchers at Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages.

The Matukar Panau online talking dictionary is a collaborative community-based effort. However, Kadagoi Rawad Forepiso must be identified as the primary consultant and teacher, with organizational *in situ* support offered by Mr. Rudolf Raward and SAKY (St. Augustine KatolikYut). Other key participants and consultants from the Matukar community include TomasTaleuKreno, Bernard Barui, Peter Barui, Sel Pain Wadom, John Bogg, and Gabriel Nali Gall. Danielle Barth collected and organized data for the dictionary in Matukar in 2010, 2011 and 2013. Living Tongues Institute built the Online Talking Dictionary and published it on the web in 2011.



Bernard Barui



John Bogg



Sel Pain Wadom



Peter Barui



Gabriel Nali Gall



TomasTaleu Kreno



Rudolf Raward



Kadagoi Rawad Forepiso

The Matukar Panau online talking dictionary project involves the named authors above (Anderson, Barth, Rawad Forepiso), as well as a number of other community members, the major ones of who are pictured above, in addition to technical support from Jeremy Fahringer, IT specialist at Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages and IT specialists from Swarthmore College where the dictionary is hosted under the auspices of the Endangered Languages Laboratory directed by Prof. K. David Harrison.

## **2.1 Collective Elicitation**

The Matukar Panau talking dictionary is a community project and multiple community members have been involved in the documentation process. Collective elicitation helped achieve this goal. In addition to being practical, this process engaged the stakeholders in the community in a culturally-appropriate manner and resulted in general enthusiasm for the project.

Generally speaking, collective elicitation as a data gathering process has been largely overlooked in linguistic field methods courses and in guidebooks on fieldwork, with brief mentions found in Bower (2008: 138) and Sakel and Everett (2012: 127) among the only notable exceptions. We strongly recommend that collective elicitation be used in situations similar to that in Matukar, where the community feels collective ownership of the language but depth and domains of competence are highly varied. See also section 3 below for more on other instances of advocacy for collective community engagement in language documentation projects both in Papua New Guinea and more generally.

As in many places where a language is endangered, community member's ability to speak the language varies greatly. Even some strong speakers of the language have specialized domains of knowledge that others may understand, but not be able to produce. In particular, Tom Kreno was instrumental in supplying house terms and names for parts of the canoe, Sel Pain Wadom knows seashell terms and remembers numbers better than most, while Kadagoi Rawad Forepiso on the other hand has a particularly extensive knowledge of animal names and parts of trees.

Less fluent speakers of the language vary even more in their ability to spontaneously produce the language. However, these speakers are one of the main target groups for revitalization. They also want to be involved in the project to the extent that they can. Therefore, collective elicitation allowed groups of people to sit down together and contribute words and descriptions to the dictionary. With a group of people present, speakers were able to negotiate meanings and decide on the 'best' definition that would

eventually go into the dictionary. Group elicitation was particularly helpful in understanding various verbs and their forms. Speakers were able to act out actions and discuss, describe and decide what different verb forms meant. Tense, aspect and mood inflections produced in elicitation sessions were later confirmed or expanded by using texts to examine their uses in context. Collective elicitation may be a potentially helpful strategy for getting words for a dictionary, particularly in the early stages of a project, and particularly in situations where speakers have differing knowledge of the language, but still would like to contribute and be part of a project.

Among the many reasons that collective elicitation was a good tool to use in Matukar, is that, as in other similar contexts world-wide, the majority of this endangered language's community members are multilingual. We did our elicitation in Tok Pisin as everyone spoke this language. Most people know some English, and passively understand it well, but only a few people speak it well enough for it to be useful for asking questions about Matukar Panau. The strong English speakers were only sporadically available for elicitation, as they often worked in Madang or had other commitments. Unfortunately, the eliciting linguist's (Barth's) Tok Pisin was less strong, especially in early stages of the dictionary project. Additionally, Tok Pisin, although highly complex at the paratactic, clause-combining level, is not very complex at the word level. Words do not inflect for many grammatical categories. Therefore, Tok Pisin is not the ideal elicitation language for a North New Guinea Oceanic language like Matukar Panau, which has many grammatical categories not present in Tok Pisin. However, with a group of people, we had collectively a fair amount of linguistic knowledge and so were able to negotiate meanings across languages. Additionally, strong English/Tok Pisin bilinguals like Rudolf Raward were occasionally able to do their own elicitation with strong Tok Pisin/Matukar Panau bilinguals. The data that Rudolf collected was then an ideal starting point for asking more elaborated questions about Matukar Panau using Tok Pisin.

## **2.2 Orthography Development and Dictionary Launching**

In August 2010 Living Tongues Institute launched the first version of the Matukar Panau online talking dictionary based on recordings of Kadagoi Rawad Forepiso. Entries in Matukar Panau are given in the orthography developed at the Language Revitalization Workshop in Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA convened by Living Tongues Institute under the National Geographic Enduring Voices Project in April 2010. Matukar community member Rudolf Raward attended this workshop and was instrumental in the development of the Matukar Panau orthography.

This is a shallow, rather than deep, orthography using the letters and conventions of the dominant language Tok Pisin. A shallow orthography is one which has an orthographic representation that reflects the surface realization of linguistic forms (Seifart 2006: 279). If people in Matukar are literate, they are much more likely to be literate in Tok Pisin than in English. The advantages of a shallow orthography and using Tok Pisin conventions is that the orthography is easier to learn for beginners and it is more likely to facilitate reproduction. Disadvantages are that it would be less good for advanced readers of Matukar and that it is less emblematic (Seifart 2006: 282-283). These disadvantages are minimal since there are no advanced readers of Matukar and it is unlikely that there will be any in the foreseeable future. Some vowel contrasts [a, e] are lost, as well as representations of the bilabial fricative, which is expressed as “f” in the orthography (cf. Table 2). Notes will simply have to be made about these issues in any publication of the language. Additionally, because all of the letters of the Matukar orthography are ones

used in Tok Pisin, and that means also used in English, the text is written in a 7-bit ASCII format. This also should result in ease of learning and avoid transfer problems from one format to another (Gippert 2006), ensuring long term sustainability and archiving possibilities.

**Table 2:** Phonemic conversions to orthography in Matukar Panau

Matukar Panau Phones	Matukar Panau letter
[i]	i
[e]	e
[a]	a
[u]	u
[p]	p
[b]	b
[t]	t
[d]	d
[k]	k
[g]	g
[m]	m
[n]	n
[w]	w
[l]	l
[s]	s
[h]	h
[j]	y
[ɾ]	r
[ϕ]	f
[ŋ]	ng
[ɛ]	e
[ə]	a

Raward published a book in this orthography (Raward 2010), the first ever publication in Panau language. There is a Matukar Panau digi-book video available on YouTube that uses this orthography, as well as several other videos in Matukar Panau, including one of him reading his book in *Rudolf Raward reads first Panau book*, retrieved from [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x\\_M2THGrYVc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x_M2THGrYVc).

The dictionary (<http://talkingdictionary.swarthmore.edu/matukar/>) can be searched by English headword or by Matukar Panau word. There are renderings of the word in the language in the orthography and in IPA transcription. Information on the part of speech of the entry and its speaker source are included. Metadata on semantic domains are included for targeted or specialized searches as well. The entry appears with an ear icon that the user clicks on to hear the word, most pronounced by native speaker Kadagoi Rawad Forepiso. When possible, a photo may also appear with the entry. See Figure 3 for the entry search page at the home page for the dictionary.

In the summer of 2011 the Internet became established in Matukar village. This allowed many community members to test out the online dictionary for the first time. Internet access in Matukar is achieved through a Universal Serial Bus (USB) modem from Digicel, one of the major mobile phone network companies in Papua New Guinea. This type of modem is ideal for a community like Matukar, because the same Subscriber

Identity Module (SIM) card that one uses in their mobile phone can simply be inserted into the modem. Mobile phone calls and texts are paid for by using pre-paid cards and is a process that everyone is familiar with. The same pre-paid cards are used to add or “top up” minutes on the SIM card that goes into the USB modem. In 2013, internet access is still slow and erratic. However, as the mobile network in Papua New Guinea expands and improves, so will people’s ability to access the internet, particularly the Matukar Online Talking Dictionary.

**Matukar** ↔ **English**  
online talking dictionary version 2.1, 2.2012

Search:  
entire dictionary

Search for:  
|

[help](#)

**search**

[image gallery](#) [surprise me](#)

An example search for **outrigger** has returned 3 entries

**yad**

 [yad] n. outrigger cross boom, part of a canoe  
Photo: Tomas Taleo Kreno points to the outrigger cross boom.  
Speaker: Kadagoi Rawad

  
[bookmark](#)

**sam**

 [sam] n. float or outrigger, part of a canoe  
Photo: Tomas Taleo Kreno touches the canoe's float.  
Speaker: Kadagoi Rawad

  
[bookmark](#)

**Figure 3:** Sample search page in the Matukar Panau talking dictionary

The ability to store the Matukar Online Talking Dictionary “in the cloud” is a very appropriate option for a community like Matukar. The SAKY office, where copies of all the Matukar data are stored, is located on North Coast Road, which is very close to the coast line. Because of the geography of Matukar, this area is hard hit by humidity and salt air. The corrosive nature of these forces results in relatively quick disintegration of paper and destruction of computers in the form of rust. Secure Digital (SD) cards are stored in the SAKY office with desiccant packets in air-tight containers, so these at least are safe. However, having an Internet-based storage system, with servers not in this precarious geographic situation, is better for long-term storage. The trade-off has been lack of easy

and quick access, but that seems to be getting better each year. For many places that have similar practical problems, “the cloud” should be considered as at least one of the several places to store data, so that they are safer.

Some community members have expressed a desire for a paper book dictionary of Matukar Panau despite that such a paper-based dictionary is unlikely to have a long shelf-life in the humidity-laden environment of Matukar village. However, once more data collection and editing have been done, we can pursue this option if it adheres to the majority of community members’ wishes. Additionally, there is slowly an increasing access to the Internet in Matukar, especially by younger community members with mobile phones, making the online dictionary a good option for dictionary access in the short and long-term future. In order to accommodate this increasingly frequent mode of access, Living Tongues Institute is currently developing a mobile-based interface for the dictionary.

An informational page that will be expanded considerably in coming years also exists on the dictionary homepage/search portal that provides general information about the Matukar Panau language, the Matukar community and the Matukar Panau online talking dictionary. See Figure 4.

**About the Matukar Dictionary**

[back to dictionary](#)

The Matukar language is spoken in two villages in the Madang province of Papua New Guinea. Native speakers of Matukar call their language "Panau," which means "give me" and is said to refer to the words of their ancestors when they first came to the island (Mowab, 2009). That their ancestors were more recent migrants than speakers of other Papua New Guinea languages in that area may be supported by the fact that Matukar is unlike the Papuan languages on the island. It is an Oceanic language of the Austronesian family and shares cognates and similar structure with languages found on surrounding Melanesian islands, such as Samoan (Lewis, 2009) (Figure 1).



1. Matukar village is located on the northwestern coast of Papua New Guinea (WALS Online, 2008)(Google Maps).

There are currently about 430 speakers of Matukar (Harrison, 2009). Although this number includes both young children and experienced elders, the effects of the spreading of English and the dominance of Tok Pisin, the national pidgin, puts Matukar at risk for extinction. However, through local language revitalization efforts and projects such as the Matukar Talking Dictionary, it is hoped that Matukar will become popularized among younger generations.

The Matukar Talking Dictionary was compiled in 2009-2011 by Danielle Barth, Gregory D. S. Anderson, and K. David Harrison. It includes basic vocabulary, verb paradigms, and sentence structures in Matukar with corresponding translations in English and Tok Pisin. The accompanying sound files were recorded in Matukar village and feature expert speakers Kadagoi Rawad and Joe Mowab along with John Agid. Because Matukar is situated in a rural part of coastal Papua New Guinea, ambient sound noises, including those of insects, livestock, and birds, may be heard.

We would like to thank all the Matukar language consultants for their cooperation and contributions. The research for this dictionary was made possible by the support and assistance of [the National Geographic Enduring Voices Project](#), [the Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages](#), and [Swarthmore College](#). All content is under copyright by the authors. Words and recordings remain the intellectual property of the speakers and community. Any questions or comments concerning this project can be sent to [talkingdictionary@swarthmore.edu](mailto:talkingdictionary@swarthmore.edu)



**Figure 4:** Matukar Panau dictionary information page

### 3 Community involvement and text resources in Matukar Panau

Community involvement in documentation is essential, especially for revitalization-oriented projects. Rice (2011) argues that close collaboration with members of the community, not only on data collection, but data analysis leads to better analyses and descriptions. She argues that community members will often be aware of aspects of the language that a non-native speaker linguist will not be. She also argues that only in collaborative research will the researcher know what communities most want and need and then be in a position to give that to them. She suggests that possible collaborations may be developing a reader for community members, creating a topical dictionary, building a website, giving the community tools like a cameras and computers so that they might build their own dictionary, working together to make videos highlighting language use, working to meet community goals of developing curriculum materials and two-way training between the linguist and community members.

There are models of community involvement and collaborative research in PNG. Margetts (2011) describes how she and members of Saliba-Logea worked together to make videos of events like canoe racing. Native speakers of Saliba-Logea narrated these events in live time. The results of this project were archive quality videos of events interesting to members of the community, involvement of community members in filming and narration, and a new genre of text, interesting for linguistic analysis. Bird (2010) describes BOLD (basic oral literature documentation) as a process that has worked well in areas of PNG. In this system, speakers re-record difficult to hear or understand texts and translate the recordings. The translation and the translation process are recorded. These are two of many models advocated for in PNG.

#### 3.1 Texts produced through video elicitation and learner's guide to Matukar Panau

The procedure described by Margetts (2011), inspired us to have Kadagoi Rawad Forepiso narrate videos of traditional practices.<sup>7</sup> While neither live nor a sporting event, narrating the traditional practices was easier and more fun for Rawad Forepiso than simply discussing a topic. The video provided a stimulus for producing hard-to-think-of words and rare construction types. *Video elicitation* gave us a rich source of data for both documentation and description. These videos could also be used with other speakers to generate more and easily comparable language samples.

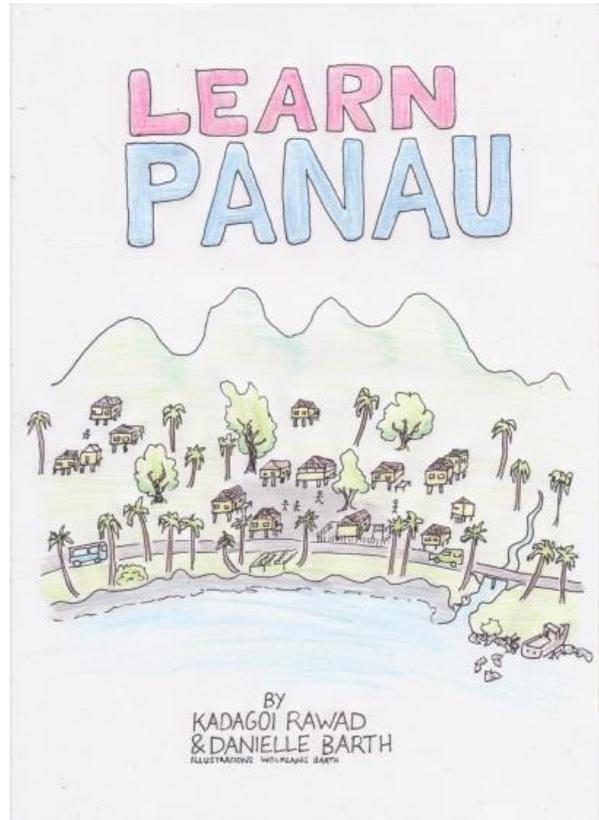
Additional texts were collected by Barth and Rawad Forepiso through discussion with community members. A selection of these texts with Tok Pisin translations relating to traditional practices was published.

Another resource that has been created is a basic illustrated learner's guide *Learn Panau* (see Figure 5) with words in Matukar Panau with Tok Pisin equivalents. This book was written by Rawad Forepiso and Barth and published in Matukar in August 2011 (Rawad Forepiso & Barth 2011a, 2011b).

The booklet contains a number of valuable illustrations of items related to traditional practices in Matukar village. An example of such a page in the booklet is offered in Figure 6, depicting parts of the highly culturally significant betel nut palm *mariu* (Tok Pisin *buai*). Illustrations, done by Wolfgang Barth, were people's favorite parts of the *Learn Panau* book. Future books, including ones with transcriptions and translations of elder's life stories, myths, and traditional practices will also include illustrations.

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<sup>7</sup> Combined with the established practice of researchers from Living Tongues Institute to use both video and photo elicitation techniques developed over the past decade.



**Figure 5:** *Learn Panau* booklet

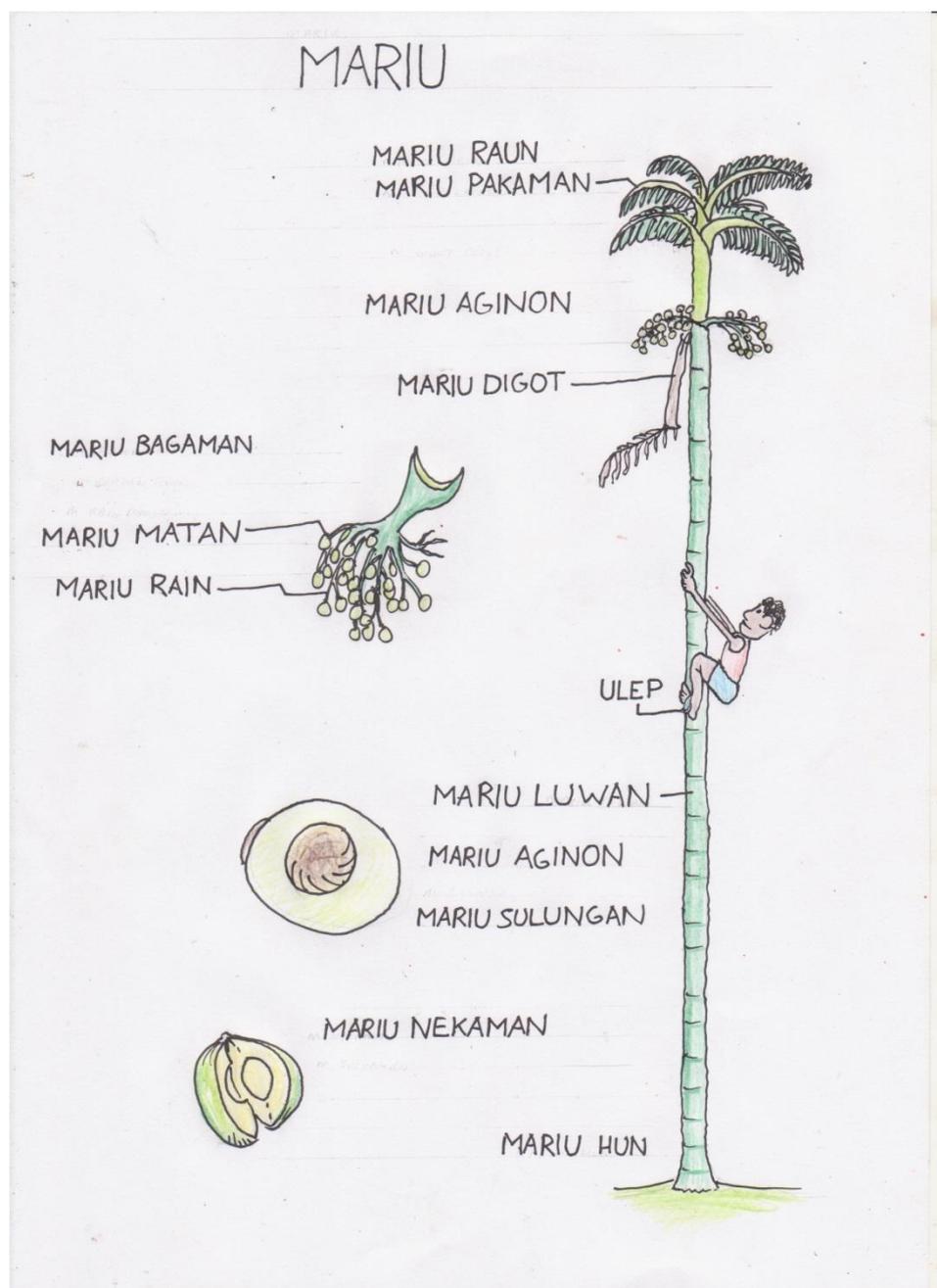
We used the Matukar orthography developed by Rudolf Raward exemplified in Table 2 above in *Learn Panau*, which can still be considered an emergent orthography and one that will require refinement. One other older and three younger community members checked through this book. For shorter words, people had no trouble reading and pronouncing the written words. This was the case even for younger speakers reading words they had never before encountered. Unfortunately, longer words were difficult to read for everybody. Matukar has some very long verb-words (i.e., *ngapanonganaba* ‘I will continue to give you (it)’). This means that a future training workshop for reading the Matukar Panau orthography should focus specifically on verbs and other long words.

### **3.2 Collaborative transcription and translation of community produced texts**

All texts from the 2010 and 2011 trips to Matukar were transcribed by Danielle Barth and translated into Tok Pisin with Kadagoi Rawad Forepiso. In 2013<sup>8</sup>, a concerted effort was made to involve more community members in the documentation process, especially younger members in their twenties that otherwise would normally not participate in language documentation. Members of the community that are computer literate do not overlap with community members that speak Matukar Panau fluently. Building on the idea described by Bird (2010), our hope was that writing down text from an audio recording would be easier than self-production, particularly from less fluent speakers.

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<sup>8</sup> Trip funded mainly by Firebird Foundation Grant for Oral Literature Collection with additional support from Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages. This support is gratefully acknowledged.



**Figure 6:** *Mariu* (betel nut) illustration and its parts in Matukar Panau

We began with a two day workshop with five members of SAKY, Michael Balias, Justin Willie, Zebedee Kreno, Alfred Sangmei and Amos Sangmei. These young men are between 17 and 30 years of age. The first workshop day was dedicated to using the program ELAN (Wittenburg et al. 2006) from the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics and The Language Archive in Nijmegen, the Netherlands. We used only the “transcription mode” and concentrated on navigating through ELAN, opening, saving, closing and organizing files. We started with parallel work on side-by-side computers, moved to group work and eventually to individual work. During the second day of the workshop, computer skills were practiced, but we concentrated on spelling conventions in the Matukar Panau orthography. After the workshop, the members of SAKY were paid to transcribe the new text collected during the trip. They were paid at a competitive rate for

Papua New Guinea that was based on the length of the sound file. After a week, they decided they would like to start translating the texts into Tok Pisin as well, and so the payment per sound file was doubled. The five original members of the SAKY team were occasionally helped by friends and family members that are more fluent speakers of Matukar Panau, particularly Kadagoi Rawad Forepiso, Rebecca Willie, Tomas Taleu Kreno, John Bogg, Waithta Mob, Limbrok Mob and Fabein Silih. Michael Balias and later Justin Willie managed work scheduling for the three computers available in the office and organized payment for the people involved.

Barth prepared the sound files for transcribing and translating by using Audacity (<http://audacity.sourceforge.net/>) to extract the audio file from the high definition video recordings and segmenting the sound files into chunks using the “annotation mode” in ELAN. She tried to strike a balance between getting complete clauses that could be easily translated and getting segments short enough to easily transcribe. After files were transcribed and translated, Barth and Rawad Forepiso checked transcriptions and Tok Pisin translations and edited segmentation to join sentence fragments. Additionally, they transcribed and translated some text themselves to get the work finished before Barth left Matukar. Checking and editing already transcribed and translated text is noticeably faster and entails far less work than doing the entire process from the beginning. This left more time for Rawad Forepiso to recruit speakers to make videos and for Barth to meet with people and record videos with considerable help from Wolfgang Barth. Currently Danielle Barth is translating these texts into English, parsing and glossing the Matukar Panau data and correcting the remaining spelling and punctuation errors in Matukar Panau and Tok Pisin. Barth will put together a DVD of the video files with subtitles in Matukar Panau, Tok Pisin and English. Copies will be shipped to Matukar and Surumarang by the end of 2013.

The major difficulty with having less fluent speakers transcribe and translate texts was spelling. There was a great deal of misspelling in Matukar Panau. There were also many inconsistencies and errors with spelling in Tok Pisin and general punctuation. For future work, more explicit training will be needed with Matukar Panau spelling. We made a list of words that were difficult to spell and their Tok Pisin translations and posted it in the office, but this was certainly not enough. Particularly words like *gaumomoni* ‘now, today’ and *mainangan* ‘that one there’ were difficult to transcribe because they are frequently used and many speakers shorten these words and reduce their vowels and there is generally a lot of variability among speakers in some of the frequent words that have relatively long full forms. Transcribers that were more familiar with Matukar Panau tended to transcribe the full forms, rather than reduced variants. This kind of transcription glosses over a potentially interesting research area about variability in Matukar Panau, so in editing sessions, Barth kept the full forms in the transcriptions, but made notes about the phonetic realizations of these words. In future trips, weekly or bi-weekly workshops on spelling would be prudent, as well as discussions of deep and shallow transcriptions and what would best achieve the community’s and researchers’ goals. Additionally, some elder speakers were more difficult to transcribe due to their advanced age, their pronunciation, stuttering or quiet voices. While we had a set of headphones for each computer, the transcribers did not use them because they were usually collaborating with an additional person. For future work, twice as many headphones and headphone splitters will be used for each pair to maximize efficiency. During this 2013 field trip all transcription in ELAN was done from audio files extracted from the HD video files. Next time we will reformat the video file so that it plays easily in ELAN and have team members transcribe from the

video. Hopefully the accompanying visual mode will be helpful for transcription and more can be done with transcribed video than transcribed audio.

The results from collective transcription were great for our project. We transcribed translated and edited 49 texts from 47 HD video files and two audio files from 31 speakers. Twenty-five of these speakers were previously unrepresented in our database of narratives. At least nine of these speakers were over the age of 50 and most were highly fluent speakers of Matukar Panau. Without the transcription team, it would have been impossible to process so much data in only six weeks. The total length of peoples' stories and songs is three and a half hours. A particularly positive result for the revitalization aspect of our project was that new people, particularly young people, got involved. The five SAKY team members were able to inform other community members what was going on in the project and its importance. The SAKY team members learned new vocabulary, particularly words associated with traditional, cultural practices that they may not have otherwise encountered. They also realized that one cannot translate Matukar Panau word-for-word into Tok Pisin and that the structures of the two languages are quite different. Although this is obvious to linguists, it was a new and exciting discovery for these lay team members, and may have real potential to increase the perceived metalinguistic value of Matukar Panau within the community. Justin Willie was trained further in using Audacity and the other modes in ELAN in order to be able to process audio or video files himself. He would like to film cultural events in Matukar and be able to transcribe and/or translate what happens in the videos. Another exciting result of this project is that some of the team members and their friends are now mixing Matukar Panau with Tok Pisin in their posts on social media. This is an entirely new domain for Matukar Panau use.

#### 4 Future Plans

Currently the dictionary has 4,419 entries of which 4,037 have sound files associated. There are presently 171 images in the online talking dictionary as well. A significant portion of, but not all, entries, have Tok Pisin glosses as well. The first basic tasks ahead are to associate all the remaining entries with sound files and Tok Pisin equivalents, and to add significantly more photo content including illustrations like the one in Figure 6 pertaining to the betel nut palm *mariu*. New recordings are being made to help fill in the gaps and we will add all these new forms to the dictionary in coming months. There are also a large number of forms that need to be extracted from existing recordings from the nearly 1,600 sentences and over 70 texts that have been recorded. Thus, neither the individual word forms have been extracted from the sentences and texts, nor too have the sentences from texts been added as usage examples to the dictionary so there is a tremendous amount of work remaining even with the current recordings. In Matukar village, Rudolf Raward and the SAKY organization have plans to make videos in Panau and present them to the community.

Long-term the goals include building a school and creating more pedagogical materials in Matukar Panau to help carve out a space for this language in the twenty-first century.

As a final word, we would like to say *uyanamok* ('thank you') to the community of Matukar for finding a way to cross the digital divide and a path for the future of the Matukar Panau language.

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# 7

## *From vivid to virtual memory: The Philippine epics and ballads multimedia archive*

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NICOLE REVEL

### 1 Introduction

I shall address you as a linguist-anthropologist working in the Philippines, where I first arrived in October 1969. I follow the teachings of A-G. Haudricourt, G. Condominas, and J.M.C. Thomas and L. Bouquiaux in this approach in anthropological linguistics.

I am familiar with epic chanting and the remarkable oral literature of the Palawan Highlanders of Southern Palawan in the South China Sea. In 1987, I conceived a program that would document and safeguard the long-sung narratives of other animists and Islamised groups, not only in the Philippines, but in Nusantara, the ‘Intermediary Islands,’ which is considered an area of shared linguistic and cultural features.

Over the course of 10 years, from 1991 to 2001, I was able to expand the documentation and safeguarding of this intangible heritage, among this complex archipelago of languages and cultures. I was conducting the international seminar on “*Epics*” within: *The Integral Study of Silk Roads, Roads of Dialogue*, a program that was part of the Decade for Cultural Development of Unesco. This was done in collaboration with 19 Filipino scholars and knowledgeable local persons. Thanks to this collaboration, the dedication of the national communities, and the financial support from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in France, we were able to provide long lasting support (4 grants / year, over 10 years, 1991–2000) to tape many voices and safeguard the beauty of these multifaceted verbal arts on audiotapes, videotapes, photos and computer storage of manuscripts in the various source languages with English, Tagalog and/or French translations among 15 indigenous national communities of the Philippines where 170 languages and their respective dialects are attested.

In this country, we have been able to conduct work in several areas that either resisted Spanish and American colonization, or were geographically isolated, far from direct maritime trading hubs, and thus kept their indigenous worldviews and artistic traditions alive. The ancient aural and oral memories of the national communities in Nusantara are a treasure for their respective countries, and for humankind. Yet, they have been largely ignored by historians, and seldom transcribed, translated in full or analysed by linguists, folklorists and anthropologists.

However, if one is faithful to the specificity of such documents, and to the necessary intellectual attitude and care that their very nature demands, one would discover unheard of wealth, in more ways than one. Not only do the memories contain the core of an epic, where there are three major narrative ganglia present, namely, an initiation quest followed by a conflict or a war related to it, then a harmony restored, but also the various poetics that are the seal of every national cultural community gifted with immense, moving, and

highly interesting oral repertoires. These poetics often serve as a way of perpetuating their respective, and sometimes endangered, language.

Scholarly work was necessarily involved in this attempt to generate a written transcription and a translation out of an oral composition. In contrast to oral performances—what I named ‘literature of the voice’—can be perceived as a way of fixing the butterfly (Revel 1998; Revel 2005).

## **2 Transcription and Translation**

Projecting a sung narrative, a mental text, on the tangible space of a page provokes a shift of medium, and the very first manuscript slowly emerges. As you are facing a very sophisticated poetical sung language, you have to carefully listen to it, working with the very components of the language, its phonology, its morphosyntax, its semantics, its poetics and rhetoric.

This requires adequate tools for transcription. At the sound level, I have always favoured the phonological transcription in Roman script, generated by an analysis at the phonemic level of each specific language. For the minor languages of the Philippines, the phonemic analysis by SIL has been of great help (Reid 1971, *inter alia*).

Prior to the transcription, a systemic analysis of the sound realizations (phonetic level) is reached through a functional analysis of the consonants, vowels, stress and syllables patterns, as well as the systematic interplay of contrasts between all the phonic units of the given language. This is what’s known as phonology, and must be done, or should be done, as phonemics is the most accurate and economical transcription method, and orthographic transcription should reflect it by being as close as possible to it. Then, translation into another language follows, requiring another set of arrays, skills, and mastery between the source tongue and the target tongue. For translation is an art, and poetic translation is all the more demanding.

## **3 Ethno-musicology**

To transcribe the sung narrative onto a page, detecting the rules of composition by ear demands the contributions of both linguistics and ethno-musicology. A linear narrative projected by voice, slowly unfolding in time, is perceived by ear, and then has to be transcribed onto the space of a page in order to be perceived by sight. Hence, this projection of time in space introduces another dimension. This cannot be done at random, as many components in the quality of voices are going to be lost, including the ambitus, the timbre of expressions and emotions, and the gestures, mimics, and movements by the performing singer of tales.

Hearing, then, is the major perceptive guide. But as transcription progresses, one becomes more familiar, skillful, and confident in the transcription. Music cells and formulaic styles manifest repetitive segments and correlated components

Thanks to the various “prostheses” (Steigler 2001) one can use, and the possibility of listening to and visualizing the performance as many times as needed from the recording, a transcriber is aided and backed up by these audio and audio-video recordings to detect the repetitive musical cells, the formulaic styles, and the various components of each poetical composition, measure, rhythmic patterns, scales, etc. (Revel & Tourny 2005).

Some compositions are measured (Revel et al. 2005), others unmeasured (Revel-Macdonald 1983; Revel 2000)..Some alternate between measured and unmeasured, some have musical accompaniment, others are characterized by a leading voice accompanied by

a chorus with precise deictic functions. Some are in verse: how do we determine what kind of meter is at work? Others are in prose, consisting of breath-groups of words with various fillers or linking devices. What is the weight of each silence in between the various breath-groups of words? What are the timbre qualities of the poet-narrator as the performance develops, and how, within a personal ambitus, does he play with timbre, modulating the semantic content of an episode or a shorter sequence? Does he shift from one mode to another as the plot develops through the night? Many questions arise at the level of poetics. We have been exposed to all these musical aesthetics present in the multimedia collection. Hence we were able to build an archive, which is presently hosted at the Pardo de Tavera Collections, Rizal Library Archives, Ateneo de Manila University. A set of 5 hard disks for safeguarding and long lasting conservation is also deposited at la Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Paris. Since January 2011, a website is monitored by Ateneo de Manila University (free access is provided at national and international levels).

#### **4 Ethnopoetics and the metalinguistic dimension**

By carefully listening to the recorded poetical composition prior to the first transcription, the main features of the composition are able to be partly captured by ear. Difficulties at this stage vary according to the language and poetics of the given culture. Working with the singer of tales and knowledgeable persons *in situ* is indispensable at this stage, in order to find what is important to them, both individually and together, at various levels of composition. Areas of particular interest include images, formulae, storylines, etc., which are necessary in order to analyse the complexity of their respective oral poems. Lexicometric study through software programs, such as LEXICLO, can be used to analyse discourse segmentation ('repetitive segments,' 'setting out the concordances' surrounding a line, or in 'context' surrounding several lines before and after a central form or a series of forms (Revel 2000:39-43, 2006:1-33).

#### **5 Pragmatics**

Thanks to video recordings, we now have the ability to repeatedly visualize motions, postures, gestures, and mimics of the singer of tales in performance.

In relation to the narrative, this reiteration will provide new insight on ethno-pragmatics and the very artistic verbal practices of a given community.

As a matter of fact, by entering the hypermedia era, epics studies are undergoing deep transformation. These new forms of "prosthesis" (Stiegler 2001) surpass the script and are particularly accurate for the retention of long sung narratives and the faithful transcription of words and music that are ephemeral, as they belong to the arts of time and are performed in life, in the vivid reality of socio-cultural context. New programs are being created for ethnomusicology and anthropology to transcribe and analyse the music, but also to analyse rituals and long-lasting complex performances. *Timelines (Lignes de Temps)* is one of these programs, created at the Institute of Research and Innovations (IRI, Paris), to isolate and analyse relevant simultaneous parameters along numerous sequences. Exploring the areas of cultural and cognitive technologies, this institute has its sights on the objective of developing cultural and scientific applications, and to experiment on a multimodal interface. As these multimedia documents, and other software currently in development, allow a decomposition followed by a recomposition of the sequences at the macro-level, and the micro-details, their incidence is noticeable at the level of pragmatics.

## 6 Anthropology

We have to try to comprehend the deep meaning of these sung narratives, and this is where anthropological and inter-disciplinary approaches are indispensable in order to accede to an interpretation of a long sung narrative.

The numerous epics bring us a testimony of customs and mores, a teaching of socio-cosmic views, and allusions to historical events in an imprecise but authentic manner. There lies a “deep temporality,” as P. Ricoeur underlines.

I think an Austronesian ethos is to be found in the native folk epics of the Philippines and Nusantara.

The background information we need as analysts is also necessary for the singer of tales, as it can improve his memory at the encoding and retrieving moment of a performance.

Epic as a symbol of life induces empathy and leads us to think about numerous matters. As there are “traditional implications of words,” crucial to understanding them (J. Miles Folley, 2002), we cannot understand the meaning in the very text of an epic, but outside the text, in the culture and the society. Our task as linguist-anthropologists is to go beyond the explicit and recover what is implied at the level of the word, the phrase, the sentence, the episode, and the whole story. “Similarly to the function of a symbol, a performed epic acts as a semantic expansion of meaning” (Ricoeur 1969). Epics and ballads call out for interpretation, and the chain of interpretations, as well as the chain of performances, is infinite.

## 7 Cognition

The very act of generating a written transcript of an epic is already a shift of retention. When you have the visual capacity to capture a text, you don’t act with just your attentive ear and memory, but also with your visual memory. I am interested in these cognitive processes, and how these new media can help us to develop our analytical potential in folklore theories.

In the fleeting but privileged moment of a performance, the composition process and the memorization process are two major activities of the mind that we try to capture and comprehend in cognitive anthropology. Repetition is a mnemonic device that helps the singer of tales to remember.

To understand the capacities of humankind, adaptability and evolution are major queries in today’s world. The capacities of man to perceive, to think, to act, to comprehend, to memorise, to transmit, are being analysed with new tools at the crossroads of many disciplines, old and new.

There are several centres of inquiry on these topics in Europe, and various attempts are being made to find new tools that will enable the crisscross of data stored in powerful computers, which largely surpass human capacity. SOAS in London, and the Max Planck Institute, have been pioneers on these fronts. The archive we have built in France and the Philippines over the last 23 years is another attempt to document, safeguard, and analyse epics and ballads. Since January 2011, it has been accessible on the web.

## 8 A new website for digital Humanities

Digital Humanities has played a fundamental role in data construction and preservation. It has been designated as a trans-discipline in the field of humanities and social sciences. Multimedia can now be used to support analysis, expression, and also teaching, in the

various disciplines associated with the humanities. It implies rigor, but also creativity, and is related to domain of documentary linguistics, which is distinct from descriptive linguistics (Himmelmann 1998; Austin et al. 2007). Digitization of a cultural heritage demands a high-quality database.

*Philippines Epics and Ballads Archive*, the collection I coordinated, is a joint endeavour between 69 singers of tales, 25 scholars and knowledgeable local persons, and 11 technical assistants and deciders. It took over 23 years to compose. It exemplifies only a part of the intangible heritage among 15 national cultural communities and their respective languages. Most of the documents were recorded initially on analog tapes. All have since been digitized and placed on CDs, DVDs, and on five hard disks (500GB or 1TB) for conservation.

As of March 2013, the collection consists of 7,820 pages, bound in 34 volumes. A server maintained at the Rizal Library provides free access at the national and international levels to this multimedia e-collection. Copyright includes all the contributors.

The website, located at <http://epics.ateneo.edu/epics>, has been expanded following my design, and with guidance from several members of the Department of Electronics Computer and Communications Engineering from the School of Science Engineering Management and Information at Ateneo.

The site has a simple architecture. Users are presented with several icons, each representing one of the following linguistic groups: 1 Ifugao; 2 Sama; 3 Tausug; 4 Tagbanwa; 5 Tala-andig Bukidnon; 6 Manobo; 7 Kalinga; 8 Ikalahan; 9 Tagalog; 10 Mamanwa; 11 T'boli; 12 Itneg; 13 Maranao; 14 Sulod Bukidnon Panay; 15 Palawan.

Having selected a given linguistic group, eight buttons then give access to the following components of the database:

- Map: The geographical location of the group.
- Overview: A slideshow with voiceover as an introduction to the culture.
- Archive listing: The list of epics archived for the group.
- Epics: The available epics, audio recordings, transcription in the vernacular language, and translations in English, Tagalog or French.
- Articles: A list of related articles written by the collectors.
- Photos : Various collections of related photos about landscape, habitat, crafts; epic singing and rituals with captions.
- Videos: A list of related videos;
- Overall Archive: Complete archive listing for 15 groups.

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# 8 *Music as evidence of settlement: the case of diphonic singing in Eastern Indonesia (Eastern Flores, Eastern Timor)*

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DANA RAPPOPORT

## 1 Introduction

Each type of music is the temporary result of continuing historical processes. It can be used as a technique for the understanding and reconstruction of culture history.<sup>1</sup> In this paper, I try to present the enigma of diphonic singing in Eastern Indonesia (I use diphonic singing in the sense of a duet or two-part singing). I suggest that diphonic song may be a non-Austronesian kind of musical idiom. I underline a strange musical homology between Eastern Flores and Eastern Timor.

At the eastern end of Flores in the 1930s, the Dutch ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst discovered the fascinating practice of two-part singing, to which he devoted a few pages of his book *Music in Flores* (1942). This music seemed to stand apart from all the music of the archipelago. Wondering about the similarities between these songs and those of the Balkans, Kunst (1954) tried to explain them by using Heine-Geldern's hypothesis of a 'Pontian migration' from the Black Sea region to Southeast Asia in the ninth century B.C. He supported this theory with analogies from religion, linguistics and visual art. This kind of singing has thus been called 'the Balkan sounding style of East Flores' (Yampolsky 2001).<sup>2</sup>

Although this hypothesis has been abandoned, the region remains attractive to musicologists.<sup>3</sup> Later, in the tracks of Jaap Kunst, the Austrian Gerald Messner (1989) detailed some of the musical features in the same villages that Kunst had visited (Keka', Tengah Dei, Riang Puh), showing that this two-part musical style resembles the vocal music of southeastern Europe and Oceania, specifically Manus in the Admiralty Islands (Messner 1981).<sup>4</sup> In August 1992, during a five-week recording fieldwork in several locations across Flores Island (Rappoport 1995, 2010b), I discovered a two-part singing

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<sup>1</sup> My thanks go to Philip Yampolsky and Aone van Engelenhoven, with whom I share this research. Without their contribution, this research would not have been possible. Thanks to Frédéric Léotar as well, who helped with the Fataluku musical transcription.

<sup>2</sup> Accessed February 2008.

<sup>3</sup> Apart from musicology, some parts of this region have been studied by anthropologists, extensively by Robert and Ruth Barnes, Karl Kohl and Penelope Graham (for more references, see Rappoport 2010b).

<sup>4</sup> Recordings of diphonic singing from Manus are published in Duvelle (2003).

idiom in the eastern part of the Sikkinese territory, in Tana 'Ai. In 1995, Philip Yampolsky (1995a) published an outstanding record offering a major contribution to the documentation and description of such duets, in the same place where Kunst did his recordings. Fifteen years elapsed before I was able to return to Flores for a year of fieldwork (2006–2007) to study the diffusion of duets towards the east, in the Lamaholot-speaking area including Eastern Flores, Solor, Adonara and Lembata. I found that diphonic singing was still performed only in a small portion of land at the extreme tip of Flores and in Western Solor. This kind of singing was not found anywhere else in Flores (neither in West nor Central Flores) but seemed located only on the eastern part of the island (Yampolsky 1995b, Kartomi 1999).

Diphonic singing stands as an enigma because it is unusual and isolated in a large landscape of gong ensembles and choral singing. Why does this musical idiom exist in such a limited area (Eastern Flores and Solor only), and why is it so dissimilar from the others? Is it a remnant of a lost tradition brought from outside Flores? Does it reveal an unknown history of settlements? Is it a remnant of non-Austronesian roots? This paper sheds light on a possible migration of diphonic singing between Flores and East Timor.

## 2 Flores Lamaholot diphonic singing

Lamaholot, a member of the Austronesian language family, comprises some 35 dialects and is spoken by 220,000 speakers inhabiting Eastern Flores and the Adonara, Solor and Lembata islands (Grimes et al. 1997:77). Lamaholot is what is called a dialect chain: people from the extremes of the chain do not understand each other. The dialects can be grouped into three: west, centre and east (Keraf 1978:8–10). Diphonic singing, found only in the western group, stands apart from the other musical practices of the area.

In Flores, two main kinds of music can be found (if we exclude the music of the Muslim people of the coasts): choral music and *gong-gendang* music. Inland and in the highlands, people often perform collective music with large choruses and ensembles of gongs and drums (*gong-gendang*). Choral music is everywhere, from West to East Flores (Yampolsky 1998:6). The Lamaholot area is surrounded by choral and *gong-gendang* music: the closest neighbours to the west, the Sikkinese, perform *gong-gendang* music and/or sing in mixed choruses, whereas the easternmost neighbours of Lamaholot speakers (Kédang, on Lembata Island) are known for their large choruses and their lively tradition of interlocking *gong-gendang* music (named *gong-bawa*) performed for all kinds of ceremonies, including funerals. On the island of Pantar, people sing mixed monophonic choruses in long opened chains (*légo-légo*) (Holton, personal communication, 2007). In this landscape of choral or *gong-gendang* music, some Lamaholot stand apart: they almost never sing all together but only in duets.<sup>5</sup> The duet singing of Western Lamaholot is unique, even from Lamaholot speakers farther to the east.

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<sup>5</sup> In Tanjung Bunga, the *lian naman* dance (or *haman*) is the only repertoire where a choral part is performed; in the *goken* song (introductory and conclusive part of the sung myth), a chorus part answers a duet, with a *hé ho* yelling.

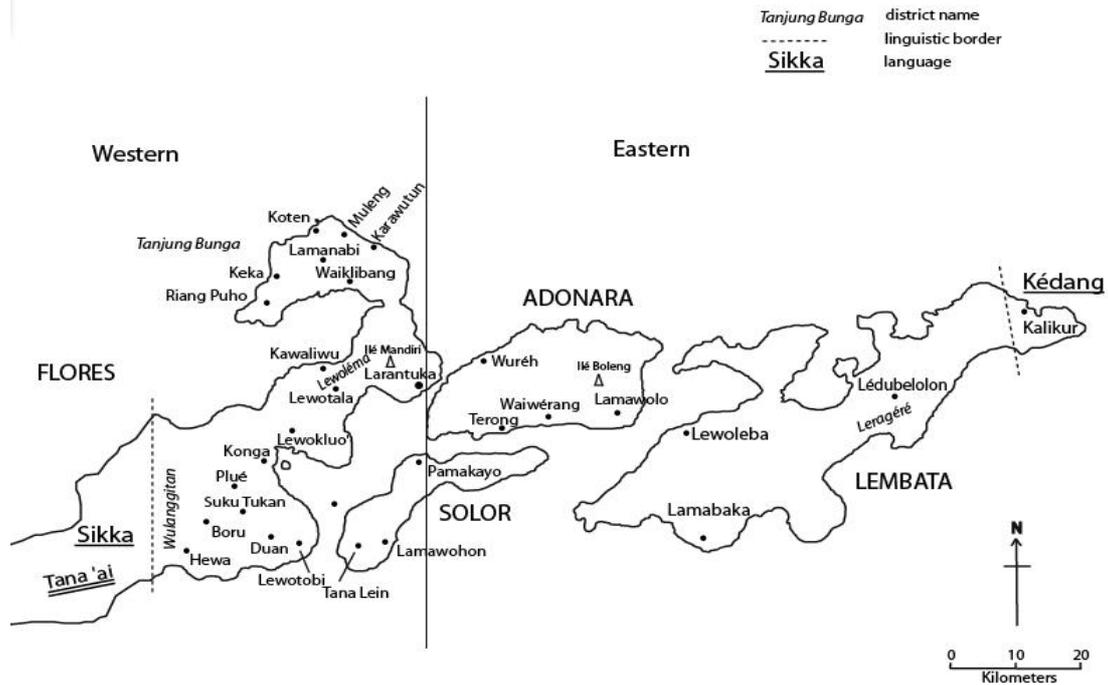


Figure 1: Musical division of Lamaholot country

Western and Eastern Lamaholot do not share many musical features (Figure 1). Whereas the western part of Lamaholot (East Flores, West Solor) is the place for polyphonic duetting, the eastern part of the region (Adonara, East Solor, Lembata) is characterised by monophonic choruses. Moreover, the two groups have many other contrasting features. Grouping and gender also differ between the two regions. In the west, two-part songs are performed by pairs of singers, mostly of the same gender, while in Adonara and Lembata, songs are performed in large mixed choruses. Another difference lies in the dance performance. In the west, people dance in single-sex chain dances without holding hands, whereas in the east, men and women hold hands in circle or line formations. In addition, in the east, dances are often accompanied by a drum.<sup>6</sup>

Everywhere in the Lamaholot-speaking region, most of the music instruments have disappeared, except the gong and drums. One instrument shows a division between the two parts: the unbound double ring flute. It consists of two separate bamboo pipes (*wulo*) around 38 cm long, each with an external air duct, tuned a whole tone apart. Both pipes are blown simultaneously by one musician. One has seven stops while the other has only six stops. They are tuned at an interval of about 180–220 cents, around a major second (for more about this flute, see Vatter 1932:81; Kunst 1942:138; Yampolsky 1995a:17–18). Outside of Lamaholot, the double flute, rare in Indonesia, can be found in one other part of Flores (Ngada). It can also be found in Toraja (South Sulawesi) but in a different form, as one of the pipes is taken for the drone and the two pipes are bound (Kaudern 1927:228).<sup>7</sup>

Little musical vocabulary is shared on the four islands where Lamaholot languages is mainly spoken (Flores, Adonara, Solor, Lembata). Some words are common, such as *lian naman*, *oron*, *nuren* and *bawa*. However, most of the repertoires are unique to one

<sup>6</sup> One example is the *bekhu* dance from Lembata.

<sup>7</sup> The unbound double flute is quite rare in the world. It may be found in China (Kunst 1954:19) and possibly in Papua (Sepik) (Bench, p. c., 2010).

or the other region: for example, *belasi* is unknown in Adonara-Lembata-East Solor but is spread all over the western part under the names *brasi*, *belasi* and *berasi*. On the other hand, *solé-oha* and *légo-légo* are unknown in the western part but common in the eastern part (Rappoport 2010b). While no musical form seems to be common to the whole area, some dances are known all over Lamaholot, such as the chain dance *lian naman* (from *lian* or ‘song’ and *haman* or ‘to stamp, to thresh’), the war dance *hédung* and the *dolo-dolo*, even if *hédung* and *dolo-dolo* are much more familiar in Adonara and Lembata.

## 2.1 The diphonic singing of Western Lamaholot

Diphonic singing is performed in most vocal genres, including the mythical narratives (*opak*, *opak moran*, *lian naman*), mostly for agrarian ritual activities. This two-part technique is rooted in the myth of the conjoined brothers, which tells how a mother gave birth to a boy with two heads and how the two voices merged into one sound:

In a village called Lamanabi, in older times, a mother, named Wulo’, gave birth to a boy with two heads. The older was called Kau and the younger, Ré. They were singing and dancing: the younger was singing *noko* (second voice) and the older *bawa* (first voice). When they were singing *hode’ ana*, one was singing the first voice and the other the second voice, and that was extremely nice. They did not live very long, died and were buried. A few days later, two bamboos came out from the ground, from the place of their burial; here is the origin of *sason rurén*, that makes two melodious voices.<sup>8</sup>

This story is known in a small area in Tanjung Bunga, around Lamanabi, where the conjoined brothers lived 30 generations ago, according to Bapa’ Tole’ (2009), who said that these bamboos called *sason rurén* are still visible today. The myth provides a link between the two-part singing tradition and the double flute (*sason rurén*).

Songs are mainly performed for three kinds of rituals: ceremonies related to the agrarian calendar, rituals for the renewal of boats and houses (clanic and collective temples) and rituals for the birth of children of certain clans. In some places, they are seldom sung during weaving. Songs are not performed for weddings and rarely performed at funerals. The names of the songs differ from village to village. In Waiklibang, music follows the agrarian calendar. Thus, people perform differentiated songs for each activity: going to the field (*berasi panalaran* song), cutting the trees (*berasi tiné* song), burning the fields (*berasi buko* song), preparing the seeds (*haman* dance), cooling the fields (*goé* song), sowing (*berasi sikat* song), cleaning the fields (*berasi kremet*, *goé* and *obarik* songs), harvesting maize, harvesting rice (*najan*, *lian kenolon*, *berasi ina waé*, *lian semogon*, *haman* and *go’ok* songs) and threshing (*lian semogon*, *go’ok* and *haman* songs). Most of these repertoires have differentiated songs according to the time of the day (Rappoport 2011). For house renewal ceremonies, they sing and dance the *haman* song, which narrates the migration of the clan. In older times, they would sing a song for the launching of a new boat (*liang téna*). Three main repertoires are mostly valued: *berasi*, *najan* and *haman* (also named *lian naman*, see

<sup>8</sup> From three oral versions collected in three villages from Tanjung Bunga between 2007 and 2009.

Rappoport 2007), the latter is the dance with diphonic singing, performed with bells and swords.

## 2.2 The musical characteristics of Lamaholot diphonic singing

This singing tradition requires one or more pairs of singers. The two parts divide and then meet sometimes on the same pitch (unison). The main feature of this aesthetic is the weaving together of the two parts at very narrow intervals (100 to 300 cents). These as well as the converging timbres and the tight interweaving of the voices produce a bittersweet sound. Each voice follows its own melodic line. The first is generally pitched higher and the second is pitched lower, though the lines may cross. The first takes on the lyric more often than the second. In addition, the first duo is the most skilled. Each voice is given a name (varying according to the regions). In Tanjung Bunga, the first is often called *hodé'* ('which takes or receives') or *bawa*; the second is called *noko* (no translation), *tenewon* (*tewo* means 'closing again') or *teren* ('calling the little ones'). The two voices do not have the same status: *hodé'* or *bawa* is the leading voice, whereas *noko* is the following voice. The singers often combine the terms of the two voices (*noko bawa* or *nodé' noko*) to refer to the duet form.

Characteristics of Lamaholot diphonic singing differ according to gender. Duets are generally single-sex (except in the westernmost part of Lamaholot, such as Boru and Solor<sup>9</sup>). Women's songs are easier to perform because they present a simpler type of polyphony, which could be named 'pseudo-drone polyphony' (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Tanjung Bunga women's song, *Rua tait épan puken* (village of Waiklibang, 2010)

Various musical features are to be considered: polyphony, melody, lyrics and rhythm. In Western Solor, the duet is supported by the chorus. The tempo is never rapid, and the melodic movements are generally descending, mainly moving within the vocal range of a fifth. As for the musical syntax (horizontal), it is based on short musical sentences (two or three) often ending with a typical cadence, with a powerful ascent from vocal *o* to *i* (*o di*)—a high-pitched final unison flourish. Rhythms are often iambic. The lyrics consist of two couplets:

<i>Rua tait épan puken</i>	Dua mari injak
<i>rua tait soda kolé</i>	dua mari petik batang

<i>épan puken ai lau'</i>	Injak pohon muka ke sana
<i>soda kolé aé raé</i>	petik batang ke sana

<sup>9</sup> Matrilineality from Sikka Tana 'Ai may have influenced these regions and may explain why women are often mixed with men in the songs.

Each song opening is the signature of the tune. The first or second voice begins alone, then the other answers to the one that has begun. These are like calls to go into the song. Each song has a special opening, indicating to the singer which song to sing.

Men's songs differ from women's songs in the complexity and diversity of their polyphonic techniques. Men's songs use various polyphonic techniques in one piece (e.g., contrary motion, imitation, parallel movement, counterpoint, *ostinati*, pseudo-drone) (Figure 3).

(♩ = c. 82)

hodé  
ba-tu ma pu-ken hu - a lo-lon réka é a mu-ri o é io o

nuku  
hu a lo-lon o é mu-ri o é é o é

hodé  
é o né-ki da-i-mo ba-tu pu-ken é é ba-tu pu-ken wa-na gé-ré

nuku  
di ba-tu pu-ken o ba-tu pu-ken é dai

Figure 3: Excerpt of *goé* song (Waiklibang)

All these characteristics are the components of sound structure. A musical idiom is defined not only through its sound structure (intervals, pitch, scales, styles, loudness, part singing) but also through the manner in which the music is made and the way time and relationships are conceived.

### 2.3 Various styles of diphonic singing

At least six styles of diphonic singing can be found in the western part of Lamaholot (Rappoport 2010a): 1) Tanjung Bunga, 2) Lewolema, 3) Muhang, 4) Boru, 5) Lewotobi and 6) West Solor. Each can be divided into sub-styles. For instance, Tanjung Bunga can be divided into six sub-styles. Singers living in villages 10 km apart cannot sing together. The vocal techniques are distinguished according to musical criteria (repertoires, melodies, movements of voices, use of the drone, intervals, rhythms, vocal production, alternation, instruments) and according to names, dances, myth and gender. This distribution of musical styles resembles the weaving distribution (Barnes 1987). However, the distribution of songs seems more complex than that of weaving.

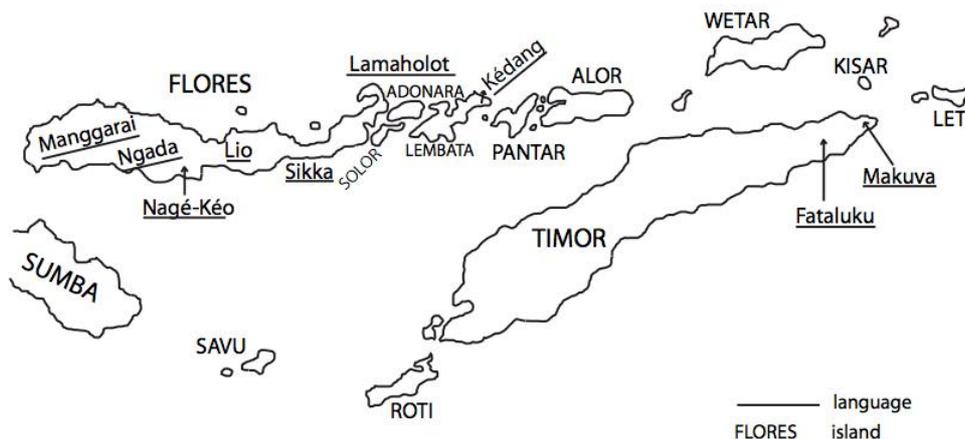


Figure 4: Eastern Indonesia

In conclusion, diphonic singing is an isolated musical practice. How can we explain this isolation in Eastern Indonesia (Figure 4)? Diphonic singing is also performed in Oceania, on Manus Island (Messner 1981; Duvelle 2003), but not precisely in the same way as in Eastern Flores (with alternation of duets and with all the characteristics that have been mentioned so far). However, the very same type is performed in parts of Timor-Leste.

### 3 Fataluku diphonic singing

The Fataluku language is a non-Austronesian language of East Timor. It has about 30,000 speakers and is grouped into five mutually understandable dialects. Fortunately, various data are available for Fataluku traditional music, with the musical archives of Henri Campagnolo (1966), the linguistic collections and results of Aone van Engelenhoven (2009) and the recent detailed fieldwork and recordings of Philip Yampolsky (2012).

Yampolsky's recent fieldwork confirmed the prevalence of diphonic singing all over Fataluku.<sup>10</sup> Diphonic singing is also an isolated musical idiom in Timor Leste, as farther west, we find monophony and gongs and drums. This appears to be the case even in the western neighbouring regions (Viqueque and Baucau) that use the non-Austronesian (non-Austronesian) languages Makasae and Makalero, which are, like Fataluku, of the Trans-New Guinea stock (Himmelman, personal communication, June 2009).

Fataluku people have various sung repertoires: *vaihoho* (sung poems for harvest), *le'ule* (harvest), *sa'u* (funeral), *votone* (boat and fishing songs), *tebe*, *koinenepe*, *canta*, lullabies and *selele* (wedding songs).<sup>11</sup> According to Yampolsky (personal communication, September 2012), the most valued repertoire is *vaihoho*. The main distinction seems to be between the far east style, where *vaihoho* is only sung as alternating duets, and the western and southern styles, where in large group contexts, an

<sup>10</sup> The first archives I have were recorded, with minimal annotation, by Henri Campagnolo, a linguist who lived for 20 months in the Lorehe region (April–December 1966 and October 1969–December 1970). The 1966 sound archives are 31 files, at the French National Library, and accessible at [http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/collections/CNRSMH\\_I\\_1971\\_028/](http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/collections/CNRSMH_I_1971_028/).

<sup>11</sup> Campagnolo (1979:38); Engelenhoven (personal communication, 2010); Yampolsky (2012).

initial duet is answered by multiple duets sung simultaneously. Regarding the contexts of songs, it is known that two-part singing is performed for welcoming guests, weddings, harvests, funerals and concerted works (threshing rice, hauling a tree from the forest, planting the post of a house, harvesting sea worms, walking, passing the time). Fataluku people have a twin flute called *ruru veve*.

The Fataluku musical idiom seems strongly diphonic, even if they use chorus and heterophonic unison (Yampolsky 2012:16). Their songs are two-part songs with two or more pairs of singers (often non-mixed), including a leading voice or *na lafai* ('voice big') and a following voice or *na moko* ('voice child')—also called *em hi'a moi* ('take up move') and *em isi* ('take descend'). Polyphonic technique uses pseudo-drone polyphony (Figure 5). The two voices favour mostly small, simultaneous intervals such as minor and major seconds and minor thirds. They meet in sporadic unisons.<sup>12</sup> Yampolsky (2012:14) described it as follows:

The upper voice typically has four or five tones in its melody, while the lower voice is likely to stick to two or three of those tones (sometimes with a lower pickup tone not used by the upper voice) and to repeat or hold one or another tone steady as a drone while the upper voice moves above it.

## Women duet (Fataluku)

Rec. 1966 H. Campagnolo

Soprano 1

ka la la la é ké no ho ki na ha mo ko dé té pé mo ro

Soprano 2

ka la la la é ké no ho ki na ha mo ko dé té mo ro

4

S 1

ma ro ni pé ni to mo ko pé lé mo sa pè mo ru a è

S 2

ro ni pé ni to mo ko pé lé mo è mo ru a è

8

S 1

mo ni vè

S 2

mo ni vè

**Figure 5:** Excerpt of a Fataluku duet recorded by H. Campagnolo in 1966, my musical transcription

<sup>12</sup> Cf. identical style in the Sop region of Bulgaria (Rice 1977:49).

Fataluku musical sentences are short. Rhythms are often iambic, and the pace of melodies is usually slow.

## 4 Similarities and evidence

In July 2010, Fataluku songs were played by the author over speakers for Lamaholot people, who acknowledged the same musical idiom, while Lamaholot songs were played for Fataluku people in Timor by Aone Engelenhoven (personal communication, January 2010). Indeed, there are many similarities (e.g., polyphony, syntax, rhythm, intensity, instruments and the duetting concept), especially if we compare Lamaholot women's songs to Fataluku musical idiom.

Considering the polyphonic idiom, in both Western Lamaholot and Fataluku, we find two-part songs with two or more pairs of singers (generally non-mixed), a hierarchy between the voices, sporadic unison, *seeking seconds* and pseudo-drone style. In terms of musical syntax, the sentences of both are short, separated with silence, while the ending of phrases is sharp, ascending to a unison. Considering rhythm, we find iambic figures. The intensity of voices is comparatively similar to sustained pitches and tensed voices. The status of the two voices is similar in Fataluku and Lamaholot: in both cases, the first voice is leading while the second voice is following. The second voice is named *noko* (which has no meaning) in Lamaholot and *moko* or 'child' in Fataluku. The meaning makes sense, as the second voice is under the first voice. Then, could *noko* and *moko* be related? Could the Lamaholot *noko* be borrowed from the Fataluku *moko*?

Another striking point is the presence of the twin flute in these two musical cultures, which do not have many musical instruments. The Fataluku double flute is called *ruru veve*, whereas the Lamaholot double flute is called *rurén*. In Fataluku, *aruré* means 'to cry'; the Lamaholot twin flute *rurén* is linked to sadness. The twin flute is made of a pair of individual bamboo ring-stop flutes not tied together, and both pipes are played individually. The twin flute follows a vocal melody, often linked to the main vocal genre: *berasi* for Lamaholot and *vaihoho* for Fataluku. Twin flutes play very few tunes. What is common to both Lamaholot and Fataluku is that these two tubes are tuned a whole tone apart (*ca.* 200 cents).

Though this flute has nearly disappeared today in the Lamaholot area, it is still crucial for its aesthetics, its place in some myths and its place related to the art of speech, mainly in Tanjung Bunga. The instrument is considered dangerous and can only be played under specified conditions. In Tanjung Bunga, it is sometimes called *rurén*, but more often *sason rurén*, referring to a stringed instrument and a wind instrument.<sup>13</sup> The pipe with seven finger holes, used to play the higher-pitched melody, is called *hodé*, while the other one is called *nuku*. Thus, each bamboo has a name that is similar to the name given to human voices in diphonic singing. Moreover, the flute technique is similar to diphonic singing, and the melodies in the repertoire of this flute bear song names.

### 4.1 Differences between musical idioms

Western Lamaholot men's songs show more polyphonic combinations than Fataluku men's songs, which mainly use drone polyphony. The first tradition is more

<sup>13</sup> *Sason sina* ('Chinese fiddle') is a bowed fiddle in the region of Boru (Rappoport 2010:236).

contrapuntal than the second. In Western Lamaholot duets, the second voice may sometimes cross the first voice. Fataluku songs use a simple polyphonic form in a way that is closer to Lamaholot women's duetting than to men's. More differences still need to be shown after a complete detailed analysis of the two main corpuses, to see how the singers adjust lyrics to melodies.

## 4.2 Musical context similarities

It is striking to see that sadness is the main feeling when singing, in both Western Lamaholot and Fataluku traditions. In Fataluku, the main song theme used to be about sad love but is now about war (Campagnolo 1979:38, Yampolsky, personal communication, November 2013). Other links may be underlined, such as the presence in both cultures of road songs, chain dances, war dances, the use of bells in the dances and swords held during the dances (Campagnolo 1979:39). Unfortunately, this may not be relevant because we do not yet know if these similarities can be found all over Eastern Indonesian societies. While swords are found in dances all over Timor, they are not held during dances all over Flores and the neighbouring islands. What is specific to Tanjung Bunga dances is that the male dances are performed with swords.

## 4.3 Other evidence

Apart from the musical idiom, other evidence related to culture, ethno-linguistics and genetics may be shown. Oral narratives of the various clans tell of travelling roads from east to west. In Tanjung Bunga, most of the clans claim to come from the outside. Three different places of origin are recalled: they travelled from the west (Sina Jawa), from the east (Keroko Pukén,<sup>14</sup> Lapam Batan or Kei Léra Matan) or from the north (Seram Goran).<sup>15</sup> Few claim to have always been in the same place (*ilé jadi* or 'born of the mountain').

In the east, Keroko Pukén is a place between Lembata and Pantar where an earthquake may have taken place in the fifteenth century (Barnes 1982:411). It may be the metaphor for an eastern origin, a flight from some place to the east. In 2009, villagers from Waiklibang affirmed to me their East Timor origin.<sup>16</sup> Whether true or not, it cannot be ignored and may indicate a link between Eastern Flores and East Timor.

Another trail could be seriously taken into account. The crocodile carving raises a question: Why do some Lamaholot villages carve a crocodile on the roof of their ceremonial house? In the easternmost region of Flores (Tanjung Bunga, Lewolema, Bai Pito), most of the carved crocodiles have their heads turned towards the rising sun, to the east (*hétí*).<sup>17</sup> This animal is considered by many clans as an ancestor. Some consider it a guide or a rescuer. Those who consider it their ancestor claim to have come from a

<sup>14</sup> *Keroko*: a special plant, growing on dry land. *Pukén*: wood branch, origin.

<sup>15</sup> See the case of Muleng and Karawutun, two villages located 5 km from each other, each one claiming a different place of origin. Karawutun people claim to come from Sina Jawa (to the west), whereas Muleng people claim to come from the east. Until today, they exhibit dialectal and musical differences. They never remarry or work on their gardens together.

<sup>16</sup> I was shown a film about their ceremonial house renovation in 2003 where one was recalling their East Timor origin. Bapa' Platin Maran, one of the elders of the village, responsible for the speech, confirmed to me then how his clan came from East Timor.

<sup>17</sup> However, the ceremonial house *korké* of Keka village has its head turned to the setting sun because they claim to have come from Lio.

sea spirit (*harin*) that transformed itself from a crocodile (*waja*, *kobu*) into a human and then married a girl coming from an earth spirit (*nitu*), from an elephant family. As this animal is also highly valued as an ancestor in Timor (Lombard-Jourdan 1997:95; Durand 2002:46), can this be evidence of similarity?

Papuan linguistic features have diffused into the Austronesian languages (Klamer et al. 2008). Whereas Fataluku is a non-Austronesian language, Lamaholot is Austronesian. However, recently, three characteristics of the Papuan languages have been found in Lamaholot<sup>18</sup>. Could the Lamaholot language have Papuan roots?

Finally, recent studies in genetics (Mona et al. 2009:1867) have shown a ‘complete lack of correlation between linguistic and genetic relationships, most likely reflecting genetic admixture and/or language shift’. This would confirm the possibility of a shift of language from Fataluku to Lamaholot.

## 5 Conclusion

The discussion focused on the music and language of two different societies in the Nusa Tenggara islands: Lamaholot speakers in Eastern Flores and Fataluku speakers at the eastern tip of Timor. The languages belong to different language families; Lamaholot is an Austronesian language, while Fataluku is a non-Austronesian language. The whole Fataluku-speaking region and certain parts of the Lamaholot-speaking region share a distinctive musical practice of diphonic (duet) singing within a narrow gamut of tones, leading to many close simultaneous intervals. Elsewhere in Timor and elsewhere within the Lamaholot-speaking region, this kind of singing is unknown; instead, people typically sing in choruses in unison, with heterophonic or multi-part textures.

Some clues prompt us to hypothesise a human migration from Timor to Flores sometime in the distant past. The first clue is the homology between the musical idioms of some Lamaholot speakers and all or most Fataluku speakers. The second is certain oral sources from the clans of Tanjung Bunga, which claim to come from Timor.

The two-part singing musical idiom is so rare in the archipelago that it would be surprising if these two groups were *not* related. Possibly, a small group of people from a non-Austronesian group (Fataluku) may have come to Eastern Flores (Lamaholot) with its culture, language and songs and adopted a new language (Lamaholot), maintaining only its musical idiom through the centuries thereafter. Undeniably, other pieces of evidence need to be brought forward to support this migration hypothesis.

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<sup>18</sup> ‘Lamaholot has at least three features inducing an ancient language contact with Papuan language: possessor-possessum order in adnominal possession, 2) overt marking of the distinction alienable versus inalienable possession, 3) clause final negation’ (Klamer 2002:377, Klamer et al. 2008:95; Grangé 2009:15).

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# 9 *The Lebbo' language and culture: A window on Borneo's ancient past<sup>1</sup>*

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ANTONIO J. GUERREIRO

## 1 Introduction

The Lebbo' and the related Basap subgroups are localized in the Northern part of the Province of East Kalimantan. This huge area includes the main river drainage basins in Eastern Kutai/Southern Berau: Telen-Wahau, Karangan, Manumbar, Kelai-Lesan and the coastal areas of Cape Mangkalihat and Talisayan. From a geographical point of view, the region could be further divided in three larger zones: the coasts and coastal highlands; the mountain ranges; and the remote interior (upper reaches of river).

This article provides a comprehensive overview of these peoples' little-known ethno-historic background and linguistic affiliations, as well as a sketch of the Lebbo' Aso' dialect spoken on the Lesan River. It describes some lexical differences between the two dialects spoken in the Lesan area, Lebbo' Aso' and Lebbo' Isi, which are compared to the other Basap dialects. The data presented here stems from field research carried out in the framework of the French-Indonesian interdisciplinary programme in the area.

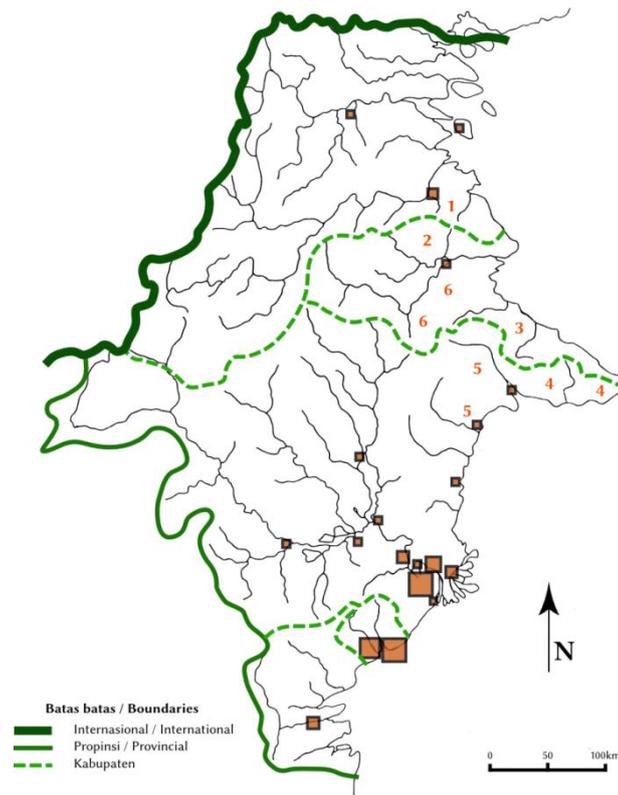
The so-called 'Basap'—the term is a derogative exonym stemming probably from the word *asap* 'smoke'—are still the least known people of the Province of East Kalimantan. More specifically, the word *asap* has been mentioned in the accounts of Kutai Malay traders, as the only visible traces of the people's forest camps in the landscape. Thus they become known as *b-asap*, perhaps a contraction from *ber-asap* (a variant recorded in Berau Malay is *basep*). They used to practice silent exchange of forest products for traded goods such as iron blades, cloth, beads, salt, tobacco and rice. Otherwise their settlements would literally merge into the forest/karst mountain environment. This feature was linked to their survival. Living in such small hamlets, they would be invisible to the headhunters' parties that rampaged through the region (*circa* 1750-1925). Currently these forest dwellers, foragers and horticulturists/swiddeners are divided into many scattered local groups which do not maintain close relationships, although the peoples of neighbouring or faraway villages would intermarry. Men were used to travelling by foot in the area, walking from one area to the other, and it was common for them to settle in another Basap/Lebbo' hamlet and marry there.

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<sup>1</sup> The research took place in the frame of the French-Indonesian interdisciplinary cooperative programme in the Lesan River valley, from 2009 to 2013 (archaeology, anthropology, linguistics), focussing on the Karstic range sites in East Kutai and Berau. It was supported by IRSEA/IrAsia, Maison Asie-Pacifique, Marseille, CNRS-University de Provence UMR 7603 (now Aix-Marseille University, AMU), University of Toulouse, AMIS, The French Ministry of Foreign affairs (MAE), and the French Embassy in Jakarta. The annual research programme involved the following Indonesian institutions and government agencies: Puslit Arkenas, Jakarta; Balai Arkeologi, Banjarmasin; Badan Lingkungan Hidup office in Sangatta, East Kutai; Kanwil Budpar Berau; and the Kutai Timur/Berau local governments. I am most grateful to the villagers in the Lesan area for their enthusiasm and support during fieldwork.

Because of the difficult nature of the rugged terrain they inhabit, the huge distances between the communities (with the exception of the Lesan River) and their limited demographical size, now these people tend to assimilate fast into other ethnic groups, by intermarriage or conversion to world religions. Thus the Basap/Lebbo' exhibit a large range of variations in economic activities and cultural patterns aside from some distinctive phenotypes (Guerreiro 1985, 1996, 2003, 2004).

Now these peoples can be divided into six main regional groupings, from North to South, spreading throughout the coastal areas and coastal uplands of the Bulungan, Berau and East Kutai Regencies (see Figure 1):



**Figure 1:** Distribution of the Basap-Lebbo' linguistic grouping in the Kutai-Berau Karstic range and its surroundings (adapted after Zimmerman G. R., *Kalimantan Timur. East Kalimantan. Indonesia*, 1984: 345)

1. the 'Basap Sajau or Punan Sajau' of the Bulungan Regency (living on the Sajau and Binai Rivers);
2. the Latti-Birang area bands, living between the Latti River and Birang River, and probably extending in the West up to the Pura River;
3. the Talisayan area Basap—the most numerous but the least known—on the Tabalar River, Dumaring River;
4. the 'Southern Basap' of the Mangklihat Peninsula (Sandaran) up to the Manumbar River, known as Ulun Darat;
5. the Sangkulirang, Bengalon and Karangan River local groups;
6. the Lesan and Inaran River people, i.e. Ulun Lebbo';

(compare Mallinckrodt 1928: 42, for a general distribution of 'Basap' in Eastern Borneo).

Generally, these scattered local groups would refer to themselves by using only the term *ulun* (lit. 'people', Malay *orang*), prefixed to a toponym, the name of a river or hamlet: e.g. Ulun Biatan, Ulun Tabalar or Ulun Tonda: the 'people of the Tonda River'. Now the Malay term *suku*, 'ethnic group, tribe', is also used as a synonym of *ulun*. They use it in a generic sense, e.g. speaking of Suku Darat, '[we] the people of the interior', within the broader group of the Basap Selatan, or, when prefixed to a local group's ethnonym, among the Lebbo'. I shall add that spatially, the 'greater region' settled by the Lebbo'/Basap actually surrounds the Mangkalihat Karstic range, and it allows passage (via footpaths) between the coast and the highlands, and to the more accessible river valleys by river transportation (from North to South: Tabalar, Karangan-Baai, Lesan-Kelai, Bengalon (Badan Lingkungan Hidup n.d.; Chazine and Fage 2010; Setyawan and Setyawan 2011).

## **2 Historical background of the Lebbo': the Peoples of the Sungai Lesan**

According to the oral history of the Lebbo' people I recorded in Merabu, in about the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, two local groups coalesced in the middle Lesan area (on the right bank of the river), roughly between Muara Mayong and the current Merabu village site, upstream of the current logging bridge on the Lesan:

- the *suku* Petema (*tema* lit. 'grave'), also known as the Ulun Petema, or *orang pekubur* in Malay. The group, coming from the upper Lesan, had the custom of burying their dead in graves dug in the soil.
- the *suku* Himbau, from a toponym, Batu Himbau (they disposed of their dead in wooden coffins(*lungun*)placed in caves). The Himbau lived around the Middle Lesan River.

The latter groups have intermarried before the first established village, Tukan Canong, was founded on the banks of the Lesan River (*Lasan* in Berau Malay). Then a third local group, the *suku* Sanimban or *suku* Isi (known as Ulun Sanimban/Ulun Isi) was located on the upper reaches of the Lesan River and on the Sungai Inaran.<sup>2</sup> Each of these groups had their own speech (*rengèt*) belonging to the same linguistic grouping; each has merged into the vehicular Lebbo' Aso' language which is common to both Lebbo' Aso' and Lebbo' Isi, the two dialects of Lebbo' in the Lesan (Lebbo' Isi was recorded in Pana'an village). According to an oral narrative, at the beginning of the last century, Sultan Rum of Berau, their overlord (*puan sungai*) told the middle Lesan Lebbo' that it was better for them to live and trade on the bank of the main Lesan river, so they made a settlement there, named Tukan Canong, lit. 'The stairs stopping the violence' (they paid a tribute made of forest products, mostly rattan and

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<sup>2</sup> The village sites of the *Ulun Sanimban* changed several times from about 1915 onwards. On the Keberangan River, located in the upper Lesan area, the village was then named Prongong—they had five *kampung* sites in the area. After WWII, they moved to the *kampung* Tebel on the Tebel R. Following this, they moved to the Petar R. under the name of Pana'an, then to the Kra'an River, before the change to the Layan River in the early 1990s. This was also a tributary of the Lesan, the current village site. However, they have retained the name Kampung Pana'an for the current administration (207 inhabitants in 2011). The 'Basap' Tabalar, in the upper region of the river, would be relatives of the Isi/Sanimban.

beeswax, to the Sultan). The Lebbo' population was estimated at less than four hundred persons at the time. Then about 1908, the Dutch arrived in the upper Lesan area and later the Lebbo' had to pay the head tax (*wang belastèng* in Lebbo', a standard amount of 1.5 *gulden* per household head, paid in forest products) to the colonial authorities who visited the *kampung*. In 1939-1940, a total of 488 tax payers was registered for the Lesan. An administrative outpost had been established in Muara Lesan a few years before in 1905 (Eisenberger 1936:86; Krom 1940:52 ff.; Rest 1923; Tehupeiurij 1906:33-36). The *kampung* was officially recognized in 1912 under a village administrative chief (*pembakal*) named Simpo' Libun, a Lebbo' *adat* head and shaman. The community did split several times and in the course of time the offshoots became to be known as Merapun and Merabu (formerly Muara Bu) villages, while different groups have mixed in Pana'an.

### 3 The Lebbo' Language

The historical background of the language can be summarized as follows. Writing in the mid-1930s, Dutch *controleur* Ensing reports that the 'original Lebbo language' (*bahasa lebu asal*), known also as *bahasa Sanimban*, was spoken in the Inaran and by the hulu Tabalar group (Ensing 1937). Then it seems probable that some Lebbo' came from the Lesan River, later moving through the mountainous area where the Lesan River, the Karangan River and the Inaran River have their sources, up to the upper Tabalar. They are known as *Lebbo' Isi*, lit. 'that Lebbo' – *isi* is the deitic 'that'. Since 1915, when Pana'an village was established according to Dutch administrative reports, they intermarried with people from the other settlements downstream in the Lesan, subsequently founding different village communities. Ensing mentions the linguistic distinction between the people still using the *bahasa Sanimban* at the time (Lesan, Inaran, Hulu Tabalar local groups) and the Basap in other areas of Berau (Talisayan) who could only understand it. The ethnonym 'Sanimban' refers more precisely to one of the groups of the Lebbo' in the upper Lesan River area. Ensing points out that this original language was also understood by several Basap local groups in the Talisayan coastal region of Berau: the Biatan hilir, Biatan hulu, Lempakè, Bapinang River, Beraya River, Pattung River (compare Dewall 1855:185; Ensing 1937:12-15; Mallincrodt 1928:42). Thus, the autonym Lebbo' connotes a change in ethnolinguistic identity: the former Basap peoples in the Lesan, when settling down in the early 1900s, chose to be called Lebbo', lit. 'house' instead of Basap, a derogative exonym; the ethnonym 'Lebu' (from Berau Malay *Orang Labu*), was picked up later by the colonial administration).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The endonym *lebbo'* lit. '[village] house', an individual family building, has become associated with the people and language as well. Its various meanings could be interpreted as follows: the local groups in the Lesan River area had many houses in their scattered hamlets, they were called by their Dayak/Punan/Malay neighbours (Ulun Lebbo, Orang Labu, Orang Lebu, Lun Lebu', etc.). They used to leave the house after a death occurred in the building by fear of the presence of angry ghosts (*bèbè'*). According to the *adat*, very sick or dying people should be brought down to the ground, just before they passed away. In the case of bad death (violent deaths, beheadings, accidents, still births, etc.), the body could not enter the hamlet, but would be placed in a special hut outside its boundaries. After settling down in a *kampung* located on the river bank, in order to distinguish themselves from the other nomadic 'Basap' still roaming in the forest, the people did stress their identity by the use of the name *lebbo'*, contrasting it also to the field house (*kopol*) in the swidden. Both interpretations could be complementary.

According to collaborators in Mapulu, mutually intelligible isolects with Lebbo' are:

- Baay (Bèy), in Muara Bulan village;
- Tabalar River, several villages in the upper reaches;
- Batu Lepo' (village);
- Perondongan (village);
- Biatan hulu, hilir (villages);
- Bapinang (several villages).

These dialects correspond roughly to the local dialect groups mentioned by Ensing. Examples of lexical and sound changes from 'Basap', i.e Lebbo' Isi dialect or Sanimban speech, to Lebbo' Aso', show phonological variations and lexical innovation as well (Table 1). According to our Lebbo' collaborators, the changes are supposed to have occurred during the last eighty years in the Lesan area (but the statement needs to be correlated with other linguistic/cultural factors, see Fishman 1999). They have provided the following examples:<sup>4</sup>

**Table 1:** Change from Basap to Lebbo'

Gloss	Malay	Basap (Isi/Sanimban)	Lebbo' (Aso')
'run'	<i>lari</i>	<i>takedo</i>	<i>lemariu</i>
'ear'	<i>telinga</i>	<i>télang</i>	<i>tuleg, tulek</i>
'walk'	<i>jalan</i>	<i>panau</i>	<i>pano</i>
'nose'	<i>hidung</i>	<i>turung</i>	<i>udung</i>
'foot'	<i>kaki</i>	<i>kating</i>	<i>tonang</i>

#### 4 Linguistic affiliations of the Lebbo'

While compiling the different manuscripts (*memories van overgave*), and 'Basap' word-lists (Korn's Basap 1 and Basap 2 in KITLV Leiden, 1957, *via* Adelaar, Rutten 1916, Pusat Bahasa 2002) and comparing them to my Lebbo' vocabulary notes from the Inaran and Merapun communities, I noted that they were dialects of the same language. Then I have investigated the different aspects of the phonology, lexicon and syntactic structures of two distinct isolects: the Ulun Tonda in Mangkalihah (East Kutai, Sangkulirang district) and Ulun Merabu/Mapulu (Berau, Kelai district) located at both ends of the dialectical chain, from West to East (see Appendix I, Table 1). In this article I focus only on the Lebbo'. It may well be that these peoples have mixed with local Dayak and Bajau while living in Mangkalihah, and generally in the Sangkulirang area (Karangan River), and on the coastal strip of Talisayan; this would account for the lexical variations (or innovations) among these latter groups (Guerreiro 1985, 1996, 2003, 2004). Recently, the use of Bahasa Indonesia and Berau Malay in the Lesan has increased tremendously, boosted by the influence of radio and

<sup>4</sup> A brief point is in order here with regards to phonology. Generally, the phonology of Lebbo' (Aso' and Isi dialects) does not exhibit specific features which distinguish it within the Rejang-Sajau language subgrouping, the Rejang-Baram group, or even in comparison to various Kenyah-Kayan isolects. In general, orthographic symbols correspond to phonemic notation in IPA, with the exception of orthographic è for phonemic /ɛ/, e for /ə/, ' for /ʔ/, and ny for /ɲ/.

television, and by integration into the Regency's development programmes. Presently, there are about a thousand speakers of Lebbo', including the Inaran group.

**Table 2:** Lexical differentiation of Basap and Lebbo'

	Talisyan area		Kelai Basin area	
	1	2	3	4
Bahasa Indonesia and gloss	Semurut	Lobang Kelatak ('Basap')	Lebbo' Lesan (ancient 'Basap')	Lebbo' Inaran (ancient 'Basap')
<i>air</i> 'water'	<i>danom</i>	<i>danum</i>	<i>danum</i>	<i>danum</i>
<i>baik</i> 'good'	<i>piya'</i>	<i>baunggu</i>	<i>pia</i>	<i>puri</i>
<i>basah</i> 'wet'	<i>bisa'</i>	<i>bisa'</i>	<i>basa'</i>	-
<i>burung</i> 'bird'	<i>rimat</i>	<i>empulu</i>	<i>pompulu</i>	-
<i>kanan</i> 'right'	<i>pemedang</i>	<i>kentam</i>	<i>kawanan</i>	<i>(pa-)medang</i>
<i>kata(ber-)</i> 'say'	<i>keduhù</i>	<i>kelegoh</i>	<i>kerengèt</i>	-
<i>kelahi (ber-)</i> 'fight'	<i>kelahey</i>	<i>agalahan</i>	<i>bekelay</i>	-
<i>kepala</i> 'head'	<i>poro'</i>	<i>butih ulu</i>	<i>tekuRu</i>	<i>puru</i>
<i>tangan</i> 'hand'	<i>tinyo'</i>	<i>sulù</i>	<i>tangan</i>	<i>tenyu</i>
<i>tidak</i> 'no, not'	<i>ta:</i>	<i>atè</i>	<i>manda</i>	<i>taya'</i>
<i>tidur</i> 'sleep'	<i>dem</i>	<i>tuyuh</i>	<i>medem</i>	<i>dem</i>

Source: 1,2 Pusat Bahasa 2002; 3,4 GUERREIRO field notes, 1984, 2009/2011; BI: Bahasa Indonesia. (The orthography has been homogenized by A.J.G.)

The Inaran Lebbo', part of the *Lebbo' Isi*, still have phonological variations and a few lexical differences compared to Lebbo' Isi as recorded in Pana'an. However, the morphology (affixation), syntax and word order are similar. The older 'Basap speech' was probably the one referred as *basa Sanimban* by Ensing in the 1930s. But there are distinctions between the different isolects, e.g. the current speech of the Ulun Darat in Mangkalihat, which they call *basà umum*, has assimilated about 15% of Malay loan-words; this is not the case for the Lebbo' dialects in the Lesan. In contrast to Malay or Bajau, in Lebbo' few items seem to have been borrowed from neighbouring Kayanic or Kenyahic languages. Lebbo' Aso' shows rather Kenyahic cognates *alun* 'dugout', *tama* 'father', *sina* 'mother', *ngadan* 'name', *udung* 'nose', *kuda* 'when', *ujan* 'rain', *nyipen* 'tooth', *padé* 'paddy', *pé'èn* 'nine', *mensep* 'drink'<sup>5</sup>; while another item, *bituka* 'belly' is a cognate of Punan Tubu', *betukoh*.

5 This feature could reflect also their more peaceful relationships with the Kenyah in the Lesan River area, especially the Uma' Baka', although they may occasionally take heads when meeting Lebbo' in the forest. On the other hand, they do not mention specifically the neighbouring Kayan Uma' Lasaan or the Uma' Leken in Miau Baru. Lebbo' does not have significant loan-words from the Mengaè or Punan Kelai (Pnaan) belonging to the Kayanic (Modang) linguistic subgrouping (Guerreiro 1996b; 2009a). Until the 1920s the non-violent Lebbo' were the preferred victims of the Mengaè's and Wehèa's head taking raids, and were derisively called 'goats' (*kambing*, *kadieng*) by the Dayak. However, the Lebbo' did have some friendly exchanges with the Punan Kelai.

In Lebbo' Isi, lexically more heterogenous, some Kayanic cognates are noticeable alongside items from other languages (Kajang, Punan): *dau* 'day', *haya* 'big', *a'lebu* 'much', *malem* 'night', *sepa(h)* 'betel-nut quid', *paray* 'paddy'. Besides Kenyahic and Kayanic, the Lebbo'/Basap isolects exhibit phonological and lexical relationships to the Rejang-Sajau group defined by Hudson in his classification of Borneo languages (1992:24-25). According to Hudson, the Rejang-Baram group is composed of four main subdivisions: Baram-Tinjar (BT), Rejang-Bintulu (RB), Lower-Rejang (LR), Rejang-Sajau (RS).

The Rejang-Sajau subgrouping is particularly interesting for comparisons with the Basap-Lebbo', its main components being Punan Bah and Punan Biau in the middle Rejang (Baluy). They belong to the Kajang ethnolinguistic grouping (following Hudson, other Kajang subgroups are part of the Rejang-Bintulu subdivision; compare Adelaar 1995:76-77, 2005; Soriente 2013:176-177). In East Kalimantan, according to Hudson, this grouping includes the Punan Merap, on the Tubu' River in Malinau regency, who would be referred to now as the Punan Malinau/Belinau (see Dinas Kebudayaan 2008), and the Sajau Basap, spoken on the Sajau and Binai rivers near Tanjung Selor (Bulungan regency). Lexical matches between Lebbo' and Melanau (Rejang-Bintulu) are noticeable (see Table 3 below). Hudson noted that the reflex of PAN \*b in the Sajau isolect showed the opposition of /h/ and /b/: *ehok* 'hair' vs. *batu* 'stone'. This contrast is also exhibited in the Punan Biau language (Baluy, Sarawak): *evua* 'hair' vs. *bato* 'stone'. Clearly the Latti (Basap) isolect of Northern Berau can be included in the Rejang-Sajau grouping, as it shows the same phenomenon: *ihuk* 'hair' vs. *batu* 'stone'.

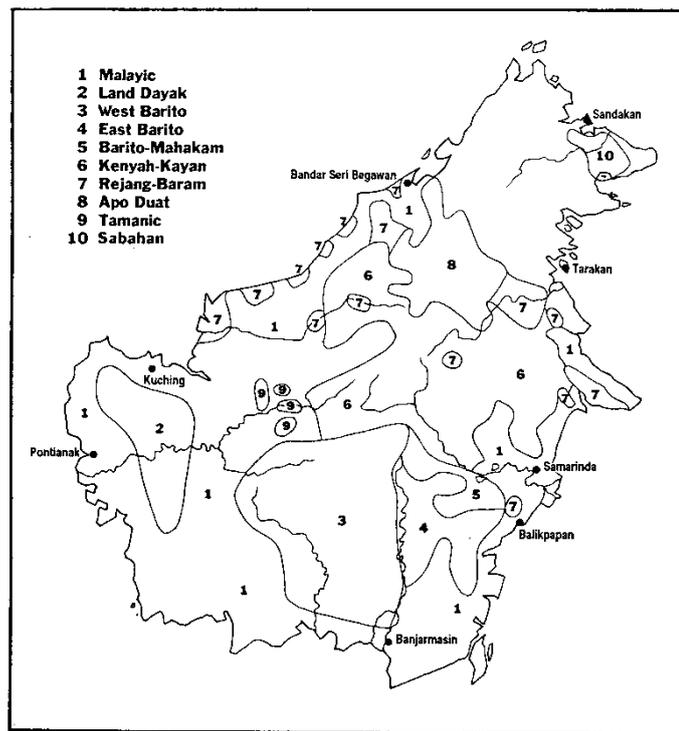
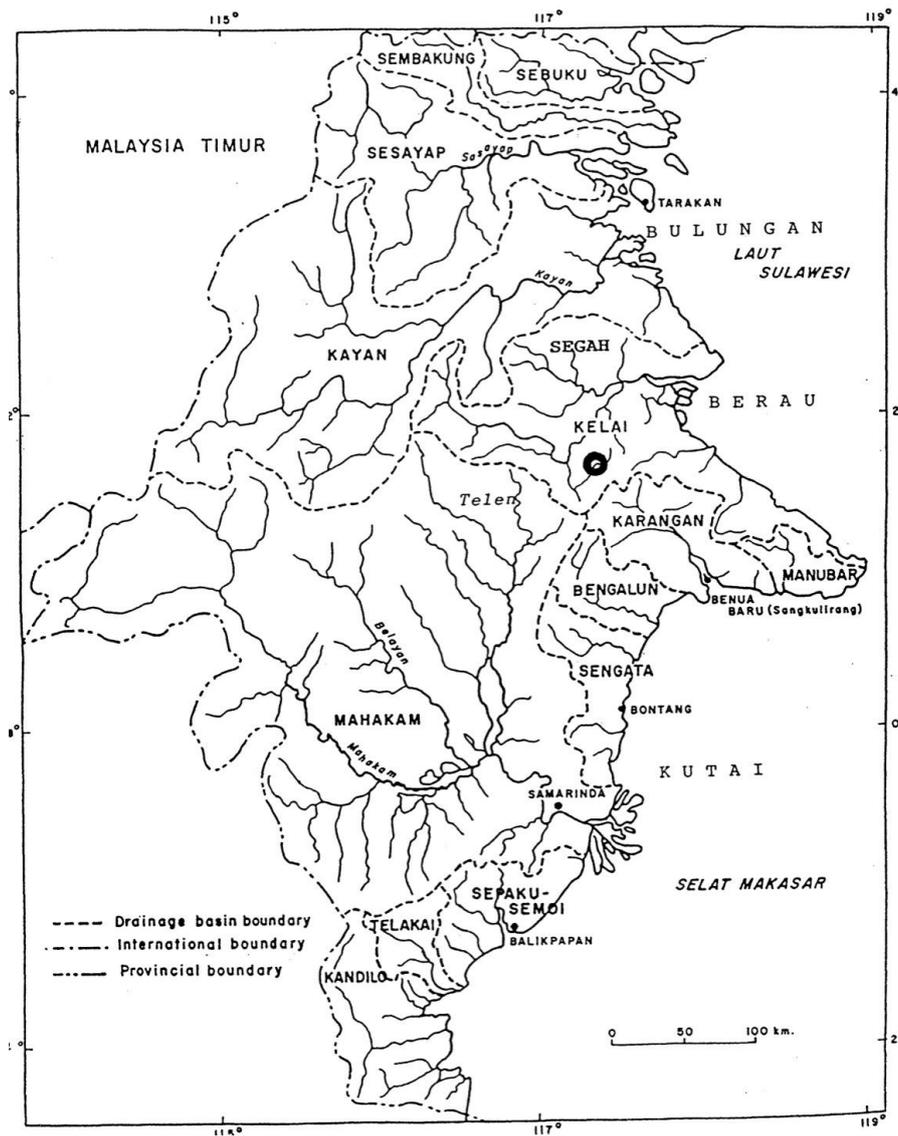


Figure 2: Borneo language subgroups (after Adelaar 1995:76).

The reflex of PAN \*j is more intriguing: in Basap 2 it is /j/, instead of /r/ or /d/ in Lebbo' Aso', Lebbo' Isi and Basap 1 (after Hudson 1992; see Table 4). For instance, for 'paddy', Lebbo' Aso' exhibits *padé*, and Lebbo' Isi and Basap 1, *paray*.

Variations between Lebbo' and Sajau Basap:

Lebbo'/Southern Basap		Sajau (Bulungan; after Rutten 1916)	
(a) <i>wanyi</i>	vs.	<i>ongi</i> 'bee'	ny > ng
(b) <i>besai, busay</i>	vs.	<i>bahei</i> 'paddle'	s > h
(c) <i>asu, asow</i>	vs.	<i>ahu</i> 'dog'	s > h



**Figure 3:** East Kalimantan (Kalimantan Timur Province) Situation of the Lebbo' on the Lesan River. (adapted from Massing, A., 1981, *Borneo Research Bulletin* 13.)

**Table 3:** Lexical affiliation of Lebbo' (Sarawak)

Gloss	Melanau Mukah	Lebbo' (Aso'/Isi)
house	<i>lebo'</i>	<i>lebbo'</i>
good	<i>dia'</i>	<i>pia</i>
medicine	<i>ubat</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>wat</i>
return	<i>pulé'</i>	<i>pulè</i>
sick	<i>pedeh</i>	<i>pedes</i> (Isi)
true	<i>tu'u</i>	<i>tu'u</i> ('really', 'very')
name	<i>ngadan</i>	<i>ngadan</i>
mother	<i>inak/tina</i>	<i>ina'</i> (Isi), <i>sina'</i> (Aso')
that	<i>yen</i>	<i>iyon</i> ('there')
ancestor	<i>tipou</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>dipuy</i> 'grandparent' (Isi)
parents	<i>tina-tama</i>	<i>sina'-tama'</i> (Aso')
below	<i>dibak</i>	<i>diwah</i> ('below' B1), <i>dibè</i> ('go down', A)
going upriver	<i>ju'ai</i>	<i>ju'ay, menju'ay</i> ('go', Isi), <i>ju'ay</i> ('go', Aso')

Within the Rejang-Bintulu subgrouping, the strongest lexical affinities of the Lebbo' language are with Coastal Melanau (A-Liko), more precisely Melanau Mukah, which exhibits a semantic shift for some basic vocabulary items.

## 5 Lexical differentiation

The Korn's Basap wordlists (1957, both from Berau but not precisely localized) show an innovation for the word 'sun', *silo* (or rather *mata silo*), *mata alun* in contrast to the Lebbo's items *mata ano* and *mata dau*. For the sake of lexical comparison, I have named the wordlists Basap 1 and Basap 2. Interestingly, the Basap 2 wordlist presents more lexical innovation for such basic items as 'die', 'sun', 'hill/mountain' than do the two Lebbo' isolects and Basap 1. While Lebbo' and Basap 2 do show a seemingly higher lexical proximity, this is not the case for Latti and Lebbo', because of a number of sound changes that have taken place, in addition to lexical innovation for basic terms (such as 'hair', 'hill', 'blood', 'die', 'banana' in the sample; see Table 4).

<sup>6</sup>a Malay loanword? (Mukah Melanau after Appleton 2010).

<sup>7</sup>also 'grandparent' in Melanau.

**Table 4:** Basap-Lebbo' phonological variations and lexical innovation

GLOSS	Lebbo' Aso'	Lebbo' Isi	Basap 2	Latti
'two'	<i>dua</i>	<i>dua</i>	<i>dua</i>	-
'ashes'	<i>abu</i>	<i>abu</i>	<i>abu</i>	<i>a'u</i>
'hair'	<i>bulu</i>	<i>bulo</i>	<i>bulo</i>	<i>ihuk</i>
'stone'	<i>batu</i>	<i>batu</i>	<i>batu</i>	<i>batu</i>
'name'	<i>ngadan</i>	<i>ngaran</i>	<i>ngaran</i>	-
'paddy'	<i>padé</i>	<i>paray</i>	<i>pajay</i>	-
'nose'	<i>udung</i>	<i>turung</i>	<i>tuyung</i>	<i>uhung</i>
'sun'	<i>mata ano</i>	<i>mata dau</i>	<i>silo (mata silo ?)</i>	<i>mata alun</i>
'sugarcane'	<i>tebu</i>	<i>tou</i>	<i>taboh/tebuh</i>	<i>tou:</i>
'hill/mount'	<i>dulun</i>	<i>dulun</i>	<i>mohon (alus)</i>	<i>tugung</i>
'ear'	<i>tulek/tuleg</i>	<i>télang</i>	<i>tulak</i>	<i>tuning</i>
'blood'	<i>dara</i>	<i>dara'</i>	<i>dahah</i>	<i>bada:</i>
'die'	<i>maté</i>	<i>matay</i>	<i>imbasan</i>	<i>makaho</i>
'leaf'	<i>daon</i>	<i>daun</i>	<i>daun</i>	-
'banana'	<i>punti'</i>	<i>punti</i>	<i>puntih</i>	<i>bediu</i>
'dog'	<i>asu</i>	<i>asu</i>	<i>asu</i>	<i>ahu</i>

Source: Lebbo' and Basap (or Punan) Latti: A. Guerreiro 2005-2011; Basap 2 wordlist from Korn 1957 noted in Berau (not localized, but probably in Talisayan) via A. Adelaar. (The orthography has been homogenized by A.J.G.)

Broadly, this corresponds to a division between the Northern Basap linguistic cluster and the one located in the West/South (it should be noted also that Latti is not mutually intelligible with Lebbo' Aso'/Isi). Based on these different wordlists, the following variations have been noted:

Lebbo'		Latti/Sajau
(a) /b/	vs.	/h/ or /'/
(b) /r/, /d/	vs.	/r /
(c) /s/	vs.	/h/
(d) /d/	vs.	/t/
(e) /l/	vs.	/n/
(f) /p/	vs.	/b/

Other lexical sources in Lebbo' are Bajau (B.) from East Kalimantan (Abdul Jebar Hapip 1979 see Pusat Pembinaan) and Malay/Indonesian (M/MI.) languages. Examples of cognates and probable loan-words are given below in Table 5 (based on Swadesh 200-wordlists noted by AG). However, few distinctive Kutai lexical items or phonological features have been recorded in the sample (Collins 1991; Dinas Pendidikan, 1995a, 1995b). This should indicate that individuals do speak both Kutai and/or Berau Malay dialects, according to their interactions with these groups.

**Table 5:** Malay-Indonesian and Bajau words in Basap/Lebbo'

<i>tau</i> ('know' MI.)	<i>dayung</i> ('paddle' B., MI.)	<i>benar</i> ('true' MI.)
<i>alus</i> ('small' B.)	<i>bulu</i> ('hair' B.)	<i>baru</i> ('new' MI.)
<i>bakat</i> ('wound' B.)	<i>tangan</i> ('hand' MI.)	<i>babèa</i> ('woman, female' B.?) <sup>3</sup>
<i>biduk</i> ('dugout' B.) <sup>1</sup>	<i>bélok</i> ('turn' MI.)	<i>percaya</i> ('trust (v.)' MI.)
<i>berat</i> ('heavy' MI.)	<i>hati</i> ('liver' MI.)	<i>gembira</i> ('happy' MI.)
<i>kesah</i> ('story, tale', B., MI.)	<i>dudu'</i> ('sit' MI.)	<i>upah</i> ('wages' MI.)
<i>manuk</i> ('fowl' B.?)	<i>jarum</i> ('needle' MI.)	<i>lagi</i> ('again, more' MI.)
<i>tu'u</i> ('very, really' B.) <sup>2</sup>	<i>jato'</i> ('fall, (v.)' MI.)	<i>si</i> article for personal names (MI.)
<i>turung</i> ('nose' B. <i>urung</i> )	<i>kering</i> ('dry' MI.)	<i>waktu</i> (I.) 'when, at the time'

1. In the Eastern Talisayan coastal region and around the Mangkalihat cape area, all the Basap isolects have *biduk* 'boat, dugout', while inland Lebbo' (Aso'/Isi) shows *alun* 'dugout', perhaps a cognate of *alut* (Kenyah).
2. Probably a cognate; the same item appears in Melanau Mukah and Lebbo' Aso' (Table 1).
3. Compare Tagalog *babae*, Sulu/Tausug *babay*; Korn's Basap 1, 2 wordlists have respectively: *dahuhen* (B1) *idoh* (B2); the same lexemes are attested in Talisayan *dahuhen* in Semurut and *iduh* in Lobang Kelatak (Pusat Bahasa 2002:143).

## 6 Aspects of the Morphology of Lebbo' Aso'

The Lebbo' Aso's affixation system was studied from the examples of 63 verbal roots, with a focus on voice morphology. Also of interest are aspects of word order and reduplication. The main features of the language can be summarized below:

### 6.1 Active and passive verbs

Alternation between active and passive voice is indicated by the use of different prefixes on the root. Suffixes are rare: only *-an* has been noted in adjectival nouns. A further study of the affixation system should point out other suffixes in verbal constructions.

A homorganic nasal prefix /N-/ marks active voice, as in (1a) and (2a). In (1b) and (2b), passive voice is indicated by the use of the verbal prefix *è-* /*ɛ*/. This corresponds to *a-* in Lebbo' Isi, and perhaps could be related to the function of the particule *an-/en-* in Kayanic languages (Guerreiro 2009; Soriente 2013).

- (1) a. *inon ny-ébèt-nu*  
what ACT-hold-2SG  
'What are you holding?'
- b. *inon è-sébèt-nu*  
what PASS-hold-2SG  
'What is being held by you?'

- (2) a. *asu ng-inan ensi'*  
 dog ACT-eat meat  
 'The dog eats the meat.'
- b. *ensi' è-kinan asu*  
 meat PASS-eat dog  
 'The meat is eaten by the dog.'

Note that, as is typical for a passive, *è-* may be prefixed to the verb, even where there is no corresponding agent serving as the grammatical object. For instance, in (3a) *è-nyewal* 'to be sold' has no direct object. However, an indirect object, *si Abdul* is present:

- (3) a. *pompong aso' è-nyewal si Abdul*  
 bush.knife that PASS-sold ART Abdul  
 'The bush-knife was sold to Abdul.'

This can be contrasted with the case in (3b). (3b) is superficially similar to (3a), but in this case, the direct object is present, in a leftmost topicalised position:

- b. *pompong aso' ako ny-ewal si Abdul*  
 bush.knife that 1SG ACT-sell ART Abdul  
 'I'm selling the bush knife to Abdul.'

The verb *nyaday* 'make, do' can have a causative meaning. Attested examples show this function arising in the passive voice. For instance, with *mengen* 'big', it can yield *è-nyaday mengen* '[it] was made bigger.'

This same function is shown in (4a):

- (4) a. *è-nyaday alun*  
 PASS-made dugout  
 '[A log] was made into a dugout.'

After completion, the action can be described as follows:

- b. *long nyaday*  
 already do  
 '[The work] is already done.'

## 6.2 The suffix *-an* and circumfix *ke-...-an*

The suffix *-an* can apply to a root to form a noun. Where the root itself is verbal, the derived form is a nominalization, but can refer to events or entities. For instance, in the cases below, the suffixed form is an event noun:

- (5) a. *matè-an sini'* (from *matè* 'die')  
 death younger.sibling  
 'the younger sibling's death.'
- b. *nangis-an ulun mate* (from *N-angis* 'ACT-cry')  
 tears person dead  
 'the shedding of tears for the dead.'

By contrast, the verbal root *potong* 'cut', a borrowing from Malay, produces, when combined with the *-an* suffix, an entity: *potongan* 'a piece, a share of'.

With other verbal roots, the form with *-an* is ambiguous, referring either to the location in which the action takes place, or the resulting entity of the action. For instance, when *ngali* 'to dig' takes the *-an* suffix, the resulting form, *ngali-an* refers either to 'the place which has been dug', or 'what has been dug up'.

In some cases, the affixes can also apply to a noun. *Tiwa'an anak* 'a lullaby' is derived from the suffixation of the root *tiwa* 'a song genre', followed by the modifier *anak* 'child'. This can be compared with the verb *be-tiwa* 'to sing a *tiwa* song'.

- (6) *si Lisa pandè be-tiwa'*  
 ART Lisa clever BE-tiwa'  
 'Lisa is a gifted *tiwa* singer.'

The suffix *-an* can also form a modifier. For instance, *nyan-an* 'from one, from the same', is derived from the cardinal number *nya* 'one' (cardinal number), with epenthetic nasalization.

Lastly, the same suffix is also required to produce a well-formed verb, e.g. *geling-an* 'to become ill':

- (7) *ako geling-gelingan*  
 1SG becoming ill  
 'I have the feeling of being ill.'

In this case, reduplication stresses the intensity of the perception.

The circumfix *ke-...-an* has two functions. When applied to a verbal root, it can form a verb with an adversative function, indicating that the subject undergoes some negative event. The circumfix can also derive abstract nouns from verbal roots.

In some cases, the derived form is ambiguous between these two functions. For instance, the root *penga* 'finish' forms *ke-penga'-an*, which has two meanings: 'to have finished, exhausted something (supplies, food, etc.)', the adversative verb, or '(the) last', the abstract noun:

- (8) a. *Kamè ke-penga'-an wat*  
 2PL.(ex.) KE-finish-AN medicine  
 'We have exhausted our medicines.'

- b. *kamè kepenga'an-di: dibè*  
 2PL. (ex)last-POSS go.down  
 'We are the last to go down.'

The verbal root *lupa* 'forget' forms *ke-lupa'-an*, which can mean '[what] has been forgotten' (abstract noun), or 'to forget something' (adversative verb). The attested examples below show the adversative function.

- c. *na' kelupa'an*  
 NEG forget  
 'Don't forget.'
- d. *dékayo ke-lupa'-an pekakas aso'*  
 3PL (many) forget luggage that.  
 'They have forgotten that luggage.'
- e. *ke-pusaka'an tané tam*  
 inherited land 2.PL (incl.)-POSS  
 'Our [inherited] land asset [pusaka'].'

### 6.3 The circumfixes *pe-...-an*, *peN-...-an*

The circumfixes *pe-...-an* and *peN-...-an*, when applied to verbs, produce a noun referring to the location of, or the result of, the action expressed by the verbal root. In short, these circumfixes are similar in function to *ke-...-an* in Malay-Indonesian. For instance, when *pe-...-an* applies to the root *matè* 'die', *pe-matè-an* 'a death' is derived.

A case of the derived noun referring to the location of the action expressed by the verbal root is as follows:

- (9) a. *matè pe-ke-teban* from *teban* 'room, cubicle; inside of a house';  
 dead PE-KE-room  
 'a death that occurred inside the room'
- b. *si pe-tuak-an*  
 at PE-ceremony-AN  
 'at the place where the Tuak ceremony is performed [a large house]'

In this category, I also include qualifiers derived from nouns or verbs: *pe-amang-an* 'being a shy person.' The root *amang* is not found independently, but is petrified as *amangan* 'timid, shy':

- (10) a. *Iko amangan*  
 2SG shy  
 'You are shy.'

The similar circumfix *peN-...-an*, which applies to a noun root, is rare. It points to a place or space where the action expressed by the root takes place. I have recorded only one such example:

- b. *kalang*                      *peng-anak-an*  
wood.and.bark.frame      *peN-child-an*  
'a hut made of bark sheets to give birth [below a tree].'

(Such a term refers to a birthing place outside the house, necessary due to the risk of the mother dying while giving birth.)

#### 6.4 Pronouns

Pronoun sets contain suffixal forms, which attach to nouns to indicate a possessor, as shown in the table below:

**Table 6:** Lebbo' Aso' pronoun sets

	Full form	Possessive form
<b>1SG</b>	<i>aku</i>	<i>-ku</i>
<b>2SG</b>	<i>iko</i>	<i>-nu</i>
<b>3SG</b>	<i>idi:</i>	<i>-di:</i>
<b>1DL (incl.)</b>	<i>ita</i>	<i>-ta</i>
<b>1PL (excl.)</b>	<i>kamè/kami:</i>	<i>-nami</i>
<b>1PL (incl.)</b>	<i>itam/pitam</i>	<i>-tam</i>
<b>2PL</b>	<i>iko junadi</i>	
<b>3PL</b>	<i>déka/dékayo</i> ('they many')	<i>-déka</i>

Lebbo' singular and plural pronouns do not show a phenomenon of fusion when suffixed to specific nouns such as an individual possessions (tools, weapons), body parts, or one's spouse, as in some of the Kayanic and Kenyahic languages. The Lebbo' possessive pronouns follow rather the Malay usage.

The suffixed form *-di:*, from *idi:* (3SG) corresponds generally to the functions of *-nya* in Bahasa Indonesia, i.e., nominalization, as in (1a), and indication of a 3<sup>rd</sup>-person possessor, as in (1b):

- (11) a. *aku empo-di: alun*  
1SG own-POSS dugout  
'I am the owner of the dugout.'
- b. *lebbo'-di: ayo si pemoh kampong*  
house-POSS be.in upstream village  
'His house is in the upstream part of the village'.

- c. *pitam po-di: tané*  
 2PL.incl own-POSS land  
 ‘We (many) own land [here].’

- (12) *meli-di:*  
 buy-POSS.3SG.  
 ‘his purchase’

### 6.5 Deixis, prepositions and demonstratives

Prepositions can function as deictic terms in combination with directional words such as ‘upriver’, ‘downriver’, and ‘inland’. A series of demonstratives is widely used in everyday speech.

- (13) a. *kè* ‘in the direction of’; *kè’è* ‘going in the direction of’; *ke* ‘to’

*aku kè’è si Layan*  
 1SG go to toponym/name of river [village]  
 ‘I am going to Layan [village].’

- b. *nyè’è ulun ke liang*  
 go.with person direct.to cave  
 ‘Accompany them to the cave.’

The preposition *si* ‘at, in, to’:

- (14) a. *iko pulè kè’è si lebbo’ aso’ jadi*  
 2SG back go to house that happened  
 ‘[When] you came back to that house it happened.’

- b. *tema si tané*  
 bury in ground  
 ‘Bury [it] in the ground.’

The demonstrative *aso’* ‘that’ (placed after a noun or before an adjective):

- (15) a. *Ulun aso’ tau*  
 person that knows  
 ‘That person is knowledgeable.’
- b. *idi: empo-di: titi aso’*  
 3SG own-POSS chicks that  
 ‘He owns these chicks[there].’
- c. *aso’ pia*  
 that good  
 ‘That is good.’

The demonstratives most used I noted are the following: *iyun* 'there', *yun koè* 'there (distal)', *yun* 'that'. *Koè* 'like that, only that' (corresponding to *saja* in Bahasa Indonesia) is combined with other demonstratives.

- (16) a. *yun lagi reso*  
that still far  
'It is still far.'
- b. *meli yun koè*  
buy there  
'Buy [it] there.'
- c. *dékayo nyuruk yun koè*  
3PL (many) hide there  
'They hide themselves there (distal).'

Another demonstrative should be noted: *kema* 'like that, this one'; it also means 'here':

- (17) *idi: lagi ni kema*  
3SG still here  
'He is still here.'

Lebbo' exhibits a relational preposition *pa* 'to, for' in front of a noun:

- (18) a. *pa domang-ku*  
PREP child-1SG.POSS  
'to my child'
- b. *ni pa iko*  
this PREP 2SG  
'This is for you.'

## 6.6 Interrogatives

The most common interrogatives are *inon* 'what' and *nyema* 'who':

- (19) a. *Inon aso*?'  
what that  
'What is it?'
- b. *kopol nyema aso*?'  
field.hut who that  
'Whose hut it this?'

### 6.7 Negatives

Negative polarity is generally indicated via *menda* ‘no, not’:

- (20) a. *menda aku*  
 NEG 1SG  
 ‘not me, it is not me’
- b. *nasib menda pia aku menda lukut lagi*  
 luck NEG good 1SG NEG return again  
 ‘If I do not have luck, I will not be coming back anymore.’

Negative polarity of an existential statement is marked by *nda* ‘it is not’:

- c. *nda’ alun-di:*  
 NEG dugout-3SG.POSS  
 ‘It is not his dugout.’

A negative imperative is indicated with *na* ‘don’t’:

- d. *na’ amangan*  
 NEG shy  
 ‘Don’t be shy.’
- e. *na’ telupa’an*  
 NEG forget  
 ‘Do not forget [this].’
- f. *na’ tetawa rimat*  
 NEG laugh animal  
 ‘Do not laugh at animals.’<sup>8</sup>

A rarely used lexical item, *bekena*’, can also indicate negative polarity, as in (20g). However, this is not its sole function; it can also modify a noun, as in (20h).

- g. *bekena’ ni kema’ tapi yun*  
 NEG this one but that  
 ‘It is not this one here but that one.’
- h. *ulun bekena’*  
 people other  
 ‘other people’

---

8 Laughing at animals is a strong taboo (*pe’dèng*).

## 7 The counting system

The Lebbo' numerals show a peculiar term which is not found in the neighbouring Dayak languages, *kalong* 'eight'. It could be remarked that the Aso' and Isi cardinal numbers have basically the same distinctive lexical items, with the exception of the number 'one' (Table 8.1).

**Table 7:** Lebbo' cardinal numbers

	Aso'	Isi
1.	<i>nya'</i>	<i>sa:</i>
2.	<i>dua</i>	<i>dua</i>
3.	<i>telu</i>	<i>telu</i>
4.	<i>empat</i>	<i>empat</i>
5.	<i>lima</i>	<i>lima</i>
6.	<i>enem</i>	<i>nem</i>
7.	<i>tujo'</i>	<i>tujo'</i>
8.	<i>kalong</i>	<i>kalong</i>
9.	<i>pé'èn</i>	<i>pé'èn</i>
10.	<i>sépuluh</i>	<i>sepuluh</i>
(100)	<i>seratus</i>	<i>sératus</i>
(1000)	<i>sériba</i>	<i>saribu</i>

The numbers 10, 100, and 1000 are possible Malay loanwords. However, they are also attested in related languages (compare *seratuih*, *seribu*, Melanau Mukah). Cardinal numbers from one to nine can be linked to cognates in Rejang-Sajau and other languages; Sajau Basap shows two rare innovations: *nyératus* and *nyéribu* (Rutten 1916:251).

An obsolete set of ten numbers has been also recorded in Merabu, as follows:

*ca* (1), *kanuang* (2), *ketepi* (3), *ara pepay* (4), *dano* (5), *ara kenan* (6), *pengelia* (7), *ara ketay* (8), *beao* (9), *babèng* (10).<sup>9</sup>

These numbers, from 1 to 10, now obsolete, were probably all numeral classifiers, used to compute the quantities of forest products or people. For instance, *dano ulun* means 'five people', while *dano-dano* means '5 x 5 (i.e. 20) people'. Similarly, *babèng way* means 'ten [lengths] of rotan', whereas *babèng-babèng* means '2 x 10 (i.e. 20) pieces' (of rotan, timber, bird's nests).

<sup>9</sup> The items *ara kenan* 'six' and *ara ketay* 'eight' in this set are possible cognates of *kenai* 'eight' in the Baram-Rejang/Rejang-Bintulu subgroups. Similarly, the cardinal number *kalong* 'eight' is a cognate of Barito-Mahakam *kalu(k)ng*, an isolated loan-word. Furthermore, *pé'èn* 'nine' is close to Baram-Tinjar, *pi'an* 'nine' and Kenyah *pi(')an* 'nine' (Hudson 1992: 36).

According to the Lebbo', *lima dano* has the same meaning as *lima ikur*, 'five persons' (*ikur* being a classifier 'body', or in local Malay, *badan orang*; *ikur* is a cognate of *ékor /ikor* in Bahasa Indonesia/Kutai Malay). These classifiers could be used in reduplication as multiples of the same number, in the same fashion as above.

Table 8, by contrast, shows the classifiers in current use:

**Table 8:** Lebbo' Aso' classifiers

<i>labuan</i>	for dugouts ( <i>alun</i> ), e.g. <i>nya' labuan alun</i> 'one dugout'
<i>luang</i>	for eggs or small round objects
<i>betè</i>	for very small objects, i.e. seeds (paddy, rice), beads, etc.
<i>butir</i>	for large round or oval fruit, e.g. durian, jackfruit, papaya
<i>bua'</i>	for fruit (others)
<i>ensi'</i>	for yams and various tubers (of round or elongated shapes)
<i>batang</i>	for long straight objects, e.g. logs, pieces of timber used in house building
<i>ikur</i>	'person' (lit. 'body'); also for some animals (pig, stag, deer, dog, cat)
<i>besèr</i>	'small piece of wood'
<i>nyalan</i>	'leaf', for sheets of paper, dried fish, or flat items.
<i>kelapa</i>	'banana leaf' (used as plates when eating rice)
<i>layang</i>	for shirts ( <i>baju</i> ) e.g. <i>nya' layang baju</i> 'one shirt'
<i>babak</i>	'blade' (i.e. of cutlass, spear, knife; corresponds to Malay <i>mata</i> )
<i>setèl</i>	'set of clothes' (from Bahasa Indonesia <i>setelan</i> )

Lexically, the former numeral classifiers are well-distinguished from the cardinal numbers, with the exception of 'one' *ca* which is close to Isi 'one' *sa:*. Thus, *ca* is a cognate of the Kenyahic numeral 'one' (*ca*).

The Sajau numerals are as follows:

*gilam/ji* (1), *duwa* (2), *tollu* (3), *apat* (4), *lima* (5), *anam* (6), *tusu* (7), *walu* (8),  
*siam* (9), *sepulu* (10)

*Gilam* 'one', *walu* 'eight', and *siam* 'nine' are innovations, while *ji* 'one' is Kayanic (Rutten 1916:251).

## 8 The Lebbo' naming system

In contrast to other central Bornean languages which have been described in the literature (Guerreiro 1983; Nicolaisen 1978; Rousseau 1983; Whittier 1981), among the Lebbo' the appellation of individuals seems very peculiar. In short, patronyms or matronyms do not figure in the appellation.

However, individual children can be referred to in conversation (but not addressed) by the names of their parents, i.e. as the son, daughter, or children of a particular *tama'*, father, or *sina'*, mother. For instance, *domang-domang sina'* *Mirba*, refers to 'the children of *sina'*

Mirba'. *Yus, domang laki tama' Pisang* refers to 'Yus, the son of of *tama'* Pisang. This does not fall within the function of teknonyms.

On the other hand, the use of the preposed article *si* in front of the father's or mother's name is common: *Putri, domang babèa Si Lisa'* 'Putri, Lisa's daughter', or *domang laki Si Noor*, 'the son of Noor'.

Lebbo' personal names are used in both address and reference. In address they tend to be shortened, especially those of younger persons, based on the sample of 'new' names recorded. For instance, Septiani is addressed as *Sep*, Sofyan as *Yan*, and so on.

A feature which is more striking in this system is that almost any name recorded is unique. In the sample of about 20 households in two villages, based on the genealogies and field notes, only a couple of personal names were the same. Generally in the Dayak's appellation systems a limited stock of personal names is available. Among the Lebbo' it appears that in each generation a number of new names are being created essentially from nouns. However, presently these personal names are, in turn, becoming patronyms/matronyms.

Among in the Lebbo', traditionally personal names (*ngadan*) are given to children by their parents or grandparents when they are about one year old. Before that, toddlers are referred by the term *lu'u* (lit. 'small'), and then by the compound *domang koloy* (lit. 'small child'). It appears that nouns are the most obvious source of a personal name (plants, animals, food, material objects, etc.). However, it seems that other elements are also taken into account. The etymologies of most of the names have not been worked out yet. Some distinctions in the personal names are also noticeable according to gender (see below). Interestingly, the elders who have passed away are known as *simpo' X* or *Y* ('grandparent' X or Y), especially in the case of important persons. The latter have also specific titles (e.g. *Simpo' Pancar Daluman*, a village headman of the 1970s, is composed of 'grandparent' + the title *Pancar* 'to diffuse (light)', *Daluman* being his personal name).

Basically, names in current use can be differentiated into two major categories, according to the age of the living individuals:

- (female names of older persons): *Campur, Toda', Pangetan, Pri, Musin, Merambung, Gerétok, DèS, Lesay, Terap, Mirba, Gama, Tima, Mala, Saday, Sinegara, Runtay, Nyelimay, Piday, Kupi...*
- (female names of younger persons): *Siti, Ruthia, Mardiana, Norsini, Eva, Septiani, Sarinah/Serinah, Nali, Noor, Serikam, Rut, Elisabet, Prancin, Yanti, Tabita, Erni(wati).*
- (male names of older persons): *Lampas, Kuling, Lian, Beruang, Géot, Ambay, Daluman, Ngau, Mudaran, Sadan, Lisa, Rana, Tumbak, Tabuk, Sampan, Kursi, Garam, Pisang, Duku, Durian, Jiwék, Duraman, Paing, Ladang, Botoman, Subur, Senang, Senen, Paris, Kemes, Tip, Sio, Usang, Yansa, Sunkuk, Pesè.*
- (male names of younger persons): *Suryansyah, Baco, Juli, Jufri, Markus, Anton, Ayub, Aco, Muhlis, Arsani, Cay.*

More recently, personal names have been borrowed from a stock of Malay/Javanese or Bugis names, and rarely from Dayak languages (Kenyah, Kayan, Mengaè). The conversion to Islam or Christianity (since the late 1970s) has caused the introduction of first names and

second names for some individuals and/or name changes. However, a ‘Muslim’-sounding name can be that of a Christian person. There are further combinations of names because of the development of village registration during the last decades, e.g. the individual named *Doyet* (traditional name, a female) is known officially, as stated on her identity card (*kartu penduduk*) as Diana Pertiwi, while her younger sister is named Ida Rohani.

After a noun is given to an individual as a ‘name’, e.g. *garam* ‘salt’, it loses its meaning. Each such name is unique. Perhaps these personal names could be rather conceptualized as a kind of temporary ‘nickname’. In this category, names derived from Malay nouns figure alongside those in the Lebbo’ language. Ordinary people have only one name at a given time, but in the course of their life they can change names several times, according to circumstances (accidents, death of relatives, social behaviour, historical conditions, etc.). All such events can bring about a change in an individual’s name.

As an aside, names formed of two segments, e.g. Awan Titing (f.) or Lian Bujang (m.), are rarely memorized by their living relatives. They are the names of persons who have passed away a long time ago, although the second segment would be perhaps the personal name of the individual’s father or mother.

## 19 Necronyms

Although the death names of the Lebbo’ do not form an elaborated system similar to those of the Penan and Kenyah, lexically they are very distinctive. There is no overlapping of terms with other central Bornean languages. According to *adat*, the names of dead persons cannot be uttered for some time after they have died because of the fear of ghosts (*bèbè’*), which are conceived to be still lingering about the house or its surroundings. Speaking aloud the names of the dead would bring misfortune to the living, because the individual souls of the living could be attracted by the dead to the hereafter. As a result, in order to avoid spiritual danger, when referring to the dead, necronyms are prefixed to the personal name (consisting usually of one segment) of the living relative. In all, eight such terms have been noted:

<i>boro</i>	one of the parents (father or mother) of ego has died.
<i>tulus</i>	both parents of ego has died.
<i>tedaa’</i>	one of the siblings of ego has died.
<i>malus</i>	one of the children (including stepchildren) of ego or alter (spouse) has died.
<i>metedaa’</i>	more than one child of the father/husband of ego has died.
<i>mena tedaa’</i>	more than one child of the mother/wife of ego has died.
<i>lakas</i>	if before they had children, either the husband or wife died, the surviving spouse is called <i>lakas</i> .
<i>bangkoy</i>	after they have already begotten three or four children, if one of the parents die (either mother or father), the surviving spouse is called <i>bangkoy</i> .

The use of the necronyms is as follows. In the case of an orphan both of whose parents have passed away, *tulus* precedes the name of the orphan. For instance, Lenga being the personal name of a girl, the necronym *tulus Lenga* is used. Interestingly, the necronym *lakas* was recorded as a ‘male’ name formed of only one segment, but the personal name of this

individual was not memorized. It should be added that the Lebbo' show a significant loss of genealogical memory: individuals have difficulties in remembering even the personal names of their grandparents, and those of great-grandparents are usually forgotten, with the exception of those of a handful of individuals. In fact, there are no true genealogies (including collateral descent lines) among the Lebbo'. Until the 1960s, because of the high death rate, household members would have died when still young, or have moved to other related households after the passing of their parents or grandparents.

## 10 Conclusion

The Lebbo'/Basap do show a major division between a Northern cluster (Sajau, Binai, Latti, etc.) and a Southern cluster composed of horticulturists/hunter-gatherers (Mangkalihat, Kerangan, Lesan, Inaran, Tabalar, Talisayan). The former group has a small population, about less than 700 speakers, essentially former hunters-gatherers, related to various Punan groups in Bulungan and Malinau. The latter are more numerous, about 3000 speakers, and they are spread on a very large area in the Karstic range of East Kalimantan in Berau and East Kutai.

The former cluster is also much more linguistically heterogeneous than the Southern one. The dialects of the Northern cluster are not mutually intelligible to those of the Southern cluster, although they share some basic vocabulary items. This division has hampered the classification of these languages. In previous publications (Wurm and Hattori 1983, 'Borneo sheets, nos. 40-41'), they have not been identified as a single grouping. However, the Lebbo'/Ulun Darat/Basap dialects cannot be considered as a linguistic isolate; on the contrary, they exhibit many relationships (cognates) with other central Bornean languages from Sarawak to East Kalimantan, and also to Malay/Indonesian and Bajau.

It is likely that these peoples had settled a larger area in the central highlands of the island. Then from about the 16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, probably due to the pressure from the migrating Kayanic and Kenyahic peoples in the region, they may have moved down in both directions to the Western and Eastern coasts of Borneo. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century some of the Kajang were still living in the Apo Kayan area near Batu Tibang, but then most of them went down to the Baluy area. The large expanses of land between the Bahau and Kayan Rivers and the Malinau River and its tributaries, on the Northern fringes of the Apo Kayan plateau, were subjected to migrations and violent episodes during this period (Dinas Kebudayaan 2008:98-114; Guerreiro 1987; Luhut 1989; Sellato 1995, 2002). The Melanau people (A-Liko) are still referred as 'Kayan passing down' (*kayan lalau*) by the Baluy Kayan. They went down the Baluy and the Rejang to the coast, and from Bintulu to the Rejang delta along the sea. Interestingly, the language spoken in Bintulu area, an isolate, shows lexical and phonological affinities to both the Kajang and Melanau dialects and other languages (Bibi Aminah Abduk Ghani 1992). By and large, the Kayanic groups, followed a century later by the Kenyah and related groups, moved from the Baram-Tinjar basin of Sarawak to Eastern Borneo, such as the Bahau Hwang Triing, to the Bahau-Pujungan area and the Apo Kayan plateau. From there they spread in various directions through central Borneo from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Blust 1984; Guerreiro 1996b, 2009a). In their earlier moves, they may have pushed some of these small groups into remote river areas, towards the Karstic range and pockets in the coastal highlands. They have spread in Berau, via the Segah River basin and the Kelay valley, the main axis. One part of the Lebbo' seems to have come down via the Kelay River to the

Lesan valley, settling around Gunung Kulat and to the Gunung Kong Beng area, long before Dayak groups moved in the area. The non-violent ethos, and general behaviour of the Lebbo'/Basap would support such an interpretation.<sup>10</sup>

In the course of time, it is likely that the differentiation of the speakers of the Northern cluster and Southern cluster became more pronounced, although they may have integrated heterogenous hunter-gatherers groups, especially in the South. Additionally, the Southern/Southwest Lebbo'/Basap do show many Malay and Bajau loan-words that are not present in the Northern Basap cluster, nor in the other branches of the Rejang-Sajau grouping. Besides a greater degree of lexical diversity and a number of Kayanic/Kenyahic cognates, the Lebbo' have a core vocabulary and sets of distinctive words (the numeral classifiers and the death-names are peculiar to the Lebbo' in the Lesan River). Interestingly, the number 'eight' has rare Rejang-Baram and Rejang-Bintulu cognates as noted above. On the other hand, the Lebbo' Aso' pronominal system seems to combine various Kayanic/Kenyahic features, and possibly features from Kutai Malay. Because of the exceptional fragmentation of these local groups and the remote locations where they live, especially those communities established within the Mangkalihat Karstic range, the Lebbo'/Basap/Ulun Darat isolects have assimilated different linguistic influences in addition to developing their own lexical innovations. This trend is still progressing at the present moment.

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<sup>10</sup> The name of the river itself, 'Kalai' or 'Kelai', has been glossed as coming from the Malay /kelahi/, /kalahi/, 'fight', because, its valley was much prized as the shortest direct link between the Apo Kayan plateau and the coast and also because of the wealth of its forest resources, especially in the upper reaches and the Lesan valley, which were exploited by the Mengaè (Segai) and the Berau sultanates, from the early-mid 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Guerreiro 1985, 1998, forthcoming; Rest, 1923:11; Tuhupiorij 1906:11-18, 25-29, 34, 36, 40-41,72).

## Appendix I

### Kinship terminology of the Lebbo' Aso'

G+ 4 <i>simpo' jajok</i>	great-great-grandparents
G+ 3 <i>simpo' alem</i>	great-grandparents
G+ 2 <i>simpo'</i>	grandfather
G+ 2 <i>sawi:</i>	grandmother
G+ 1 <i>tama'</i>	father
G+ 1 <i>sina'</i>	mother
G+ 1 <i>mamah</i>	uncle
G+ 1 <i>ména</i>	aunt

#### Generation of Ego

0 <i>pereni: laki/babèa</i> <sup>1</sup>	sibling (male/female)
0 <i>sini'/sanay</i>	elder/younger sibling
0 <i>sekaw laki/babèa</i>	first cousin (male/female)
0 <i>perabè nya' kali/dua kali/telu kali</i>	second to fourth cousin

G-1 <i>domang laki/babèa</i>	child (male/female)
G-1 <i>simang laki/babèa</i>	nephew/niece
G-2 <i>ensu'</i>	grandchildren
G-3 <i>ensu' alem</i>	great-grandchildren 2
G-4 <i>ensu' jajok</i>	great-great-grandchildren

1. /*pereni: nyanan sima' nyanan tama'*/ 'siblings of same mother and father' (*nya'* 'one') or *pereni: tu'u* 'true sibling' in contrast to 'stepchildren' *pereni: teré*.

2. *meso* is a generic term for great-grandchildren from the generations -3 to -4.

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# 10 *Balinese cultural terms: Issues in meaning explication and translation*

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IDA AYU MADE PUSPANI

## 1 Introduction

Meaning explication in translational linguistic crossover is important especially when dealing with cases where the source language has significant cultural differences from the target language. Newmark (1987:115-139) states that, in translating specific cultural terms, the translator needs to have a solid comprehension of the meaning components of the concept expressed in the source language (SL) culture in order for these meaning components to be successfully conveyed in the target language (TL). The quest for meaning components has been of interest not only in translation studies but also in linguistics in general. There have been various proposals regarding how such meanings components can be explicated, represented and compared/contrasted. One popular proposal, componential analysis, takes its influence from linguistic structuralism, making use of binary features (+/-) in relation to certain features originally applied in the semantic fields of colours and kinship terminology (Goodenough 1956, Lounsbury 1956). There also have been more recent lexical decomposition proposals where certain meanings are basic or primitive, and found in most, if not all, languages; e.g. the NSM approach (Wierzbicka 1996).

While admitting that there are certain issues (which we will point out), we adopt the traditional componential analysis in this paper; it is a simple tool through which we can critically evaluate the translation at hand. This decision is in line with Newmark (1987:114) who says that componential analysis is the “most accurate translation procedure ... which highlights the message”. Componential analysis allows us to relate or compare a SL word with a TL equivalent in terms of the similarities and differences, when no one-to-one correspondence in their meanings can be explicitly inspected. As we shall see later in this paper, this research finds that the SL word in Balinese has more culturally specific senses than the TL (English) words; as a result, the translator has to use one or two additional words in the TL to construct a closer approximation of SL meaning. The finding reported in this paper confirms and provides further evidence of the fact that cultural terms are loaded with culturally specific meaning components (which, in the cases discussed in this paper, are related to Balinese religious ceremonies and traditional customs). Such terms pose a challenge to translational crossover.

As this paper continues, section 2 will provide a brief overview of the Balinese language and culture, focusing on the cultural practices relevant to the discussed cultural terms. Section 3 discusses the selected cultural terms, representing the different cultural domains. Finally, section 4 provides final remarks and a conclusion.

## 2 Cultural terms, the Balinese language, and meaning explication

Bali is famous for its rich culture based on Hinduism. Balinese people have several important cultural practices reflected in the Balinese language (Austronesian; around 3 million speakers). For example, the language reflects the caste-based social structure through an elaborate speech level system (XXX). The Balinese lexicon also contains a large stock of culturally-specific terms rooted in the culture. Discussing all of these features is beyond the scope of this paper; for practical purposes, therefore, we focus on a handful of cultural terms representing Balinese culture taken from a famous novel entitled, *Sukreni Gadis Bali* (Tisna, 1991), or in translation, *The Rape of Sukreni* (Quinn 1998).

Culture is an abstract notion, a mental system, generating all proper cultural behaviour (Foley 1997:108). Its manifestation is observable in the people's cultural practices, as seen through their various activities, traditions and organizations. On one hand, language could be considered part of culture; on the other hand, it is a medium through which cultural values (and meanings) are transmitted across generations. This intergenerational transmission is done via cultural terms, which therefore, contain rich information categorized into the following four domains (Newmark 1998:95-101):

- i) Ecology: flora, fauna, local winds, plains and hills;
- ii) Material culture: food, housing, transport and communication;
- iii) Social Culture: work and leisure; and
- iv) Organisation, customs, ideas: politics, society, religion and arts.

It goes without saying that each culture and its related language is unique. Therefore, the associated cultural terms of two languages do not share the same sets of semantic features, and they differ in the ways these features are organised. Nevertheless, it is an empirical fact that translation is possible from one language to another, showing that words have equivalences across languages. It is in this context then that the issue of translation across different cultures become important as it provides a test for any theory of meaning and meaning conception.

Meaning comes with a set of complex properties due to the fact that language is a symbolic communication system in a given culture. Meaning can be approached in at least in five ways (Frawley 1992: 17-45): meaning as reference, meaning as logical form, meaning as context and use, meaning as culture, and meaning as conceptual structure. However, these forms of meaning are not necessarily mutually exclusive. For our purpose of discussing cultural terms in this paper, we primarily deal with referential meaning tied to meaning in the cultural context. The meaning explication, therefore, emphasizes certain semantic components that are culturally salient in the relevant language/culture, in this case, the Balinese language/culture.

## 3 Balinese cultural terms and their semantic features

In this section, we discuss a set of cultural terms in Balinese by examining their culturally relevant semantic components. We make use of a simple table showing the componential analysis of meaning, augmented with paraphrases and picture illustrations. Based on the data set collected from the novel, *Sukreni Gadis Bali*, we focus on three of the domains shown in (1), which are the most culturally relevant and apparent in the novel: material culture, social culture and organization and religion. In each domain, the relevant distinctive features used in linguistic crossover are compared in order to provide the approximation of the closest equivalent of the SL (Balinese) and TL (English) terms.

### 3.1 Material culture: Drink, clothes, housing and transportation

The culture of drinking in rural areas is very common, primarily for Balinese males, who typically gather when there is a family ceremony. It is also common for them to have liquor with their meals, primarily local drinks known as *tuak bayuan* and *arak*. Below, these terms are explained in detail in terms of the similarities and differences. Also discussed are the issues involved in their translation, as encountered in the novel.

These liquor types—*tuak*, *bayuan*, and *arak*—are normally made out of coconut or permeated rice. They differ in terms of their alcohol contents and cultural context for drinking. They have no exact equivalents in English; the closest term is *wine*. The data shows that this term is used with additional modifiers to capture the SL semantic features.

*Tuak* is a kind of Balinese liquor made from the juice taken from the palm or trunk of coconut trees, using a special type of jar hung onto the tree. In the translated novel, the translator consistently uses *coconut wine* as its equivalent. The semantic components are shown in (data1).

(1)	<i>tuak</i> ( Balinese)	<i>coconut wine</i> (English)
inanimate/thing	+	+
type of liquor	+	+
source ingredient: (palm/coconut juice)	+	+/-
alcoholic content	+/- (if yes, typically low; possibly fresh)	+
traditional way of processing	+	+/-

The translation of a single term *tuak* into the phrase *coconut wine* can be justified. The translator adds the modifying word *coconut* to explain to the target reader (English-speaking) that Balinese wine is distinct because it is made of coconut, not grapes, as is usually the case in western culture. The use of the word *wine* also captures the meaning that it is an alcoholic beverage. Thus, the phrasal translation shows the attempt by the translator to convey the closest meaning equivalent of the SL to the TL (Larson1984).

However, there are semantic features missed in the translation. One is the production process involved: unlike wine in western culture, typically mass-produced in a professional and modern way, *tuak* is traditionally produced. Also related to this reference and denotation: *tuak* can be a drink freshly taken from a coconut tree, without alcoholic content. Wine, in contrast, refers to liquor produced by fermentation and stored for months, or even years before it is sold or served as a drink.

*Bayuan* is *tuak* left from the previous day. Hence, *bayan* typically has a stronger alcoholic aroma than *tuak*. Its componential analysis is shown in (3). The distinctive meaning component of ‘left from the previous day’ of *bayuan* is not part of the meaning of the English word *wine*. Therefore, the English equivalent of adding a phrasal modification *from the previous day* to ‘the coconut wine’ is justified.

(2)	<i>bayuan</i> (Balinese)	<i>coconut wine from the previous day</i> (English)
inanimate / thing	+	+
type of liquor	+	+
low percentage	+	+
Ingredient:	+	+/-
palm/coconut juice		
traditional way of processing	+	+/-
wine left from the previous day	+	-

*Arak* is highly alcoholic, made traditionally by distilling *tuak*. Its alcohol content can be over 35%. While still produced and enjoyed as an alcoholic drink in traditional settings by Balinese villagers, Balinese *arak* nowadays has entered into larger markets for non-Balinese consumers at a larger scale (e.g. with modern packaging and sold in hotels and restaurants for tourists; see Figure 1).



**Figure 1:** Balinese Arak

The translation of *arak* in the novel deserves commentary. It is misleadingly translated as *rice beer*, perhaps confused with *berem* ‘Balinese rice wine’ by the translator. The componential analysis of the meaning of *tuak* and its translation *rice beer* is shown in (4). As seen, rice beer is not the closest equivalent, as *tuak* is not a juice made of fermented rice. In addition, unlike *beer*, *arak* is a highly alcoholic drink closer to *whiskey* than *beer*.

(3)	<i>arak</i> (Balinese)	<i>rice beer</i>
inanimate	+	+
type of liquor	+	+
high alcoholic content	+	-
Ingredient:	+	-
palm/coconut juice		
processing:	+	-
distilling		
traditional way of processing	+	+/-

### 3.2 Material culture: Clothes

The following Balinese cultural terms related to clothes are found in novel: *bulang*, *senteng*, *udeng* and *kamen*. *Bulang* is a long, thin piece of cloth, around three meters in length and four to seven centimetres in width. Women use it to tighten their *sarongs* (*kamen*). The componential analysis showing salient semantic features of *bulang* is given in (4):

(4)	<i>bulang</i> (Balinese)	<i>waist belt</i> (English)
inanimate/thing	+	+
used to wrap around the waist after using <i>sarong</i>	+	+/-
made of traditional weaving material	+	-
for women only	+	+/-

As seen, it is translated as *waist belt* in English. While the translation of *bulang* as *waist belt* has the closest meaning equivalent in English, the component analysis clearly shows that certain semantic features are partially lost in the translational crossover (e.g. the cultural aspect that *bulang* as a belt used only by woman). Nevertheless, the translation helps to express that *bulang* is a type of belt.

Usually made of traditional weaved material, *Kamen* is a long, loose skirt-like piece of clothing that men and women wrap around the lower part of the body, from waist to toe. One type of *kamen* is shown in Figure 2. In the novel, it is translated into English as *sarong*—a borrowed word in English from Malay. The componential analysis is given in (5), showing that translating the term *kamen* as *sarong* is equivalent in terms of the form; however, in Balinese, *kamen* is quite different from the Balinese *sarung/sarong*. When one wears a *kamen*, it must be wrapped around the body from waist to toe. On the other hand, in Balinese, *kamen sarong* is a form of loose skirt; when it is being worn, one just needs to wrap it around his or her waist.



**Figure 2:** Type of *Kamen* (Sarong)

(5)	<i>kamen</i> (Balinese)	<i>sarong</i> (English)
inanimate /thing	+	+
type of clothing for men and women to wear from waist to toe	+	+/-
	+	+

Women use the *Senteng* to wrap the upper part of the body while wearing the *kamen* and *bulang*. The component analysis is shown in (6). The translation of *senteng* into an English phrase *breast clothes* shows that the translator added the locative information (“breast”) so that the target language could express the distinctive feature of *senteng*.

(6)	<i>senteng</i> (Balinese)	<i>breast clothes</i> (English)
inanimate/thing	+	+
type of clothing used to wrap the body around the breast	+	+/-
made of traditional weaved material	+	-

*Udeng/destar* is a type of headgear that Balinese men wear only when attending traditional ceremonies and meetings at the *banjar* (‘sub-village unit’) hall. One type of *udeng* is shown in Figure 3. Its salient semantic features and the translation are given in (7).



**Figure 3:** Balinese Udeng

(7)	<i>destar/udeng</i> (Balinese)	<i>headgear</i> (English)
inanimate /thing	+	+
used to cover head	+	+
it is used on special occasions	+	+/-

The equivalent English term, *headgear*, is a very general word. It may be the closest word in English, giving the idea that it is a piece of cloth used as a head dress in Balinese culture; however, the actual shape of the *udeng/destar* reference is very difficult to capture by means of a componential analysis. Without the picture shown in Figure 3, one would never be able to visualize a *udeng/destar*, an issue that we will address further in section 4.

### 3.3 Material culture: Housing

The Balinese live in compound houses traditionally consisting of different buildings and sections with various layouts and functions. The compound typically has a front gate (*pemesuan*) for the main entrance. The *paon* (kitchen), is in the southern part of the house, and there is a *jineng* (rice barn) to store grains. In the eastern or northern part of the compound is the place of worship for the entire family, which is called the

*sanggah/pemerajan*. Balinese cultural terms related to housing found in the novel are *bale*, *jineng*, *merajan*, *paon* and *puri*.

*Bale* is a general term in Balinese meaning ‘building’. However it also has a narrow sense, meaning a kind of platform usually placed at the house terrace. Family members use it to rest during the day or simply to lie down for a nap after working in the rice field. This kind of a wooden patio space is very commonly owned by families in villages.

The term *bale* is translated into English as *sleeping platform*. The comparison of the relevant meaning components is given in (8). As seen, the translation partially captures the meaning/function of *bale* as a place to sleep.

(8)	<i>bale</i> (Balinese)	<i>sleeping platform</i> (English)
inanimate/ thing	+	+
building in family compound	+	-
type of flat form made of wood	+	+/-
functions as a place to rest or lie down during resting time for family members	+	+/-

*Jineng* is a kind building traditionally composed of a roof dry grass with the primary function of storing rice grains. After harvest time, farmers usually dry the rice grains and place them inside the *jineng*. A picture of a *jineng* is given in Figure 4. Its translation equivalent with the componential analysis is shown in (9).



**Figure 4:** Balinese *Jineng*

(9)	<i>jineng</i> ( Balinese)	<i>rice barn</i> (English)
inanimate /thing	+	+
type of building to store rice grains	+	+
roof made from special type grass	+	-

The translation of *jineng* to *rice barn* is justifiable, providing the nearest meaning equivalence in English, capturing the ‘storage’ element. Note that the English equivalent is phrasal, with the modifier *rice*, as the term *barn* itself has no ‘rice’ component to it.

Given the picture of a *jineng* in Figure 4, it is also clear that the conception of *rice barn* and *jineng* is quite distinct. There is also another cultural meaning embedded in *jineng*, which is missed by *rice barn*—the location of the *jineng* in a compound and the related subtlety of the kind of rice stored in this place.

The *Merajan* is a family temple/shrine, a place of worship to the ancestors. It can be found in every Balinese Hindu dwelling and is normally located on northeastern or

northwestern part of the house. The location of the *merajan* in the family compound usually faces a direction considered to be holy, typically towards the mountains.

There are many temples/shrines in Bali (big and small; designed for families, clans, or the general public). The picture in Figure 5 illustrates a type of family temple with different shrines in it.



**Figure 5:** *Merajan*

(10)	<i>merajan</i> ( Balinese)	<i>shrine</i> (English)
Inanimate/thing	+	+
place to worship	+	+/-
family worship place	+	-
located in the family compound	+	-

As seen in (10), the term *merajan* is translated as *shrine* in English. This word is the closest equivalent, capturing the function of *marajan* as a place to pray. However, missing in the crossover are important meaning components: the relationship to family and the location. Also not captured by the translation is the referential meaning of how a *merajan* appears. This part of meaning for a cultural object is very difficult, if not impossible, to explain using a componential analysis.

*Paon* is a type of building/place in the family compound for cooking. In a more narrow sense, it also refers to a cooking fireplace, which traditionally is made of bricks and clay. The cooking itself relies on firewood. This type of kitchen is diminishing and typically is found in remote, rural places in Bali today. The picture below shows the *paon* with its other tools for cooking.



**Figure 6:** *Paon*

The English equivalent of *paon* given in the novel is *brazier*. As seen in (11), this translation only partially captures the meaning components. *Brazier*, like *paon*, is a kind of fireplace. However, a great deal of other cultural information is missing, including the location, kind of cooking tools and energy source for the fire. Such information is difficult to transfer to the TL.

(11)	<i>paon</i> (Balinese)	<i>brazier</i> (English)
inanimate thing	+	+
function as a place to cook meals	+	+/-
made of clay	+	+/-

A *puri* is a house where Balinese Hindus of the Ksatria caste live. The layout and the organization of the building and sections include the *pemedalan* (the front entrance of the house), *puwaregan* (the kitchen located in the south), *bale daja* (a building used for holy purposes during a certain ceremony), *bale gede* (a building to conduct a special ceremony) and *merajan* (a shrine to worship ancestors). The picture in figure 7 shows the entrance of a *puri*.



**Figure 7:** Entrance of a *Puri*

The English word *house*, which was used by the translator, as seen in (11), only captures one meaning component, *puri* as a dwelling place. Due to the great cultural distance between Balinese and English, clearly missing is the crucial meaning component associated with the social status of the dweller. *Puri* could have been translated into *palace*, but the kind of *palace* that the English term is associated with is not exactly the same as that in Balinese. This issue again highlights the difficulty of translating cultural terms across languages that have quite distinct cultures.

(12)	<i>puri</i> (Balinese)	<i>house</i> (English)
inanimate /thing	+	+
dwelling place for the royal/ksatria caste family	+	+/-

### 3.4 Material culture: Transportation

We found two Balinese cultural terms related to transportation in the novel: *cikar* and *dokar*. These vehicles used to be the primary traditional means of transportation to travel as well as to deliver goods (especially crops). Due to modern technology, the first one, *cikar*, has nearly disappeared, and the second one, *dokar*, has nearly been abandoned as well.

A *cikar* was used in the old days throughout the entire island of Bali. Typically, it was used for the transportation of goods and pushed by humans; sometimes, it was pulled by bulls or horses. Today, this type of transportation can only be found in remote villages where modern vehicles are not available. Below is a picture of a *cikar*, pulled by two bulls.



**Figure 8: Cikar**

The translation, cart, as seen in (13), appears to capture the main component meanings, namely its function to deliver goods, pulled by bull or horse.

(13)

	<i>cikar</i> ( Balinese)	<i>cart</i> (English)
inanimate /thing	+	+
pulled by horses/bulls	+	+/-
function to deliver good	+	+

*Dokar* is a means of transportation typically pulled by a single horse. It is used as transportation for passengers as well as for goods over short distances. While still encountered in some areas in Bali, this mode of transportation is increasingly being replaced by modern transportation. The following picture shows a *dokar* on the road in Bali:



**Figure 9: Dokar**

(14)

	<i>dokar</i> ( Balinese)	<i>carriage</i> (English)
inanimate /thing	+	+
functions to transport passengers and goods	+	+/-
pulled by a horse	+	+
pulled by more than one horse	-	+

In the novel, the term *dokar* is translated as *carriage* in English. As shown in (14), *dokar* has similar meaning components with the English term *carriage*, as possibly having two horses. The Balinese term, in contrast, refers to a vehicle with one horse, as shown in Figure 9. Nonetheless, both terms have equivalent functions as means of transportation.

### 3.5 Social Culture: Occupation

There are certain Balinese terms related to occupations that once existed but are disappearing amongst the younger generation. From the data, the following such terms were found in the novel: *mandur*, *punggawa*, *sedahan* and *tukang penek nyuh*.

*Mandur* is a traditional vocation in the village. This person has the job of foreman, guarding goods or organizing several workers who work at a place (e.g. assigned by the owner of a coconut plantation).

(15)	<i>mandur</i> (Balinese)	<i>foreman</i> (English)
animate/person	+	+
guards goods	+	+/-

The English equivalent of the term *mandur* given in the novel is *foreman*. As seen in (15), this term appears to be the closest term in English where *foreman* is a person who has the duty of supervising other workers.

The term *punggawa* refers to a kind of policeman ranked below the superintendent in charge of the official administration in the district area during Dutch colonial rule in Bali. The translation shown in (16) is accurate, even though it should be noted that the exact official matters dealt with by a *punggawa* in the Balinese context would not be the same as those dealt with by a district inspector in an English-speaking context.

(16)	<i>punggawa</i> (Balinese)	<i>district inspector</i> (English)
animate/ person	+	+
policeman	+	+
job in charge of official administration in district area	+	-

*Sedahan* is an official part of the *subak* irrigation system in Bali. This person is in charge of coordinating the *subak* leaders in water management for rice fields and related matters, including collecting tax levies from the peasant or rice-paddies' owners. This vocation has existed since the Majapahit era, but in modern Bali, this vocation is disappearing.

(17)	<i>sedahan</i> (Balinese)	<i>inspector of rice fields</i> (English)
animate/person	+	+
part of Subak system	+	-
collects tax levies	+	+/-

The phrasal translation of the term *sedahan* into English, *inspector of rice-fields*, is the best strategy for the translator. Since the term *sedahan* is tied to a unique traditional water management system in Bali, the translation can only capture part of the duties of the *sedahan*; additional cultural information is hard to transfer in the translation.

*Tukang penek nyuh* is a vocation where boys and men pick coconuts in the plantations. This vocation is common for villagers to earn money from the owners of the coconut plantations. They pick the coconut by climbing the tree, picking the coconuts and letting them fall on the ground.

(18)	<i>Tukang penek nyuh</i> (Balinese)	<i>Coconut picker</i> (English)
inanimate/person	+	+
event picking	+	+
climbing	+	-

The term *tukang penek nyuh* is translated into *coconut picker*, as seen in (18). Note that both the Balinese and English expressions are phrases, and the English translation appears to convey the main components of meaning. However, cultural information, including how the coconut is picked, including the manner of climbing, is not transferable to the TL (English).

### 3.6 Traditional organizations

There are two Balinese cultural terms related to organizations found in the novel: *krama desa* and *banjar*.

*Krama desa* is a term used to refer to members of the village who have already settled down and have responsibilities bound with custom and tradition; they are involved in the social gatherings and ceremonies related to the community.

(19)	<i>krama desa</i> (Balinese)	<i>Village elders</i> (English)
animate/person	+	+
Members of the village who are married and have responsibilities in social organizations	+	+/-

The translation of *krama desa* as *village elders elder* in English (18) is a near equivalent of the term. It should be noted, however, that this term is not wholly accurate as a *krama desa* is not necessarily an elderly person: s/he may still be young but already married. The married status is a criterion by which one gains social status with certain obligations as a *krama desa* member.

A *banjar* is a sub-village traditional unit, with a hall that serves as a place where its members, usually males, assemble to discuss the village social organization, along with matters related to customs, traditions and ceremonies. The translation of *banjar* as a *place to assemble for the villagers* only partially captures the meaning: *banjar* as a place, not as a traditional organization.

(20)	<i>banjar</i> (Balinese)	<i>Place to assemble for the villagers</i> (English)
inanimate/thing	+	+
sub-unit village	+	-
a place to assemble for the villagers	+	+/-

### 3.7 Religion

The following Balinese religious terms are found in the novel: *toya-tirta*, *ngaben*, and *Pedanda*. *Toya-tirta* is holy water used in religious rituals/ceremonies by the Balinese Hindus. This holy water is used to purify offerings for the gods. It is also drunk and sprinkled (on the head) after praying.

(21)	<i>toya-tirta</i> (Balinese)	<i>holy water</i> (English)
inanimate/thing	+	+
holy water in Balinese Hindu religion	+	+/-

While the English translation seen in (21) actually captures the basic meaning component of holy water used in a religious ceremony, the associated cultural information is missing in the translational crossover. For example, the translation lacks description of how the holy water is used in Hindu rituals, as this cultural information is difficult to transfer.

*Ngaben* is a religious cremation ceremony, a unique Hindu-based ritual. For example, the ritual includes the carrying of the corpse from the house to the cemetery using a special tower (called a *wadah*); in addition, the cremation itself is done by placing the corpse inside a bull-shaped container. The whole ceremony procession typically involves the entire village, including all family and relatives. Figure 10 shows the tower and the bull (the place to burn the corpse) carried by the people to the cemetery.



**Figure 10:** The Tower (*wadah*) for *ngaben*

*Ngaben* is translated into English as *cremation*. The meaning components are given in (22). As seen, the two terms share the general meaning components that it is a ceremony for a deceased person that involves the burning of the corpse. However, the salient cultural components of *ngaben* are not transferable in the translation, including the rituals, the places and the related traditional objects required, such as the *wadah* tower.

(22)	<i>ngaben</i> (Balinese)	<i>cremation</i> (English)
inanimate/thing	+	+
ceremony for the deceased person	+	+
Hindu-based	+	-
Use of a special tower to carry the corpse to the cemetery	+	-
burning the body of the deceased person	+	+
conducted in a cemetery	+	-
conducted in crematorium	-	+

A *Pedanda* is a Balinese Hindu priest who has the duty of guiding and performing several types of rituals and ceremonies while also preaching to the Balinese Hindus. The ceremonies include those in the temples, but also those at private places, such as wedding ceremonies, blessing ceremonies and new home purifications for the land and surroundings. A Hindu *Pedanda* performing a ceremony is shown in Figure 11.



**Figure 11:** A Hindu *Pedanda* on Duty

The English word *priest* is the closest equivalent to the Balinese *pedanda*. As seen in (23), *priest* captures the essence of *pedanda*, namely a person whose main duties are preaching, leading and performing religious rituals. In the Hindu-based Balinese culture, however, there are different kinds of priests. A *Pedanda* is only one of them: he or she is from the Brahman caste. Priests from other castes (or clans) have different names, such as *sri mpu* ‘a priest from the *Pasek* clan’ and *pemangku* ‘low-caste priests associated with certain local temples’. It is clear then that this cultural information is lost in the translation.

(23)	<i>pedanda</i> (Balinese)	<i>priest</i> (English)
animate/person	+	+
from the Brahmana caste	+	-
preaching	+	+
performing/guiding/leading rituals/ceremonies	+	+
related to Hindu-based rituals	+	-

#### 4 Final remarks

The foregoing description of Balinese cultural terms and the meaning explication using the componential analysis have allowed us to compare the degree of equivalence between relevant terms in Balinese and English, therefore assessing the quality of the translation. In this final section, we briefly discuss the merit and problems associated with using componential analysis both in the context of translation and in the study of meaning in general.

On the positive side, there is no doubt that componential analysis is a procedure in, and at the same time, a tool for, explicit explication of salient or distinctive semantic features of cultural terms. As seen, it makes it possible to show and compare the similarities/differences between languages; therefore, it enables assessment of the degree of nearness between meaning equivalences. Balinese and English are two languages that are typologically distinct, whose related cultures are also quite different. The data provides a strong illustration of how meanings components of cultural terms specific to a given SL (Balinese) have no corresponding equivalent term in the TL (English); that is, there is no one-to-one equivalent from one language to the other. This issue has led to cases where the translator had to make use of phrasal elaboration so that meaning components in the SL could be transferred to the TL. Equivalence by means of phrasal elaboration might be avoided in translation involving closely related languages, such as Balinese and Indonesian, because there are often equivalent cultural terms. For example, the material cultural term of *paon* ‘kitchen, brick fireplace for cooking/grilling’ (Balinese) has an equivalent in Indonesian, namely *tungku*.

Componential analysis is useful for practical purposes in translation. Having precise meaning explication of cultural terms can provide assistance to the translator in finding and formulating the closest equivalents of the SL terms in the TL. On a more theoretical level, in translation studies and linguistics, it provides a particularly compact easy-to-read representation of meaning for cross-linguistic and language-internal comparative purposes. For example, within the semantic field of beverages in Balinese, apart from the translation purposes, the cultural terms of *tuak*, *bayuan* and *arak* (see (1)-(3)) can be compared internally in Balinese to derive their salient/distinctive features.

However, it should be pointed out here that componential analysis is not without problems. As mentioned earlier, meanings can be of different kinds, classified in different semantic fields, with meaning as culture perhaps the broadest and most complex type. Early implementation of componential analysis, which (still) works well, was applied to the semantic fields of colour and kinship, typically on the denotational-referential aspects. Colour and kinships terms in most cultures are also loaded with complex cultural meanings not easily reduced into features with binary values.

Binary features are surely not the best way of analysing meaning, especially when the distinction is gradient, culturally complex, and not in two-way opposition. We have noticed an instance of this difficulty in describing *destar/udeng* in binary features. This description by means of binary features omits the unique physical shape of the Balinese headgear and its associated symbolic and functional use embedded in Balinese culture. For this reason, meaning explication by means of componential analysis must be complemented by other means of meaning explication and description: by means of definition with cultural notes and by providing a picture of the cultural object as we have done in this paper.

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# *11 Linguistic politeness in doctor-patient interactions in East Java, Bali, and Lombok: what do we learn?*

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EMALIA IRAGILIATI

## **1 Introduction\***

This chapter reports a case study of linguistic politeness in doctor-patient communication in three areas in Indonesia: East Java, Bali, and Lombok. Doctor-patient communication in the non-western context, adapted from that in the western world, follows the SEGUE<sup>1</sup> checklist procedures (Makoul, 1993). Politeness has been of interest in the medical context with recent studies focusing on cases in western cultural contexts, showing a change towards a more positive condition based on a more humane approach (Mishler, 1984; 1989) and pointing to the importance of politeness during verbal interaction in a hospital ward (Grainger, 2003) and the use of face work (Spiers, 1998). However, there has also been research on linguistic politeness in the Asian context in relation to language etiquette where, in Japanese, politeness in this domain is considered part of normative attitudes following certain rules established by the Ministry of Education (Coulmas, 2005). In the Indonesian context, there have been very few studies on politeness in medical discourse, mainly in the contexts of eastern Java (Iragiliati, 2003, 2006). This paper presents a follow-up investigation of these earlier studies by extending the coverage to Bali and Lombok.

The findings are consistent with the reports on the importance of vocative kinterms used to show linguistic politeness combined with the use of H variety and local variety in interactions in medical institutional settings. These normative attitudes follow certain rules, as stated in the Indonesian Paediatric Handbook (1998) published by the Specialists Association of Paediatric in the Asian context. The study highlights the aspect that the use of vocative kinterms is just one of the complex norms agreed upon in the society, and that linguistic politeness entails the importance of sensitivity in recognising subtle power

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<sup>1</sup> This is an abbreviation which stands for Set the stage, Elicit information, Give information, Understand the patient perspective, and End the interview.

relations involved in doctor-patient communication in the Asian context, through which face-threatening impacts against the patient can be avoided.

The paper is organized in the following manner. Some background is given on politeness in the Indonesian context and its inclusion in medical training in Indonesia in section 2, followed by the outline of the methodology utilized in the present study in section 3. A discussion of the findings is provided in section 4, and the conclusion is given in section 5.

## 2. Politeness in the Indonesian medical context

In Indonesia, linguistic politeness has utilized the Indonesian diglossic (or multiglossic) situation and related linguistic resources since the Dutch colonial era. The H (high) variety has changed from Dutch in the colonial era before independence to Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian) after independence.

In the 1900s, hospitals were built and medical schools known as the STOVIA were opened in Indonesia (Hal Sekolah Dokter Djawa, 1901: 296). Some Indonesians were trained to be paramedical cadres and called *Dokter Djawa* (Hal Dokter Djawa, 1900: 215-218; Hull & Terry, 1996: 130). At that time, in this institutional setting of teaching hospitals, the H variety language used was Dutch and a mixture of Javanese with its four hierarchical language systems. Medical schools were opened in other islands after the Indonesian Proclamation in 1945.

In modern Indonesia, Indonesian has enjoyed a highly prestigious status, not only becoming the official language but also the language of wider communication in the archipelago. The H variety replaced Dutch, even though across Indonesia there remain local languages of regional significance such as Javanese (spoken outside Java such as in transmigrant areas in eastern Indonesia) and Balinese (spoken in Bali, Lombok, and transmigrant areas) (Arka, 2013; Goebel, 2010). Javanese and Balinese are languages with speech level systems that have elaborate resources in their lexicon and grammar to express degrees of politeness.

In the context of linguistic politeness in medical discourse, it is important to indicate that the Indonesian Paediatric Handbook (1998) contains politeness guidelines. For example, medical students in all medical faculties are required to greet the patient using relevant kinterms used vocatively as terms of address—for example, *Ibu* ('Mother') and *Bapak* ('Father')—during doctor-patient communications at the beginning, middle, and end of sessions. Medical students (Iragiliati, 2003) follow the teaching of English for Medical Purposes (EMP) in the fifth semester, Indonesian politeness strategy in doctor-patient communication in Language Speaking Laboratory Skills for EMP following the concept of politeness as stated above in the Handbook of Paediatric in the sixth semester, and usage of spoken EMP at the wards with morning report programs and spoken EMP journal reports session in their internship programs at teaching hospitals.

The use of the H variety in doctor-patient interactions at wards for in-patients or at polyclinics for out-patients must be in accordance with guidelines in the Handbook. The establishment of the family doctor system in Indonesia in 2000 has had an impact on the training of the medical students in doctor-patient interactions. For example, the students are trained (using role play) on how to talk politely to patients in the "skills laboratories" of medical faculties (Claramita, 2009).

Research conducted by Iragiliati (2006), quoted by Claramita (2013), shows that the form 'you' in the local kinship system using Bahasa Indonesia are kinterms used vocatively as terms of address. The vocative use of kinterms is a potentially positive politeness, an in-group marker indicating informal, close social relations and being a

member of one big family. An inappropriate choice of terms of address would certainly be face-threatening to the patient. However, in the context of East Java, the possible use of a combination of colloquial Jakartan Indonesian and Javanese was also discovered.

Research conducted by Claramita and Majoor (2006) stated that undergraduates trained in communication skills at Gajahmada Medical School in Yogyakarta were aware of communication behaviour skills required by patients. However, as medical doctors mostly graduate from medical faculties in Java and sent all over Indonesia when they have graduated, there is a possibility that Bahasa Indonesia is used as the H variety in institutional settings elsewhere in Indonesia.

There appears to be a gap and conflict between the ideal and the actual communicative style of doctor-patient interaction in a multicultural society in terms of whether to follow the western-only approach or have their own non-western style. One approach was to use the Indonesian diglossic (or multiglossic) situation.

Doctors in Southeast Asian countries use a paternalistic communication style during consultations, regardless of patients' educational background (Claramita et al., 2011a, 2011b). She further suggested that establishing a partnership style in doctor-patient communication is a cultural and clinical environment concern in southeast Asian countries. Further, quoting Irigiliati, Claramita (2013) stated that this ideal communicative style was in sharp conflict with the existing patriarchal system of the society and the socially superior status of the doctor relative to the patient. The implementation of this new ideal system in a multicultural society must therefore take into account these social aspects where two parties are not of equal standing. Relationships like those between doctor and patient are expected to follow unspoken rules of behaviour in which value is placed on politeness and maintaining a positive etiquette. Further, in the context of East Java, other core values are strong support from family and community, social hierarchy, and respect accorded to those who have lived the longest regardless of education or social background (Kartomihardjo, 1976).

All the studies outlined above have been conducted in Javanese contexts. The present study reports investigations conducted in other cultural settings, namely in Bali and Lombok. Bali is chosen because even though Balinese reflects the patriarchal system as it exists in Java, the associated social structure is based on Hinduism and, therefore, is not exactly the same. Lombok is chosen because the local language, Sasak, is distinct from Balinese and Javanese, and the associated social system is also different. Unlike the Balinese, the Sasak are mostly Moslems. With these different cultural settings, we expect to reveal interesting patterns of politeness in doctor-patient interactions in Indonesia.

### **3. Method**

This is a descriptive ethnographic study. Qualitative research was chosen as a fundamental approach in discussing face work or the communication strategies used to protect, maintain, and enhance face, to satisfy face needs, and mitigate face threats. As mentioned earlier, three locations were chosen for implementing the study, and each of them represents different characteristics of Indonesian society: 1) East Java represents the patriarchal system in the community, a blend of noble and commoner social strata, various religions in the community, and established medical schools since the Dutch period; 2) the patriarchal system in East Java does not refer to the different system of caste like in Bali. Thus, in Bali, it represents a slightly different patriarchal system in the community, mostly Hindu religion, blend of noble and commoner system, and new medical schools established after 1945; 3) Lombok also has a patriarchal system in the community, mostly

Islam religion, blend of noble and commoner system, and new medical schools established after 1945.

The current research is part of an on-going research on doctor-patient communication in teaching hospitals for out-patients, and it was first conducted in Java in 2005. It was mainly conducted in the National Medical School in Malang, East Java, with 66 patients from four departments: dermato-venerology, obstetric, internal, and eye-ear-throat. The National Medical Schools in Java are major medical schools dating from the Dutch period.

The follow-up research was conducted outside Java, in Bali and Lombok, where the medical schools were built during the Indonesian Republic era. In Bali, the study involved sixteen (16) out-patients from the dermato-venerology department of the National Teaching Hospital in Denpasar under the National Medical School of Denpasar. The preliminary study was carried out at the beginning of January 2012 and the data was obtained at the first half of May 2012. In Lombok, the preliminary study was carried out at the end of January 2012 and the data was obtained at the second half of May 2012. There are fourteen (14) outpatients of the dermato-venerology department of Lombok from the Teaching hospital in Mataram under the National Medical School in Mataram. The research in Bali and Lombok was only conducted at the dermato-venerology department due to the difficulty in obtaining research permission in other departments, limited time, no external funding support, and limited number of outpatients.

This study investigates greetings preferred by outpatients. Outpatients in the Teaching Hospitals include both adults and children. The following research question was asked: "What are the patterns of kinterms used vocatively as terms of address to show respect to and preferred by outpatients? We are interested in the code mixing and code switching revealed from the patterns (given the different socio-cultural settings described earlier). Recorded data from the doctor-patient interaction were transcribed and analysed using Johnson and Christensen's qualitative data analysis (2004: 498-523). Additional data from the questionnaire provided the patient's age and marital status supported by in-depth interviews with the medical specialists of the dermato-venerology department.

#### **4. Results and Discussions**

This research reveals the importance of strengthening the use of greetings with the choice of vocative kinterms, possibly with code mixing and code switching. The identified relevant sociolinguistic variables in the style of communicative codes used in a non-western context are related to power relations and vocative use. First, we discuss these in the Javanese context and then in the contexts of Bali and Lombok.

The findings in East Java are consistent with the communicative codes described in Kartomihardjo (1979:61), which says that elders have been traditionally accorded with respect and that this condition is applicable all over Indonesia. In line with his explanation, a young person of superior rank (in this case, the medical student) will treat an older inferior (the village elderly person) with more respect than his younger inferior.

Apart from age, marital status also affects male outpatients' preference for the vocative use of kinterms. Recorded data from East Java teaching hospitals showed that outpatients who are married, regardless of their age or social status, preferred to be addressed using *Bapak* ('Father') instead of *Mas* ('Brother') even though they are of a young age. Marital status has a significant effect because in that society a person is said to become 'whole' if they become a father. In Indonesian society, being married represents moral and financial responsibility as a family man (Kartomihardjo, 1979). This is based on Javanese and Islamic culture which emphasizes the importance of having a family and descendants.

As we see below, the condition of being polite to elders also applies to other cultural tribes and beliefs in Indonesia. The choice of words or shifting of code mixing and code switching occurs simultaneously.

In the Balinese context, where the system of caste and beliefs play an important role in daily life, the findings show the influence of caste (e.g. a noble descendant), religion (Hindu), marital status, and age. However, as the conditions in an institutional context differ from those in the society, the choice of using Bahasa Indonesia as the H variety language still holds in the interaction between the doctor and adult patients, but not between the doctor and children. This is observed in the standard procedures of anamneses or patient's history, which consist of three stages: a) opening stage using greetings, b) content, c) closing.

In the following example, the medical student repeated the use of *Bapak* ('Father') to the patient several times in the opening and content stages of the interview. The use of this term of address implies that the medical student wanted to save the patient's face. Regarding the patient as one of the family in the Indonesian kinship system would make the patient feel good. Thus, the medical student showed his/her respect in the manner he addressed the patient and this enabled the patient to not feel threatened.

(1) Md = female medical student

P = Adult male patient

- (1) Md: *Bapak, namanya siapa?* (Father, what is your name?)
- (2) P: Mr.X
- (3) Md: *Apa keluhannya?* (What is the complaint?)
- (4) P: *Ini* (This, pointing to his wound)
- (5) Md: *Sudah berapa lama Bapak itu?* (How long have you suffered from it, Father)
- (6) P: *Sudah tiga bulan, Ibu* (It has been going on for three months, Ma'am)

Note that the above data shows the interaction between a medical student and a patient, where the medical student followed the standard procedure of interview, and as seen, all in Indonesian. Undoubtedly, in the Balinese context, it would be considered that the medical student ignored the social status of the patient. This would not be possible if the interactions were all done in Balinese, as different caste status requires a different register in the Balinese language system (to be further discussed below).

The content or topic of the interaction is also a variable that gives rise to the use of Bahasa Indonesia. For example, we recorded that, when talking about the medical action to be implemented, the medical student used a more formal approach and used standard Bahasa Indonesia. Thus, this stage of interaction is different from the earlier stage of trying to ascertain the condition of the patient. Consider the following example, which shows that the medical student adopted a distant approach with the patient using the polite Indonesian form of conversation (Kartomihardjo, 1979):

(2) Md: *Bapak, nanti kan ada lakukan tindakan, tapi saya nanti saya konfirmasi lagi, untuk melakukan tindakan operasi tersebut kami ingin meminta persetujuan dari bapak?*

(Father, there is a possibility that an operation may be done, but I will confirm this to you; moreover, we will obtain your consent before we decide to operate you, Father).

As seen, the H variety of Bahasa Indonesia is combined with the appropriate kinterms, *Bapak* ('Father') at the beginning of the sentence (Iragiliati, 2006). However, to minimize the threat, the medical student also used the discourse particle of *kan* belonging to colloquial

Jakartan Indonesian (Snellson, 2006). This particle essentially functions as a solidarity-building gesture, particularly in requesting agreement and marking shared knowledge. The solidarity-building verbal gesture is very important as a patient's consent is needed in every action that has to be implemented in a medical situation. The shared knowledge of the patient's sickness and the need for urgent action is a sensitive and tricky condition. The second use of the vocative kinterms at the end of the sentence is deemed appropriate, polite, and considerate. The medical student positioned himself as one of the patient's kin, even though his medical expertise puts him in socially a higher position than the patient. In short, the medical student followed the appropriate attitude: being polite to elderly people, achieved by the vocative use of kinterms.

A polite high register in Balinese is featured by certain high (*alus*) words including use of high caste titles. A patient who belongs to a high caste is indeed a variable that needs to be taken into account to not threaten his/her face. The questions of the possibility of using the Balinese terms of address in the doctor-patient interaction were investigated. According to the two dermatologists that we interviewed, they typically follow the standard Bahasa Indonesia kinship system. If the patient is adult and male, *Bapak* ('Father') is used, while if the patient was a female adult patient, *Ibu* ('Mother') is used.

The only stage where caste status is mentioned, or possibly taken into consideration, is the interaction when the complete name of the patient is needed, for example, when the caste status/title should be registered or mentioned when the patient is called to enter the observation room. For example, *Ida Bagus, I Gusti Agung*, or *Cokorde* among the common people or *sudra* can also be seen in the beginning of their names *Ni Putu, I Made, Nengah*, and *Ketut*.

In order to respect outpatients, irrespective of their caste, the medical specialists or medical students would then code switch back to use Indonesian terms of address. The advantage of using Indonesian is that it offers a polite way of ignoring caste differences, for example, minimizing the threat on face for the doctor, where the doctor is *sudra* or common people and the patient's caste is higher than the doctor. Our finding reveals that the people in Bali are typically fluent speakers of Bahasa Indonesia, and it is only in rare cases that the outpatient cannot speak Bahasa Indonesia.

Thus, with an adult male patient, we found the following typical code pattern. In the first line, in the opening of the anamneses (cf. (1)), the formal H variety language is used with the terms of address in the Bahasa Indonesia kinship system—*Bapak*/Father. In the third line, *Bapak*/Father was omitted and the speaker directly asks about the sickness. In the fifth line, a mixture of low-variety Bahasa Indonesia and the use of terms of address *Bapak*/Father was employed again.

The research on medical interaction in the Balinese context has essentially revealed the same finding as that in the Javanese context, where the choice of terms of address was based on age and marital statuses and not on noble descendants. This is perhaps not surprising in the modern (medical) context. Communication is a social action based on relevant interpersonal considerations, and in doctor-patient interaction it involves certain routines such as a delicate introduction with greetings, followed by a negotiation of a topic as in the interview or history-taking session. In all stages of the anamneses in a non-western context (Iragiliati, 2008), there are strategies to show respect. Importantly, in the Balinese context, this is possibly achievable without the use of noble descendent status.

However, it should be noted that there are occasions in which caste status and social distance is an issue. For example, if, in a very rare occasion, a Balinese patient cannot speak Indonesian then the medical specialist will continue code switching. There is a possibility that the medical specialist vocatively uses Indonesian kinterms without using caste titles. By carrying out the above procedure, the faces of both sides are saved.

The use of a combination of Balinese of the polite upper register of Balinese and Indonesian vocative kinterm *Bapak* ('Father') is presented below:

- (3) MS = Medical specialist                      P = Adult male patient  
    *MS: Bapak, wenten napi sungkane? (Father, what are you suffering from?)*

The code mixing in (3) provides evidence for the impact of the need for communication in a situation where request and orders (the basis of the politeness model) and embarrassment are both important in doctor-patient communication (Spiers, 1998; Grainger, 2003).

In Lombok, like in Bali, where the caste system and related beliefs also have a significant role in daily life, we expected the possibility of the influence of noble descendant, religion (Islam), marital status, and age in an institutional setting. However, surprisingly, the terms of address related to pilgrimage in Islamic belief such as *Bapak Haji* ('Father Haj') or *Ibu Haji* ('Mother Haj') were not seen in the medical interaction in an institutional setting. The observed common pattern was code mixing, where the doctor-patient interactions involved a mixture of formal Indonesian and local/low/colloquial language variety, aimed at minimizing the threat to the patient's face.

In the following example (4), the medical doctor uses a mixture of Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese vocative kinterms in the end of lines thirteen and fifteen. This provides evidence that the Javanese word *Mas* in line thirteen (13) is already used in medical institutional settings outside Java in Indonesia (Arka, 2013; Goebel, 2010). The doctor-patient interactions employ Bahasa Indonesia in combination with colloquial Jakartan Indonesian (CJI) (Sneddon, 2006)—for example, the use of the suffix *-nya* in line 1 functions as a possessive pronoun to the *keluhan* ('complain') is quite common in CJI. In the eleventh line, the *-nya* functions as emphasizing the interrogative locative. The aim was to confirm the medical condition of the patient. As seen in line twelve (12), the patient himself uses a combination of local colloquial Indonesian sentence format with *dia* 'he/she'. Usually, in formal Bahasa Indonesia, the pronoun *dia* is not used to refer to an inanimate referent. In short, while the patient's social status was not referred to, the interaction features informal/colloquial Indonesian mixed with Javanese codes.

- (4) Md = medical doctor                      FP = adult male patient

- (9) Md: *Keluhannya apa?* (What are you suffering from?)  
(10) FP: *Gatal dia, bintik-bintik* (Itchy - it, with spots)  
(11) Md: *Dimananya?* (Where is it?)  
(12) FP: *Disini bintik-bintik dia.* (In here, spots - it)  
(13) Md: *Sebelumnya pernah gini, Mas* (Have you suffered like this before?)  
(14) FP: *Gak, baru sekarang.* (No, just now)  
(15) Md: *Ada alergi, Mas?* (Any allergic history, Brother?)

The interaction in five (5) below illustrates the situation in which the low/colloquial variety was used. In this context, the interaction was between a medical doctor and a mother of a seven-year-old child suffering from itchiness.

- (5) Md = medical doctor                      MP = mother of patient  
(16) Md: *Pernah dulu begini, buk?* (Has she suffered like this before, Mother?)  
(17) MP: *Gak pernah.* (Never.)

In the above interaction, the salient features of the low/colloquial variety are clearly evident. For example, the expression utilizes shortened forms (e.g., *dulu* instead of *dahulu*

‘earlier’), or low address forms (*buk* instead of *Ibu*). The formal (H) equivalent in line sixteen (16) (which the medical doctor could have said) is *Apakah pernah menderit seperti ini, Ibu?* The choice of the low register was undoubtedly pragmatically conditioned to treat the patient as a family member, that is, having a socially close relation in an informal setting where trust is crucial. By doing that, the medical doctor saved faces of both sides.

The study in Lombok also reveals that code switching to low variety (or local language) only occurred when the patient could not speak the high variety of Bahasa Indonesia. As in Java and Bali, we found that the relevant factors influencing the use of the terms of address in the medical interaction include age and marital status.

The surprising fact that Islamic religious terms of address related to the *Haj* pilgrimage was not used to encode politeness in Lombok requires some explanation. One reason might be the fact that the diglossic linguistic resources are highly salient and already sufficient to show respect. That is, the use of Indonesian with vocative kinterms as the high code, just like in the Balinese caste-based situation, already serves the purpose of encoding respect in the Lombok Islamic context. In addition, the use of the Javanese terms of address of *Mas* (‘Brother’) has become commonplace elsewhere outside Java. This is due to the fact that many medical doctors have been trained in medical schools in Java and the word *Mas* is the polite version of the term of address. This Javanese term of address now fills the sociolinguistic diglossic space, readily available for code mixing in Indonesian contexts. Given the high prominence of Javanese in Indonesia, it has become commonplace throughout the archipelago.

## 5. Conclusion

In this paper, we reported the findings of a study on doctor-patient interaction focusing on the use of the Indonesian terms of address in State Teaching Hospitals in Bali (Denpasar) and Lombok (Mataram). The study reveals that the relevant influencing factors include the age and marital status of the patient and also often the content/topic of the interaction. The typical pattern of linguistic politeness is the one where the doctor-patient communication utilizes vocative kinterms in H variety (i.e. in formal/standard) Indonesian, at the beginning, middle, and end of a history-taking interview, followed by the use of colloquial Indonesian, and/or local language such as Javanese. This pattern of linguistic politeness in doctor-patient communication in Indonesia is rather different from that in Western culture (Iragiliati, 2005; Claramita et al., 2013).

What do we learn from this study? On the theoretical-academic side, certain aspects of the findings (e.g. that age and marital status are of significance in communication) support what has been known in the ethnography of communication (Kartomihardjo, 1979). However, the present study highlights the distinct sociolinguistic feature of linguistic politeness, namely, the richness of sociolinguistic resources in Indonesian contexts. We have seen how the diglossic/multiglossic contexts (Arka, 2013) provide a linguistic means for the doctor to navigate through different degrees of politeness, depending on the patient’s sociolinguistic background, to achieve certain subtle effects that are explainable in terms of face-saving strategies and social affinity effects.

Further, the findings of the present study have practical implications, such as feedback for the training of medical students in multilingual settings in Indonesia or in other similar settings elsewhere. The study has revealed a range of possible scenarios in doctor-patient communications at different stages of the interaction where politeness is central for both socio-cultural and medical (i.e. content-related) reasons. Given the importance of politeness in medical interaction, we suggest that medical training must integrate learning

of politeness in multicultural settings into medical training curricula. The material to be included in such training must include understanding of linguistic politeness and development of related skills to handle it in different contexts: the structure, process, and perceptions of polite interactions from different viewpoints. For wider practical and academic purposes related to politeness, it is also important to have a good understanding of medical and other local values of a client's response to health and illness. Such knowledge combined with the skill and knowledge of politeness (where the use of kinterms is just one of the items in this socio-linguistically complex and medically important interaction) is expected to provide a doctor with the tool to gain a deeper understanding of the patient's medical problem and associated cultural values, thereby ultimately enabling the doctor to effectively help the patient.

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