

EMPOWERMENT AND PRESERVATION OF LOCAL LANGUAGES

by Udayana University

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PROCEEDINGS

The 1st International Conference on Local Languages



EMPOWERMENT AND PRESERVATION OF LOCAL LANGUAGES

Bali, 23 – 24 February 2018

Faculty of Arts, Udayana University

Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

PROCEEDINGS

THE 1ST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON LOCAL LANGUAGES

EMPOWERMENT AND PRESERVATION OF LOCAL LANGUAGES

Editors

I Nengah Sudipa
Ida Bagus Putra Yadnya
Made Budiarsa
I Nyoman Darma Putra

Udayana University
Denpasar, 23—24 February 2018

¹
“Empowerment and Preservation of Local Languages”

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Editors

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PREFACE

This proceedings contain 117 papers that cover various range of topics on local languages and beyond, most of them based on current research. We thanks to invited speakers and paper presenters for their enthusiasm in supporting the 1st International Conference on Local Languages (ICLL) 2018. We believe that the papers not only will encourage productive discussion among presenters and participants but also inspire further research in the respected field.

It is a great pleasure for us to welcome you in our conference, here at the Faculty of Arts, Udayana University. It is perhaps the first conference for most of us to attend in the New Year 2018, before other academic activities, research, and conferences alike are filling up our time table ahead.

We deeply thanks to your support to come and share your knowledge and expertise to our conference. Your presence and contribution did make our conference a great success.

Our conference on local language is a continuation of the conference on *bahasa Ibu* (Mother Tongue) which held annually by Postgraduate Linguistics Program, Udayana University, for ten times consecutively. This year marked the new face of the conference as we uplifted it from national into international conference.

Despite the change in the level and scope, we maintain the focus and the date of the conference which are on local language and in February, the important month to the international spirit of preserving and developing of local languages.

In 1999, UNESCO declared 21 February as International Mother Language Day (IMLD). IMLD was established to help preserve local languages from the possibility of extinction or marginalisation, but also to promote global awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity.

Since then, a lot of research has focused on the existence and linguistic uniqueness of local languages. Despite this, more effort and research is needed that not only focuses on UNESCO's mission, but ensures the sustainability and life of local languages.

International Conference on Local Languages (ICLL) is a scientific forum dedicated to empowering and preserving local languages. The aim of the conference is to provide an opportunity for academics, researchers and students from various disciplines to share their expertise, concerns, and research results in preserving and promoting local languages.

The conference is purposely organised in February 2018 in order to bring UNESCO's mission of respecting local languages into a productive scientific exchange.

The committee have selected eight related and challenging topics for the conference as listed below.

1. Exploration on the universality and uniqueness (phonology, morphology, and syntax) of local languages

2. Socio-cultural dimension of local languages as a resource of culture and strengthening identity in global era
3. Language policy and national language development, in the context of preservation of local languages as mother language and indigenous languages
4. Multilingual and multicultural dilemma in the preservation of local languages and national language
5. Strategies of empowering local languages through education channels
6. Translation as an effort to empower and preserve local languages
7. Empowerment of literature and oral tradition as pillars of local languages sustainability and viability
8. The use of Communication and Information Technology (CIT) in the preservation of local language and literature as well as language creative industries

We have received a lot of support to held this conference and therefore it is time for us to thanks them all. Firstly, to Prof. A.A. Raka Sudewi the Rector of Udayana University and Prof. Luh Sutjiati Beratha, M.A. the Dean of Faculty of Arts, for their all support and guidance.

Secondly, to our invited speakers including A/Prof. Dr. Hara Mayuko (Osaka University), Prof. Luke Kang Kwong Kapathy (Nanyang Technological University), Prof. Dr. Cece Sobarna, M.Hum. (Padjadjaran University), Dr. F.X. Rahyono, M.Hum. (University of Indonesia), Prof. Dr. I Nyoman Darma Putra, M.Litt. (Udayana University), and Prof. Dr. I Nyoman Sedeng, M.Hum. (Udayana University).

Thirdly, to member of international advisory board including Prof. Ben Ambridge (The University of Liverpool, UK), Prof. David Bradley (La Trobe University, Australia), Prof. Clifton Pye (The University of Kansas, America), Dr. Richard Fox (University of Heidelberg, Germany), Dr. Thomas M. Hunter (The University of British Columbia, Canada), Dr. Dwi Noverini Djenar (The University of Sydney, Australia), Dr. I Wayan Arka (Australian National University).

Fourthly, to both Dr. Made Sri Satyawati, M.Hum. and Prof. Ketut Artawa, M.A., Ph.D. as the head of the Masters and Doctoral Programs of Linguistics, Faculty of Arts, Udayana University, respectively, and to Prof. Dr. Made Budiarsa, M.A., head of Local Languages Researcher Association, for valuable their scientific advise and daily encouragement to make this conference happened.

Last but not least my appreciation are due to all committee member of the conference who have been untiringly make the conference happened as expected.

Denpasar, 23 February 2018
Head of the Conference Committee

Ida Ayu Laksmi Sari

3 Message from the Dean of Faculty of Arts, Udayana University

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God, the Almighty, has blessed us that the Proceedings of the International Conference on Local Languages (ICLL) could be completed in time. The conference of Local Languages has been conducted for ten times since 2008. The theme of ICLL this year is Empowerment and Preservation of Local Languages. This theme becomes important because since the year of 2000, the International Mother Language Day has been recognized all over the world, and through UNESCO recognition, the language day has got its international status. The declaration of this would help preserve all the local languages of the world and that diversity of languages is important for the maintenance of cultural identity and distinction.

The International Mother Language Day is celebrated on 21th February every year which highlights the importance of linguistic identity. We are really proud that we have achieved something that has global acceptance and that ICLL is the celebration of International Mother Language Day.

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In this opportunity I would like to express my gratitude to the Head of Master and Ph.D Programs in Linguistics for their supports, advice, and valuable guidance for the smooth running of this conference. My sincere appreciation is expressed to the Head of Local Language Researchers' Association for the collaboration that has been established with Linguistics Department, Faculty of Arts Udayana University. My gratitude is also extended to all speakers for their participation in this conference. I would like to express my biggest thanks to the committee of the conference who have worked hard to plan and prepare this conference. Finally, I hope that this conference will be beneficial to everyone.

Denpasar, 5 January 2018

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Prof. Dr. Ni Luh Sutjiati Beratha, M.A.
NIP. 195909171984032002

Message from The Rector of Udayana University

Om Swastiastu, May God bless us all

First of all, I would like to invite all of you to ³ express our gratitude to Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa (God, the Almighty) because without God's permission, the International Conference on Local Languages (ICLL) would not possible to be conducted and this proceeding as documentation of scientific publication from the speakers would not be finished in time.

Secondly, allow me to express my greatest appreciation, to the Faculty of Arts, especially the Master and Doctoral Programs in Linguistics can implement one of its flagship programs, the International Conference on Local Languages which this year was held for the first time. However, this internationally is a continuation of the national seminar on mother (*Seminar Nasional Bahasa Ibu*) that had been annually held consecutively in the past ten years.

I am also very happy that this scientific activity attended by speakers and participants from various regions in Indonesia as well as from other countries. These facts contributed to the importance, quality and international level of the conference.

As the Rector of Udayana University, I trusted that the papers presented and compiled in this proceedings could contribute to the development of both the body of knowledge and research activities on local languages. In addition, it also contributed to the global attempts in preserving local languages.

²⁹
Om Shanti, Shanti, Shanti, Om

Denpasar, 8 January 2018

¹¹
Prof. Dr. dr. A.A. Raka Sudewi, Sp.S (K)

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LINGUISTIC IDEOLOGY AND MULTI-IDENTITY (RE)CONSTRUCTION: A CASE STUDY OF THE MANGGARAI-FLORES DIASPORA IN BALI

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Abstract

This paper reports our study investigating to what extent language ideology constitutes a distinct unified system in the construction of identity in the Manggarai diasporic group in Bali, in the context of language maintenance in multi-ethnic diglossic situations. The findings are the following: (i) the Manggarai diaspora in Bali consists of various ethnic-linguistic groups, giving rise to a picture of diglossic language situation, mirroring how the Flores languages relate to each other in their place of origin; (ii) the minority languages mark as an internal Manggarian sub-group identity; (iii) they are under pressure from the national language (Indonesian) and Manggarai Tengah; (iv) Manggarai Tengah serves as a lingua franca that provides an external identity, and (v) the minority Flores languages do not play a significant role as identity markers in Bali. Further, our data shows that multilingualism and diglossia within the Manggarai diaspora is unstable. The findings highlight the challenges to maintain multilingual stability in a diglossic environment for diaspora minority groups.

Keywords: *language ideology, multilingualism, identity, diaspora, language maintenance*

1. Introduction^{1*}

This paper elaborates on data acquired in a case study concerning linguistic ideology (Duranti 2011) and multi-identity (re)construction (Errington 1998, Kuipers 1998) among the Manggarai diaspora in Bali, and how these issues relate to affiliations with sociolinguistic identities in multilingual Flores. With regard to the diaspora, the issue of language preservation is very important, because the sustainable use of language is one of the main symbolic tools of identity marking of an ethnic-linguistic group (Crystal, 2000). There exists a body of research on the languages of the Manggarai ethnic groups, including Fernandes (1996), Porat (1996), Suparsa (2008), Kosmas (2008) and Arka (2016), but none of these researches specifically address the use of Manggarai languages in Manggarai diaspora communities anywhere in Indonesia.

The study is motivated by the idea that language is one of the cultural sources that

¹ We thank Stefan Denerek for his kind help with the English translation and feedback on the earlier version. We also thank our Manggarai consultants in Bali (Antonius Rahu, Benyamin Ongkor, Ferdinandus Japa, Maria Sanna Sena, Maria Jelita Hewang, dan Elisabeth Ekaristi), who have kindly provided their data. All errors are ours.

construct identity at multiple levels. In the case of the Manggarai ethnic groups, it applies across multiple groupings. We are interested in the Manggarai minority languages: to what extent do they serve in the identity construction in diasporic context? We examine the use of language beyond a natural means of communication, looking at the language ideologies held by speakers, particularly as a binding fabric between the speakers of a certain group.

2. Research methods

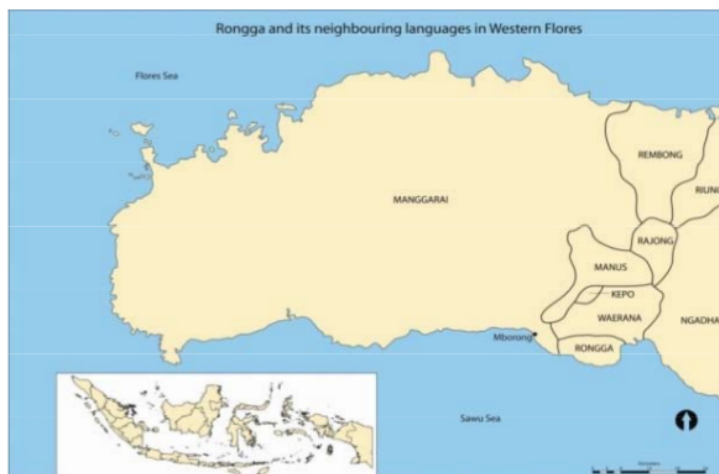
The research is of the qualitative-descriptive category and grounded in a phenomenological approach. This approach was chosen because the research data, in the form of actions and description of sentences, are in accordance with the object of research (Milles and Huberman, 2009: 15). Data for this study have been collected through observation, field notes, literature review, questionnaires, interviews and recordings. The bulk of the data was acquired from Manggarai people residing in Denpasar, Bali, of adults of various ages, and also of the younger generation.

3. Research Results and Discussion

3.1 The Manggarai Ethnic Community

The Indonesian nation is linguistically and culturally pluralistic. In Flores there are about a dozen ethnic-linguistic groups: Manggarai, Riung, Ngadha, Nage/Keo, Ende, Lio, Sikka, Kedang and Lamaholot. Flores people also live on the neighbouring islands such as in Adonara and Lembata. Their shared history and origins bring these groups together as Flores people (Mbate 2006: 2). All Flores languages are Austronesian.

There are currently eight administrative districts in Flores. The distribution of ethnic and linguistic groups only partially correlates with the geographic clustering of districts. For example, in western Flores the Manggarai ethnic group dominate three districts (West Manggarai, Manggarai and East Manggarai).



Map7:Manggarai and minority languages in western Flores (Arka 2005)

Manggarai ethnicity is not the same as, neither equally distributed among, Manggarai language and Manggarai identity. There differences in terms of geographic distribution; Manggarai tribes are generally those that lived in the area of the Manggarai district, labelled 'Manggarai' in Map 1, before it was expanded. Manggarai language is, however, spoken outside of this area. It is also spoken near the border to Ngada, shown in Map 1 with the languages Rembong, Riung, Rajong, Kepo, Waerana and Rongga. This area is today part of the East Manggarai district. While these minorities differ ethnically from the majority Manggarai, they are multilingual, using both their own languages and Manggarai. Therefore Manggarai serves as a regional lingua franca.

The Manggarai language is significantly different from minority languages like Rongga. Rongga and Manggarai are not mutually understood. Manggarai people do not speak the minority languages, but the minorities speak Manggarai. Such asymmetrical situations are not unique to western Flores.

The Manggarai people have historically dominated the smaller ethnic groups. It is therefore not surprising that these minorities also share in a Manggarai identity, especially outside of Flores. This is demonstrated by the fact that they speak Manggarai. This is an example of multi-identity, in which language plays an important role in bringing people with different ethnic backgrounds together.

This is in line with Fishman (1972) who defines a language community as a community in which members at least recognize one variation of the languages with their norms, and Gumperz (1972), who states that if speakers understand each other's knowledge of the constraints and forms of communicative choice in socially specific situations, they belong to the same language community. The conditions in western Flores have led to a diglossic situation where Manggarai has higher status than the minority languages. This is also true for the Manggarai diaspora group in Bali discussed below.

3.2 The Manggarai Diaspora and Manggarai Identities in Bali

The term diaspora refers to the spread or movement of ethnic or community populations from their native lands. The Manggarai diaspora is synonymous with the culture attached to the Manggarai people as migrants, mostly coming for educational and employment reasons. Their numbers are estimated to reach 7,000 people from different parts of western Flores.¹ The peculiarities among them as ethnic Manggarai groups are expressed in the form of language and in physical form in traditions, such as rituals and performing arts.

Seen from the aspect of language, they are a community of minority languages that illustrate the situation of diglossia, because the Manggarai in Bali are multilingual. They master their own West Flores language and/or Manggarai, Indonesian, and even Balinese. All age groups, from children to seniors, experience this diglossic situation. It also occurs that children do not know their mother's tongue well, if at all, instead they learn and speak

¹ Data from an interview with Antonius Rahu in Denpasar, Bali, 2 September 2017.

Balinese.¹ This condition occurs when the language choice depend on the situation, if they interact primarily with their own ethnic group, they use their own minority language, but often mixed with Indonesian. Meanwhile, if they interact with other Manggarai ethnic groups, they use the language of central Manggarai or Indonesian. Similarly, if they interact with other ethnic groups in Indonesia, including the Balinese, they use Indonesian, also mixed with Balinese.² The language that is more likely to be used by diaspora Manggarai in Bali in everyday communication is Indonesian. Nevertheless, they still retain their local culture and language as identity markers, although only used in certain situations. The above is based on remarks of respondents to questions about their existence as Manggarai ethnic groups in both linguistic and non-linguistic ecology. Non-linguistically, 100% of them agree that they are proud to be Manggarai people, educated and raised with Manggarai culture and customs. 100% of respondents do not agree to criticize the culture of others rather than criticize their own culture, which means that they appreciate the culture of others, including the Balinese. 71.25% of respondents believed that their children should be able to speak, read and write in Manggarai, 18.62% gave neutral replies, and 10.13% disagreed.

Linguistically, the mother tongue is still a choice of language in everyday communication at home and with family (51.24%), together with Indonesian. The use of Indonesian in everyday communication dominates in various domains, except at home/with family, the setting where its use is almost as common as the Manggarai mother tongue variety. The details of Indonesian language use in various domains are: at home (49.76%), at school (93.75%), at work (54.06%), at place of worship (95.24%), and with friends (73.33%). In addition, the use of Balinese language is also an option for communication at the workplace (40.90%) and with friends (10.03%). The use of Balinese language is because of interaction with the Balinese-speaking majority.

The mentioned data shows that Indonesian is the most important language for the Manggarai diaspora in Bali in daily communication in various domains. The respondents answered that they use more Indonesian because they feel comfortable with that, and because they realise that many other ethnic groups than the Balinese also live in Bali. The use of Indonesian is very important to facilitate communication in interaction with people who are not from West Flores. It is further claimed that the use of Indonesian is seen as more simple, communicative and participatory than using their own language. This indicates that the languages of ethnic diaspora are primarily being displaced by the use of Indonesian.

3.4 *The Role of Language as a Distinguishing and Unifying System in Multi Identity Construction of Manggarai Diaspora in Bali* (Re)

Language ideology can be understood as values shared by members of the (dominant) group that always determine and disseminate ideology, so that the group members receive

1 Based on the interview with Mr. Benjamin Ongkor, age (40 years) in Denpasar, 25 August 2017.

2 Based on interviews with Benyamin Ongkor, Antonius Rahu, Fernandus Japa (25 years), and Maria Jelika Hwang (22 years) in Denpasar, 26 August 2017.

power as something legitimate and valid (cf. van Dijk in Eriyanto 2002: 348). The process of dispersal, among others, involves social cognition as part of an important social structure. Basically, language ideology is how speakers think of their language, including the Manggarai diaspora in Bali. The issue of identity is a matter of similarities and differences, between personal and social groups, “about what you have in common with some people and what sets you apart from others” (Weeks 1990: 89).

Castelles (2009) considers that “[t]he construction of identities uses building materials from history, from geography, from biology, from productive and reproductive institutions, from collective memory and from personal fantasies, from power apparatuses and religious revelations”. He views identity from the level of the community, and interprets identity as something collective rather than individual. The concept of identity is described as a group concept that is affirmed within the individual. There is a sense of belonging and a sense of difference that is self-construed, which means that identity is first at the level of the individual level and may be different with other identities. Identity can be understood as a social construction derived from various ethnicities and cultures including languages. Holmes (2001) considers that if a language is considered as an identity symbol of a minority language group, then the language will survive for a long time, which should then be the case for the diaspora Manggarai in Bali. The linguistic survival gives them identity, both internally and externally.

4.3.1 The Role of Language as Internal Distinguishing Identity Among Diaspora Manggarai in Bali

Speaking of identity cannot be separated from how it is socially constructed, and the role of language is very important to arrive at an understanding of the concept. Without language, the concepts of individuals and identity are incomprehensible, because language marks the identity of a group or an ethnicity in a society. Therefore, the relationship between language and ethnicity is very close. The close connection occurs exactly because language is used to construct ethnic identities (Fought 2006: 21). Fought explains that a heritage language can be a source of pride and a cultural sign that shows that the language of pride can bind its speakers together as a community.

The Manggarai language is a language of inheritance for the Manggarai diaspora. The community system and the customs of the local culture have been revealed and passed on by generations in the local Manggarai language. It naturally has a very important role and function, as a glue of unity for the Manggarai people, as a means of intra-ethnic verbal communication and interaction that records and transmits culture between generation, as a means of expressing their culture and values, including the verbal arts in oral traditions. In addition, the ethnic mother language is a distinguishing feature between ethnicities within Manggarai itself, in Flores, and, further, in Indonesia generally.

The Manggarai languages, according to Verheijen (1991: 15-16), refer to the language group consisting of Komodo (*wita*) on Komodo Island, Waerana (*mbaen*), southeast Manggarai,

Rembong (*pae*) in the region of Rembong, Rajong, special Manggarai (*toe*) languages, and Rongga (*mbaen*). One distinguishing feature between these languages is the word of denial (“no”). Each of these languages provides an internal identity that has built the values, norms, and expressive symbols that are socially bonding. Each ethnic-linguistic group has its own history, culture, and relationships with the others through blood and kinship relations, which forms the bonds of a larger West Flores ethnic community. As ethnic communities they have indigenous arrangements of communication concerning customs, kinship, and common rules inherited from the ancestors. The sense of belonging and social sanctity that ties the Manggarai diaspora in Bali together as an ethnic group is intimately connected to their common Manggarai language.

Manggarai dialects share certain properties, e.g. the similarity of the usage of the phoneme /e/ and lexical similarities such as the word *toe* ‘no’, *mai* ‘let’s’, and *duat* ‘agricultural work’, which all derive from the vocabulary of central Manggarai. The word *toe* is a marker of denial in central Manggarai. The shared vocabulary in the above examples serves to that central Manggarai is the dominant language in the Manggarai region, and that it has influenced the other minority languages. The central Manggarai language is used as lingua franca by the Manggarai diaspora in Bali, which is further discussed below.

4.3.2 The Role of Language as External Identity and Unifier Among Manggarai Diaspora in Bali

The Manggarai diaspora in Bali are carriers of a diversity of languages and cultures. They are also multilingual, and pluralistic in terms of language and culture. They are able to knit a unity in a common Manggarai identity in the midst of the surrounding diversity. The dominant language of central Manggarai, as a lingua franca, primarily forms the unity, providing a sense of belonging and a common distinct identity. The use of central Manggarai as a lingua franca by its speakers enables the Manggarai speakers to differentiate themselves from other social-linguistic communities in Bali. The central Manggarai, also called *to’e*, is spoken by almost all people in the different Manggarai regions. This has also to do with the influence of the Catholic mission and the government agencies of the Manggarai district that are all centred in Ruteng.

The language situation of the Manggarai diaspora in Bali is similar to the sociolinguistic situation in West Flores, with shift to Indonesian. This is caused by various factors from non-linguistic ecology, such as religious, historical, geographical mobility and Social-psychological and economical factors. For example, religious activities and daily religiosity are more likely to use Indonesian, such as in Church sermons and religious propagation. In terms of social-psychological and economical factors, the mastering of Indonesian is prestigious and expected, because it is related to economic factors, work prospects, career and business that people have to adjust to in the modern life. The examples just mentioned indicate the weakening of the role of minority languages, because of language shift, as a marker of ethnic identity. Our

findings suggest that the language(s) of the Manggarai diaspora in Bali are undergoing a shift with an unstable diglossia.

4.3.3 Expressions of Manggarai Identities

The presence of the Manggarai diaspora in the melting pot of Bali has formed a set of values and norms with the Manggarai label. The merging of the Manggarai diaspora in Bali is a collective awareness built on ethnic differences. The differences are wrapped and labelled Manggarai, as a distinct community consisting of several sub-ethnic groups that indirectly form a collective consciousness. In general, the Manggarai diaspora in Bali, whether they are students or not, when bonding together they are more highlighting the Manggarai-ness of the different social groups compared with one's family.

A communal unity of the Manggarai is found in the social organisation Ikatan Keluarga Manggarai Bali (IKMB. 'Manggarai Bali Family Community). With this organisation, the Manggarai diaspora can get to know each other as members of a Manggarai community. In the bond of togetherness, they have a philosophy of life in the form of *go'et* (proverb) in relations with fellow human beings, express in the couplet *reje lele bantang cama* ("live to maintain unity and togetherness"). The phrase assumes that the Manggarai people must be one in mind, attitude and actions to maintain unity and togetherness. This is realised through various activities, reinforcing cultural traditions for the Manggarai diaspora; e.g. the performance of the Manggarai *caci* dance is one of the ways Manggarai people express their identity in Bali.

5. Conclusions

The Manggarai diaspora in Bali is a diverse ethnic community, with each ethnic subgroup having its own cultural and linguistic characteristics, illustrating the situation of unstable diglossia. The language they use defines both internal and external identities. Internally, the diaspora languages acts as a differentiator between fellow Manggarai, while the externally they are unified as ethnic Manggarai. They are able to knit unity in the diversity as Manggarai people, united by central Manggarai as lingua franca. The Manggarai diaspora language situation in Bali reflects the sociolinguistic situation among Flores language in Flores. Our study indicates that the (sub-)ethnic minority languages do not serve as an identity among the Manggarai diaspora in Bali in any significant way.

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