

Examining Language Attitudes and Ideologies in Naming Practices - The Case of Betawi

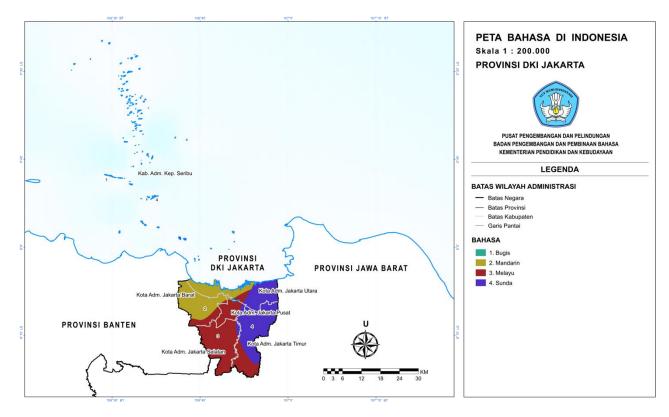


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What is Betawi?



Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa

Lexifier: Malay | Indonesian

Other Source Languages: Sundanese, Balinese, Javanese, Hokkien, Arabic, Dutch, Portuguese

Threatened (6b) Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)

(Ethnologue)

Significance of Studying Betawi in Creolistics

- Previous frameworks focus heavily on European-lexified creoles
- Betawi has been largely understudied in the field of creolistics
- Betawi is a threatened language at risk of further endangerment with the sinking of Jakarta
 - Environmental damages as a result of colonization
 - Betawi embodies the connection between colonialism to ongoing climate change crisis and language endangerment.

Documentary on Jakarta's sinking:



Research Question

Do different labels for Betawi reflect different language attitudes? If so, which labels are used by who?

Framework: Léglise & Migge 2006

- « Names for languages (or people) are never neutral » (1)
- Local linguistic market (Bourdieu 1982) (3)?
- Takitaki: Out-group, in-group designation (19)

Who names a language what, and what does that tell us about the language attitudes of that group relative to the language?

Framework: Knörr 2018

- Phonetic reference to creole identity (17)
- Indigenization (15)
- Identity creation (15)

Can we also extend this to phonetic reference of a creole's proximity to its lexifer?

o e.g., Kristang, Papiamentu, HC, Kriolu, vs. Jakarta Malay, Betawi Malay

Comparing Indonesian and Betawi: « Just » a dialect?

Betawi

Ketike itu datenglah Yesus dari Nazaret di tanah Galilea, dan Die dipaptis di sungai Yordan ame Yohanes. Ketike Die keluar dari aer, Die ngeliat langit robek dan Roh kayak burung merpati turun ke atas-Nye. Lalu kedengeran suare dari sorge: « Elo Anak Aye yang Aye kasihi, kepada Elo Aye berkenan »

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Betawi language)

Indonesian

Pada masa itu datanglah Yesus dari Nazaret di tanah Galilea, lalu Yahya membaptiskan Dia di dalam Sungai Yarden. Maka ketika la naik keluar dari air itu, dilihat-Nya langi terbelah, serta Roh Allah turun ke atas-Nya seperti seekor burung merpati. Lalu kedengaranlah suatu suara dari langit, mengatakan, Engkau inilah Anak-Ku yang Kukasihi, kepada-Mu juga Aku berkenan!

(https://biblehub.com/tl/mark/1.htm)

Swadesh

Yellow highlighting indicates lexical similarity.

Blue highlighting indicates unique Indonesian enclitic markers (no attested Betawi equivalent).



Contemporary Language Ecology

Second-half of 20th century:

Betawi — Standard Indonesian

Jakarta Indonesian (Wallace 1976)

Today: Bidirectional?

Betawi ← Jakarta Indonesian

(Abtahian, Cohn, Djenar, Vogel 2021)

Other languages present:

- Javanese
- Sundanese
- Buginese
- Chinese (Hokkien)

Understudied Language

- Wallace 1976: Phonological changes & age-grading
- Ikranagara 1980: Descriptive fieldwork grammar
- Muhadjir 1981: Morphological reduplication and affixation of Betawi
- Kurniawan 2018: Phonological variation in Jakarta Indonesian (contact variety formed, in part, by Betawi)

Previous Studies: Language Attitudes in the Community

- Wouk 1989: Betawi associated with low socio-economic status (8)
- Lakawa & Walaretina 2018: positive language attitudes
- Nur, Lukman, Kaharuddin, & Dafirah 2021: negative language attitudes

| | Lakawa & Walaretina 2018 | Nur, Lukman, Kaharuddin, & Dafirah 2021 |
|--------|-----------------------------|---|
| Gender | 100% M | 54% M 46% F |
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| | Lakawa & Walaretina 2018 | Nur, Lukman, Kaharuddin, & Dafirah 2021 |
|-----------|---|---|
| Gender | 100% M | 54% M 46% F |
| Age | 32-65 | 15-24 |
| Geography | Betawi Cultural Village (Setu Babakan) | Betawi Cultural Village (Setu Babakan) |

| | Lakawa & Walaretina 2018 | Nur, Lukman, Kaharuddin, & Dafirah 2021 | | |
|----------------------|---|---|--|--|
| Gender | 100% M | 54% M 46% F | | |
| Age | 32-65 | 15-24 | | |
| Geography | Betawi Cultural Village (Setu Babakan) | Betawi Cultural Village (Setu Babakan) | | |
| Language Atittude | Positive | 48% held explicitly negative language attitudes (language of old people, not practical in contemporary Jakarta) | | |

Revisiting the Research Question

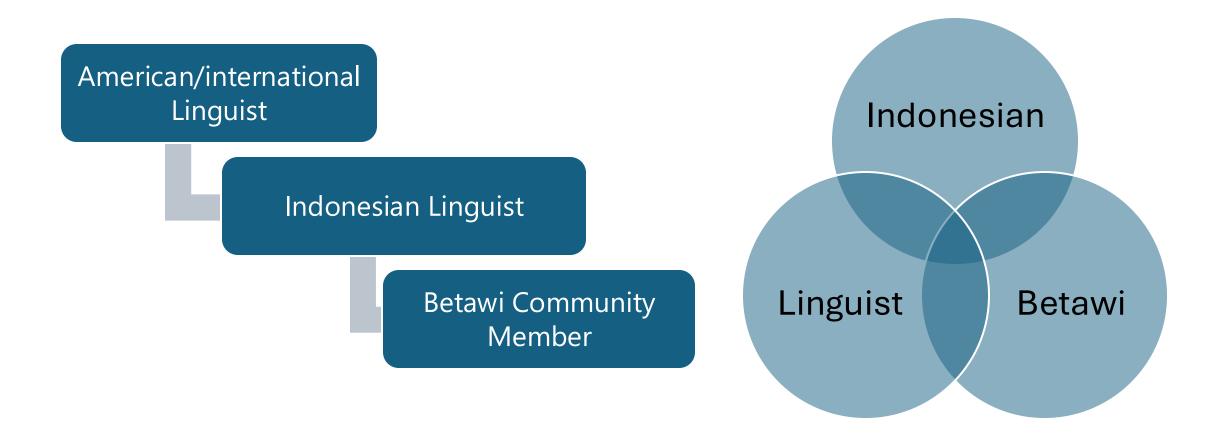
Do different labels for Betawi reflect different language attitudes? If so, which labels are used by who?

- 1. In-group, out-group?
- 2. Age?
- 3. Gender

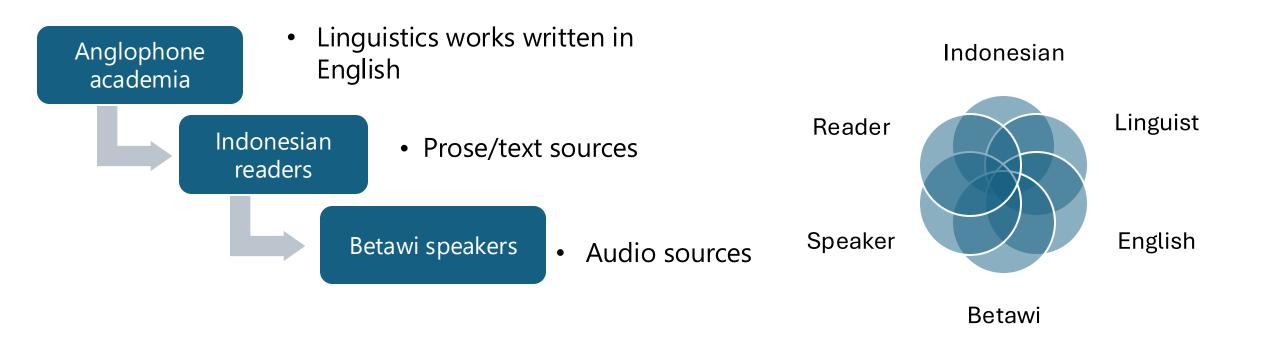
Methodology

- Comparing the naming of Betawi across sources produced by
 - Betawi linguists and community members
 - Indonesian government/linguists
 - Americans and international community members
- Comparing the naming of Betawi across sources produced for
 - In-community use
 - Broader national use
 - Anglophone academia
 - Digital global community

Approximating distance to in-group: Authorship



Approximating distance to in-group: Audience



| Wallace 1976 | Dissertation on phonological change | American researcher | Anglophone academia | Jakarta Malay |
|------------------------------------|--|---|--|------------------------------------|
| Ikranagara 1980 | Descriptive grammar | American researcher | Academia | Melayu Betawi |
| Muhadjir 1981 | Scholarly work on morphology* | Ethnicity unknown. Indonesian national** | Anglophone academia | Jakarta Malay Jakarta dialect |
| Ikranagara 1988 | Indonesian translation of Ikranagara 1980 | American researcher | Academia | Bahasa Melayu Betawi |
| Chaer 2009 | Indonesian-Betawi dictionary | Betawi Indonesian linguist | Indonesian-readers | Dialek Jakarta |
| Kemdikbud 2019 | Government aticle about Abdul Chaer | Unknown individual, published to Indonesian goverment website | Indonesian-readers | Dialek Betawi |
| Fazriansyah 2020 | YouTube entertainment video | Betawi Indonesian community member | Betawi speakers | Betawi |
| LensSkit 2020 | YouTube entertainment video | Ethnicity unknown. Indonesian national** | Betawi speakers | Bahasa budaya Betawi*** |
| Chaer 2023 | Indonesian-Betawi dictionary | Betawi Indonesian linguist | Indonesian-readers (Indonesian prose) | Bahasa Betawi Betawi-Melayu**** |
| Peta Bahasa n.d. (Language Map) | Visual display of language ecology in Jakarta | Indonesian Government | Indonesian-readers (Indonesian prose) | Melayu |
| | | | | 10 |

Authorship

Function/Description

Source

Language Label Used

Intended Audience

| | - | | | |
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| | | | | 20 |

Authorship

Function/Description

Source

Language Label Used

Intended Audience

Audience: Academia

- All names present Betawi as a type of Malay
 - Jakarta Malay
 - o (Bahasa) Melayu Betawi (Betawi Malay (Language))
 - Jakarta dialect (same term also used to refer to Jakarta Indonesian)
 - Similar to calling Haitian Creole « Haitian French » or Cape Verdean
 « Cape Verdean Portuguese »

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| | | | | 22 |

Intended Audience

Authorship

Function/Description

Source

Language Label Used

Audience: Indonesian community

- Dialect
 - Dialek Jakarta
 - o Dialek Betawi
- Language
 - Bahasa Betawi
 - Melayu
- Betawi-Melayu

« A language is a dialect with an army and navy » - Weinreich 1945

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Audience: Betawi community

- Betawi as a distinct and independent language
- Explicit connection between language and cultural identity
 - Bahasa budaya Betawi (lit. Language culture Betawi) or Betawi cultural language
- Distinction between community name and older/government label
 - Betawi Melayu was the name of an ancient (no date given...)
 manuscript housed within the national library of Indonesia (Chaer 2023 xii)

Naming « Gradient »

```
(Independent) Language
        Bahasa Betawi
        Betawi
Variety of Lexifier/Dialect
       Bahasa Melayu Betawi
        Jakarta Malay
        Jakarta dialect
Lexifier
       Melayu
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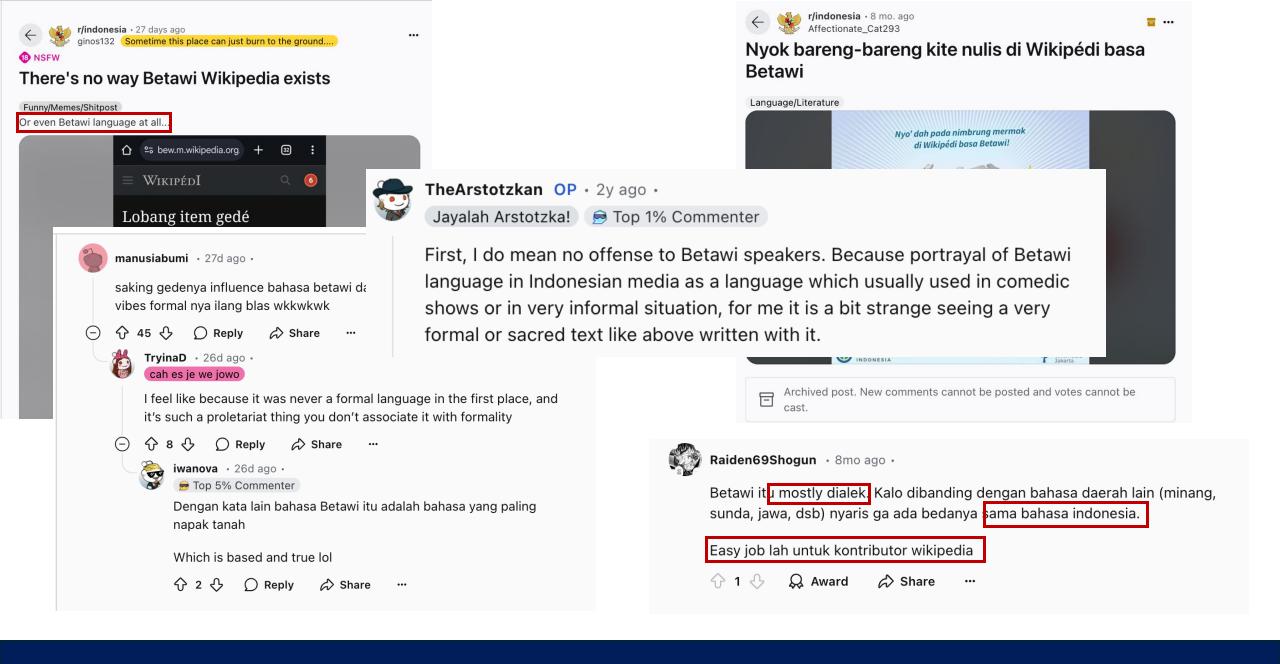
Findings

- Out-group sources tended to classify Betawi as a variety of Malay or as a dialect
- In-group sources referred to it as either « Betawi, » « Bahasa Betawi, » (Indonesian), or « Basa/Base Betawi » (Betawi)
- Coinciding splits with domain of source
 - Function in formal domains tended to label the language as a dialect or variety of Malay. Function in informal domains tended to label the language as independent.
 - Out-group authorship tended to coincide with formal domain functions.

Newly Published Data: Preliminary Findings & Social Media Reactions

- BewWiki
 - Explicitly a preservation project
 - « Encourage people to use the language in a broader field »
 (https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/Requests_for_new_languages/Wikipedia_Betawi)





Haji Abdul Chaer Meluruskan Persepsi Keliru terhadap Budaya Betawi

By ditwdb / October 30, 2019

Abdul Chaer adalah seorang linguis yang memberikan perhatian pada bahasa dan budaya Betawi. Ia menulis empat kamus dan 41 buku yang banyak mengupas bahasa dan budaya Betawi, antara lain, Kamus Dialek Jakarta dan Folklor Betawi. Atas kepeduliannya tersebut, pensiunan lektor kepala mata kuliah lingustik pada Universitas Negeri Jakarta ini menerima penghargaan Anugerah Kebudayaan kategori Pelestari dari Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2019.

(https://kebudayaan.kemdikbud.go.id/ditwdb/haji-abdul-chaer-meluruskan-persepsi-keliru-terhadap-budaya-betawi/)

« Banyak film, lenong di teve, dan penampilan stand up komedi yang menyajikan humor Betawi dengan cara mengejek, merendahkan sesama dan menggambarkan orang Betawi yang bodoh. » (« Portray Betawi people as stupid »)

Translating this to language attitudes?

- Not able to definitively determine whether specific labels are associated with « positive » or « negative » attitudes without comprehensive input from heritage speakers (coming in 2025)
- Impressionistically, in-group terms are not used in formal contexts or by authors of non-Betawi descent
 - o In-group/out-group marker?
 - Formality
 - Condescension

Discussion and Extensions

- Naming practices for creoles vs. non-standardized varieties and dialects
 - Creole exceptionalism (DeGraff 2003) -> Does labelling a language as « creole » or non-creole impact how the naming practices take shape?
- Variation and creolistics
 - How do naming practices of non-standardized varieties and of creole languages impact the way we recognize and study variation within creolistics?
- Speaker agency: Adopting the use of speaker terminology in more contexts

Acknowledgements

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