CAN A LANGUAGE WITH MILLIONS OF SPEAKERS BE ENDANGERED?

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LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT

“It turns out that 389 (or nearly 6%) of the world's languages have at least one million speakers and account for 94% of the world's population. By contrast, the remaining 94% of languages are spoken by only 6% of the world's people.” (Ethnologue, 16th edition, 2009)

LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT

The mortality of 6,000+ languages (Krauss 1992):

Only 600 are ‘safe’ – this includes the 100 languages that are official languages, 200-250 that have 1 million speakers, and another 250-300 that have at least 100,000 speakers.

Krauss considers the other 90% to be endangered.

LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT AND INDONESIA

• To what degree does language size correlate with risk of endangerment?
• Investigate and address this question in the context of the Indonesian situation

LANGUAGES IN INDONESIA


• Total # of living languages worldwide, 7105
• Total # of living languages in Indonesia, 707
• roughly 10% of the languages of the world
• one of the most multilingual nations in the world
• very high diversity index (.815) – likelihood that any two randomly chosen people speak different languages

INDONESIA (ETHNOLOGUE 2013)
SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Focus/sociolinguistic lens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Establishment and development of Indonesian</td>
<td>~ 1920s – 1940s</td>
<td>Language policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Diffusion of Indonesian</td>
<td>~ 1950s – 1980s</td>
<td>Multilingualism/diglossia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Post-diffusion</td>
<td>~ 1990s – 2000s</td>
<td>Language endangerment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. The future</td>
<td>~ 2010s –</td>
<td>Stable multilingualism? Widespread language endangerment?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOO BIG TO FAIL?

Anderbeck’s (2012) three portraits of Indonesian language vitality:
- Formerly isolated, now moribund languages (Sawi of Irian Jaya)
- Sustainable literacy, threatened by outmigration (Una of interior PNG)
- Languages with large speaker populations, but *weakening use by the younger generations (Gorontalo of Sulawesi)

LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT AND INDONESIA

To what degree is the increased use of Indonesian as a national language putting local languages at risk?

How has the development and increased use of Indonesian in all spheres of society affected the use of local languages, the languages that were the mother tongues of the people of Indonesia at its nation's founding?
EXPANDED GRADED INTERGENERATIONAL DISRUPTION SCALE (EGIDS) LEWIS AND SIMONS 2010, FIGURE FROM ANDERBECK 2012

PROFILE OF LANGUAGE STATUS FOR THE WORLD FROM ETHNOLOGUE

PROFILE OF LANGUAGE STATUS FOR INDONESIA FROM ETHNOLOGUE

Indonesian languages: Population size and vitality

LANGUAGE SHIFT: FACTORS VS. SCENARIOS

"It is rarely the case that one or two or three causes or factors lead to language endangerment. Instead, language endangerment results from the specific and complex constellation of a variety of such factors...an endangerment scenario" (Himmelman 2010: 46)

A small speaker population is a symptom, not a cause, of language shift.
LANGUAGE SHIFT:
FACTORS VS. SCENARIOS

Study local patterns of language use to understand the complex factors that contribute to language vitality (e.g. Fuller 2012)

• More case studies – creating a “typology of language endangerment scenarios” (Himmelman 2010)

Document rate of change and the factors that contribute to it

• Language choice questionnaire – to get a broad overview and look at conditioning factors

THE BIG LANGUAGES?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Est. Population</th>
<th>Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Javanese</td>
<td>86,300,000</td>
<td>Java and Bali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundanese</td>
<td>34,000,000</td>
<td>Java and Bali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madurese</td>
<td>13,000,000</td>
<td>Java and Bali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minangkabu</td>
<td>3,530,000</td>
<td>Sumatra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musi</td>
<td>3,030,000</td>
<td>Sumatra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acehnese</td>
<td>3,500,000</td>
<td>Sumatra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banjarese</td>
<td>3,090,000</td>
<td>Kalimantan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buginese</td>
<td>3,900,000</td>
<td>Sulawesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balinese</td>
<td>3,800,000</td>
<td>Java and Bali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betawi</td>
<td>2,700,000</td>
<td>Java and Bali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THE BIG LANGUAGES?

"Restricting the definition of ‘endangered language’ to those languages with small speaker populations disguises the extent of the problem" (Florey 2005: 59)

"In spite of their large speech communities, the Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese languages are actually endangered in that some of their domains of usage are being taken over by Indonesian, and, to a lesser extent, in that they are not always passed on to the next generation." (Adelaar 2010: 25)

USE OF KRAMA

"What the statistics fail to show is that competence in using the polite form of the Javanese language is falling rapidly (G. Poedjosoedarmo 2006: 113)

Effects of Indonesian:
• confusion between Krama levels
• reduced vocabularies
• substitutions from Indonesian

"the most far reaching effect... is that many people, aware that they are not very competent at manipulating the levels, simply use the Indonesian language instead of Javanese in contexts where it is necessary to be formal and polite." (117)
CLASS AND GENDER


Patterns of children's use
- Girls use more Indonesian than boys
- At school, working class children use Indonesian with teachers, ngoko (Low Javanese) with classmates
- Middle class children primarily use Indonesian (especially girls)

Why?
- Parents’ (especially mother’s) attitudes
- Role of extended family network
- Exposure to broader range of linguistic influences
- Future orientation

SOCIAL ATTITUDES ON LINGUISTIC CHOICES

“Recent changes in possibilities for social and status mobility linked to language use have challenged traditional language ideologies and have led Javanese men and women to develop different language strategies and patterns of interaction.” (Smith-Hefner 2009: 37)

Together Smith-Hefner and Kurniasih’s studies paint a picture of pivotal language shift reflecting rapidly changing social attitudes and social goals, driven in particular by the expected language use patterns of middle class women and their daughters.

The parents and young adults in these studies are a pivot generation in terms of language shift (see also Ravindranath 2009)

IMPLICATIONS

It is generally agreed that Indonesian is a successful example of language planning and language standardization in the interest of nation building. But this has implications for local languages in Indonesia.

Even a “big” language like Javanese can be endangered.

The big languages have certain advantages (official recognition, previous documentation, a more diverse speaker population), but size alone does not predict whether intergenerational transmission is occurring.
NEXT STEPS

Raise awareness
• to local linguistic communities
Although as Smith-Hefner points out, goals of members of a community may be far from homogeneous
• to those in a position to make educational and linguistic policy decisions

PROJECTS

Kuesioner Penggunaan Bahasa Sehari-hari (Collaborative project with PKBB, Atma Jaya, Jakarta Field Station, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology)
• Questionnaire about everyday language use – to get a broad overview and look at conditioning factors – providing link between individual choices and community level decisions
• developed to be used throughout Indonesia
• questions about personal and linguistic history, language use, parents, grandparents linguistic history, and language attitudes
• available online or in hard copy, self-reporting or interview

http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/jakarta/kuesioner.php

Basa Urang Project
• Collaborative project with colleagues at UPI Bandung, look at use and attitudes about Sundanese, 3rd most widely spoken language with about 27 million speakers
• Interviews conducted in Sundanese by Sundanese speaking students, carried out in 3 villages and Bandung
• including open-ended language attitude questions, story telling exercise, family tree exercise and language use questionnaire

CONCLUSIONS

Grimes (1996: 724) “The question people face is, should Indonesian be a force for unity at the expense of the diversity of existing languages and cultures, or should national unity be built on a foundation that accommodates and appreciates ethnolinguistic diversity?”

SELECTED REFERENCES


Musgrave, Simon. n.d. Language shift and language maintenance in Indonesia. La Trobe University ms.


FEEDBACK

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Thanks!