

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES, SHIFT, AND MAINTENANCE: A CASE STUDY OF JAKARTA CHINESE INDONESIANS

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Abstract

Indonesia is a multilingual country with over 700 languages spoken by various cultural groups. Language shift and maintenance are two intriguing phenomena to study in a multilingual society. Studies focusing on language shift and maintenance in Indonesia have been conducted for more than two decades. Nevertheless, limited studies have been found regarding the language of co-existing ethnics who have lived in Indonesia for more than two generations, such as Arabic or Chinese. Chinese descents in Indonesia speak Chinese languages/dialects, such as Hakka, Teochew, and Hokkien (CHL, hereafter). This study aims to explore the Jakartan Chinese Indonesians' language attitudes, shift, and maintenance of CHL, and the contributing factors to the phenomena. This research adopted a mixed-method approach. The data were collected from 100 young respondents who reside in West Jakarta and North Jakarta. The data were collected using a questionnaire adapted from Cohn et al. (2013) and Ryan and Giles's (1982) language indexes and in-depth interviews. The questionnaire data were analyzed using descriptive statistics, and the interview data were analyzed using thematic analysis. The result showed that the majority of the young Jakartan Chinese Indonesians have shifted to Indonesian, and only 9% of them still fully maintain the use of CHL in the family. English is more frequently used than CHL and mixed with Indonesian. This study found that the contributing factors to language shift are the language's domains and functionality and the family background. As for the family backgrounds, parents' place of birth or origin, parents' first language, parents' language attitude and policy at home, language contact with the extended family, and how the extended family values CHL are influential for language shift. The results implied an alarm for the CHL loss in the Jakartan Chinese community.

Keywords: language attitudes, language shift, language maintenance, Chinese Indonesian, heritage language

Abstrak

Indonesia merupakan negara multilingual dengan lebih dari 700 bahasa yang digunakan oleh beragam etnis. Dalam masyarakat multilingual, pergeseran dan pemertahanan bahasa merupakan dua fenomena yang lazim dan menarik untuk diteliti. Kajian tentang pergeseran dan pemertahanan bahasa-bahasa di Indonesia sudah dilakukan sejak lebih dari dua dekade yang lalu. Namun, belum banyak penelitian dilakukan terkait bahasa etnis lain yang juga digunakan oleh masyarakat keturunan yang lebih dari dua generasi lahir dan hidup di Indonesia, seperti bahasa Arab dan Cina. Masyarakat keturunan Tionghoa menggunakan bahasa/dialek Cina, seperti Hakka, Tiociu, dan Hokkian (selanjutnya disebut CHL). Penelitian tentang kondisi linguistik komunitas Tionghoa di Indonesia, termasuk pilihan penggunaan dan sikap bahasa belum banyak dilakukan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi pergeseran dan pemertahanan CHL dalam komunitas Tionghoa Indonesia dan faktor-faktor penyebabnya. Penelitian ini mengadopsi metode campuran, kuantitatif dan kualitatif. Pengumpulan data melibatkan 100 orang responden yang tinggal di Jakarta Barat dan Jakarta Utara dengan menggunakan kuesioner yang diadopsi dari Cohn et al. (2013)

dan indeks bahasa dari Ryan and Giles (1982) serta wawancara mendalam. Data dianalisis menggunakan statistik deskriptif dan wawancara dianalisis menggunakan analisis tematis. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa mayoritas orang Tionghoa Indonesia di Jakarta telah beralih ke bahasa Indonesia dan hanya 9% yang masih mempertahankan CHL dalam keluarga. Bahasa Inggris lebih sering digunakan dari pada CHL dan digunakan bersama bahasa Indonesia. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa faktor penyebab pergeseran bahasa adalah ranah dan fungsi bahasa serta latar belakang keluarga. Latar belakang keluarga meliputi bahasa pertama orang tua, sikap berbahasa orang tua, aturan berbahasa di rumah, kontak dengan keluarga besar, dan bagaimana keluarga besar menghargai CHL. Hasil penelitian ini berimplikasi pada peringatan akan punahnya CHL di komunitas Tionghoa Indonesia di Jakarta.

Kata kunci: sikap bahasa, pergeseran bahasa, pemertahanan bahasa, Cina Indonesia, bahasa warisan.

1 INTRODUCTION

Indonesia comprises many ethnic and cultural groups, each speaking its local language. More than 700 languages have been identified in the archipelago (<https://petabahasa.kemdikbud.go.id/>; Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2022), and thus, Indonesia is the second most linguistically diverse country in the world, after Papua New Guinea (Arka, 2013). Language diversity has led Indonesia to a dynamic language history. During the Second Indonesian Youth Congress on October 28, 1928, the young Indonesian nationalists were aware of the importance of the unity of Indonesia. They believed that language was one tool to unite Indonesians with different language backgrounds. Thus, the Indonesian language was introduced as the language of unity in the congress. Following Indonesia's independence in 1945, the language was promoted as the country's official language and has served as the language used in government offices and education (Nababan, 1991). Since then, most Indonesians have spoken Indonesian as a second language, and more recently, as a first language (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014).

The current Indonesian linguistic landscape has also been enriched by the existence of English, the most widely used language in the world, with more than 750 million speakers who learn it as a foreign language (Crystal, 2003). In addition to English, several foreign languages are also learned by some younger populations, such as Mandarin Chinese, Arabic, and Korean. Mandarin Chinese started to be taught at schools again in 1999 after President Abdurrahman Wahid – the fourth President of the Republic of Indonesia - abolished the New Order's policy which banned Chinese from being taught at schools. Moreover, Arabic is used for religious purposes and is mainly taught at Islam-based schools. The Korean language has been popular for the past decade because of Korean music and dramas.

In multilingual societies, language contact is inevitable. It is common for speakers of different language backgrounds to use a language, usually a more dominant language, that can facilitate communication and interactions among themselves, and the language is known as a language of wider communication, 'lingua franca.' When speakers decide to give up their language and use a more prominent language in society, a language shift happens (cf. Fasold, 1984; Mesthrie et al., 2009). In contrast, some speakers may continue using their language despite the presence of other languages, and when this happens, language maintenance is observed (cf. Mesthrie et al., 2009).

Language shift takes quite a long process, and factors which may contribute to the shift in one community is somewhat unpredictable. However, studies have shown that factors such as migration, language policy, politics, economics, social changes, parents' education levels, the nature of inter-ethnic or intra-ethnic marriages, negative language attitudes, and the context of one's upbringing could trigger language shift (e.g., Holmes, 2013; Michieka, 2012; Mesthrie et al., 2009). In contrast, language shift can also be slowed down under certain conditions, such as the existence of a minority group living in the ancestral, bilingualism as the result of colonial, a significant number of minority group speakers, members of the elite maintaining the language, the perspective that language is considered an essential symbol of a minority group's identity, and the closely knitted language users to their family and the homeland (Myers-Scotton, 2006; Holmes 2013).

As mentioned previously, one factor that may cause language shift is language attitudes. According to Crystal (2003), language attitude is "the people's way of feeling and receiving their language or other people's language" (p. 215). Language attitude reflects the attitude of the user and the uses of a particular language (Holmes, 2013), and it includes subjective evaluation from a language speaker (Myers-Scotton, 2006). People's positive attitude toward a particular language will promote the use of the language in society because language attitude reflects people's perception of language users and functions and the context of the language (Holmes, 2013). In evaluating an individual's reactions toward different language varieties and speakers, Ryan and Giles (1982) consider three elements: affective, cognitive, and behavioral indexes. The affective index shows an individual's favor for a language, language preference for specific purposes in a particular situation, desirability and reasons for using, acquiring, and learning a language, concerns for shifting or maintaining the language, and their enjoyment or comfort in using it. Meanwhile, the cognitive index exhibits the individual's language competence. The behavioral index reflects two aspects: behavioral intention and actual behavior. The behavioral intention is planning to learn a language for specific reasons, whereas the actual behavior is the current language practice.

Language attitudes, shift, and maintenance of local languages in Indonesia have been studied for more than two decades (e.g., Kurniasih, 2005; Smith-Hefner, 2009; Masruddin, 2013; Musgrave, 2014; Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014; Sukmawan, 2017; and Winarti, 2018). However, much study has yet to be done on other co-existing languages, such as Chinese and Arabic. Although Biro Pusat Statistik categorizes Chinese as a foreign language, many Chinese speakers speak Chinese dialects, such as Hakka, Teochew, and Hokkien, at home as their first language, just like speakers of indigenous languages. These languages are mainly used by the Chinese communities, and we refer to them as Chinese Heritage Languages (CHLs, hereafter).

The Indonesian Chinese community is an old ethnic group whose first immigrants from Mainland China have existed since the fourth century (Legge, 1886, as cited in Yudha, 2020). To the present day, this community has multiplied to several generations, positioned on the 18th rank of Indonesian ethnicity with a total population of 2,832,510 and primarily concentrated in Jakarta (Christian, 2017). The existence of the Chinese community tends to lead us to a discussion on their contribution to the Indonesian economy, how Indonesian politics restrain their culture and identity in the past, and the return of Chinese culture nowadays. The Chinese community has contributed a lot to Indonesian economic growth. Naisbitt (1997, as cited in Wulandari, 2001) portrays the Chinese population as only 3.5% of the total Indonesian population, but they control 73% of the Indonesian economy. Despite their being economically prosperous, there was an

abundance of discriminative government regulations and historical events that restraint the Chinese culture and identity throughout history, such as PP 10 during the Soekarno era in 1957, the 1965 communist cleansing, and 1998 anti-Chinese riots (Budianta, 2007). The assimilation rule during the New Order Era under President Soeharto banned Chinese cultural and linguistic (Chinese language, letters, literature, traditional performances) practices as well as religion (Freedman, 2003; Herwiratno, 2007). Although the Chinese culture in Indonesia is recultivated nowadays, the past regulation and events cause many Chinese youngsters nowadays to be nonchalant about the culture (Herwiratno, 2007). As language is also a part of cultural identity, the Indonesian linguistic dynamicity and the changes in ethnicity, political, and social conditions might have transformed the linguistic viewpoint of the Chinese communities.

While the studies on language shift and maintenance of Chinese immigrants overseas have been explored (Zhang, 2010), there are more needs to be done on the CHL attitudes, shift, and maintenance of Chinese Indonesians. The issue of language attitudes, shift, and maintenance of Chinese Indonesians, especially those who live in Jakarta, is compelling as Jakartan Chinese Indonesian is an old immigrant community whose descendants must have surpassed the third generation up to these days. Therefore, this research explores the Chinese Indonesians' language attitudes, whether they shift or maintain the language, and the contributing factors to language shift and maintenance. The results of this study may add to the literature concerning language shift and maintenance.

2 METHODOLOGY

This research adopted a mixed-method approach. The data were collected using a questionnaire and in-depth interviews. The writers adapted the questionnaire from Cohn et al. (2013) and Ryan and Giles's (1982) language indexes (cognitive, affective, and behavioral indexes). The writer selected the question items from Cohn et al. (2013) questionnaire, which only belong to those three indexes. The questionnaire contains questions about the participants' and their parents' demographic and linguistic backgrounds, as well as their attitudes toward CHL, Indonesian, and English. The questionnaire was presented in a Google Form and distributed to 100 young (aged between 18 and 30 years old) Chinese Indonesians who reside in North and West Jakarta, two areas known to have many Chinese descents in Jakarta. We adopted purposive and snowball sampling in gathering our respondents.

Following the questionnaire survey, nine participants were selected for an interview. They were selected based on whether they use CHL with their parents, as claimed in their responses to the questionnaire. Three of them fully used CHL with their parents; three did not use CHL with their parents at all; and the other three used CHL, Indonesian, and other languages with their parents or extended family members. The interview aimed to explore the participants' language use patterns and attitudes based on their responses to the questionnaire. This one-on-one in-depth interview was semi-structured and conducted via Zoom meetings; each lasted about 30 minutes.

To analyze the questionnaire data, we used descriptive statistics. The interview data were first transcribed and then coded using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method for "systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a dataset" (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 2012). This procedure assists the researchers to explore, draw lines on participants' meanings and experiences, and make sense of common

ground by focusing on the meaning of the dataset, not on the single items (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Next, commonalities of their responses were identified to answer the relevant research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2012). This study focuses on (i) the speakers' language attitudes based on the behavioral, cognitive, and affective indexes proposed by Ryan and Giles (1982), (ii) the evaluation of whether language shift or maintenance has occurred, and (iii) factors that contribute to the language shift or maintenance.

3 FINDINGS

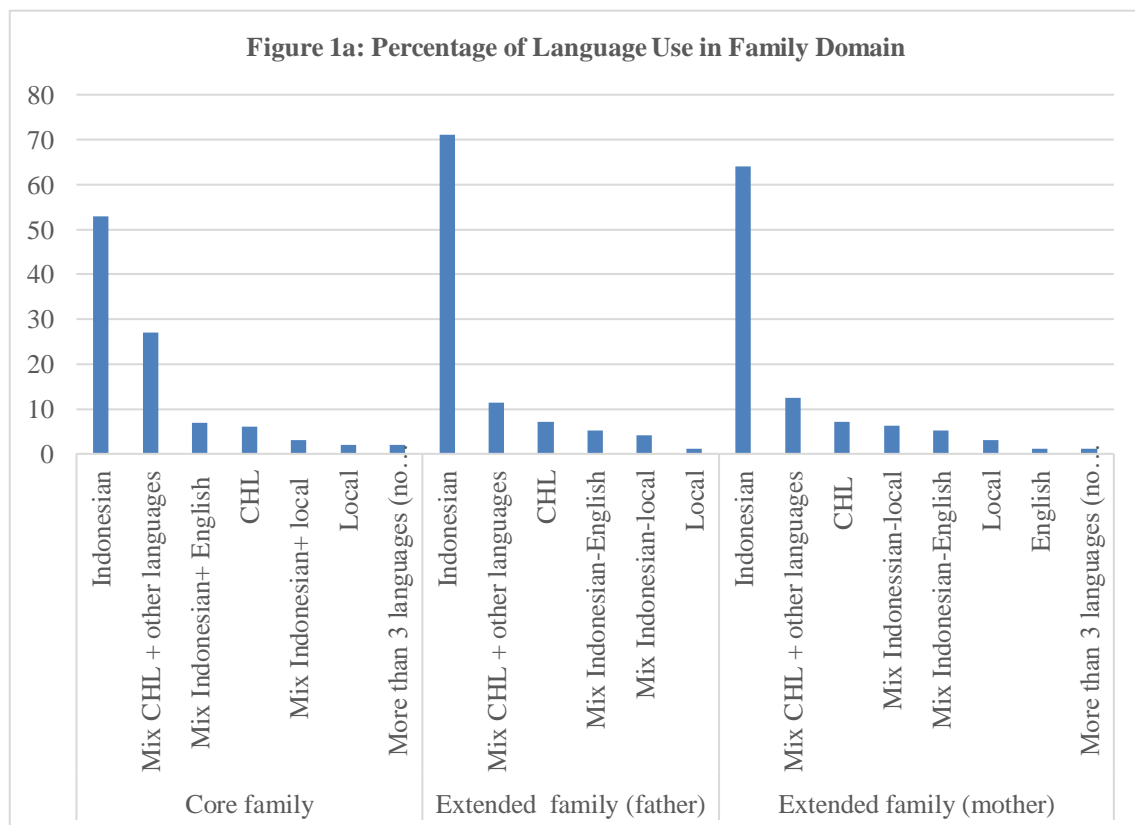
In what follows, we shall first present the speakers' language attitudes based on the cognitive, behavioral, and affective indexes proposed by Ryan and Giles (1982). Then, we will demonstrate whether a language shift or maintenance has occurred. Finally, we shall discuss what factors might have contributed to the shift or maintenance.

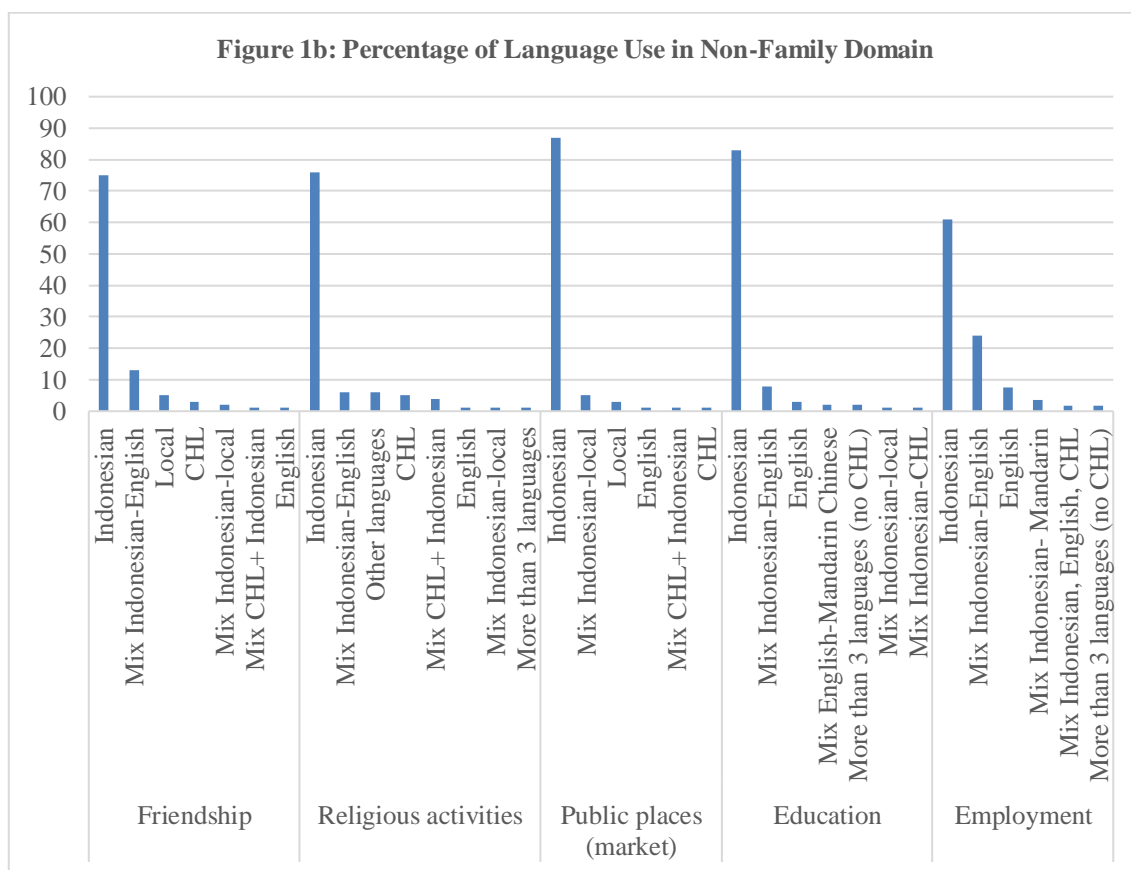
3.1 Speakers' Language Attitudes

To uncover the language attitudes of the speakers, we examined the behavioral, cognitive, and affective indexes as proposed by Ryan and Giles (1982).

3.1.1 Behavioral Index

The questions related to the behavioral index cover the language used in different domains, i.e., family, friendship, religion, public places, education, and employment. Figure 1a summarizes the language used in family domains, whereas Figure 1b in non-family domains.





Figures 1a and 1b show that CHL is only used in the most informal and cultural-related domains, i.e., family (core and extended), friendship, religious activities, and public areas (market). Within these domains, only very few speakers, between 1 to 7%, claimed that they used only CHL. In contrast, more than 50% of the participants used Indonesian in all domains. In fact, more than of 75% speakers claim that they only use Indonesian in domains other than family and employment. Moreover, English is only used in the domains of education and employment. Furthermore, within one domain, some speakers do not use a single language but also one or two other languages, i.e., CHL and Indonesian, Indonesian and English, CHL, Indonesian, and English, and CHL and a local language. More speakers claim that they use Indonesian and English than those who claim that they use Indonesian and CHL. In short, Indonesian is the most commonly-used language, and the CHL is the language for family/home.

As the most commonly-used language, Indonesian is believed to be a universal language used to communicate with people from different regions or ethnic groups, as described by a CHL speaker in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 1 (CHL speaker 6, mixed group)

Kalau Indonesia otomatis universal ya untuk kita komunikasi sesama antar daerah gitu kan ya... Kalau bahasa Inggris jelas mendukung untuk pekerjaan ya, karena kan sekarang ngajarnya bahasa Inggris. (Indonesian is a universal language to communicate with inter-ethnic people. English is a language I use for work because I teach English now.)

In contrast, CHL is claimed to be the family/home language as its role is for communication among family members or friends who speak the same language, as claimed by a CHL speaker below:

Excerpt 2 (CHL speaker 1, maintaining group)

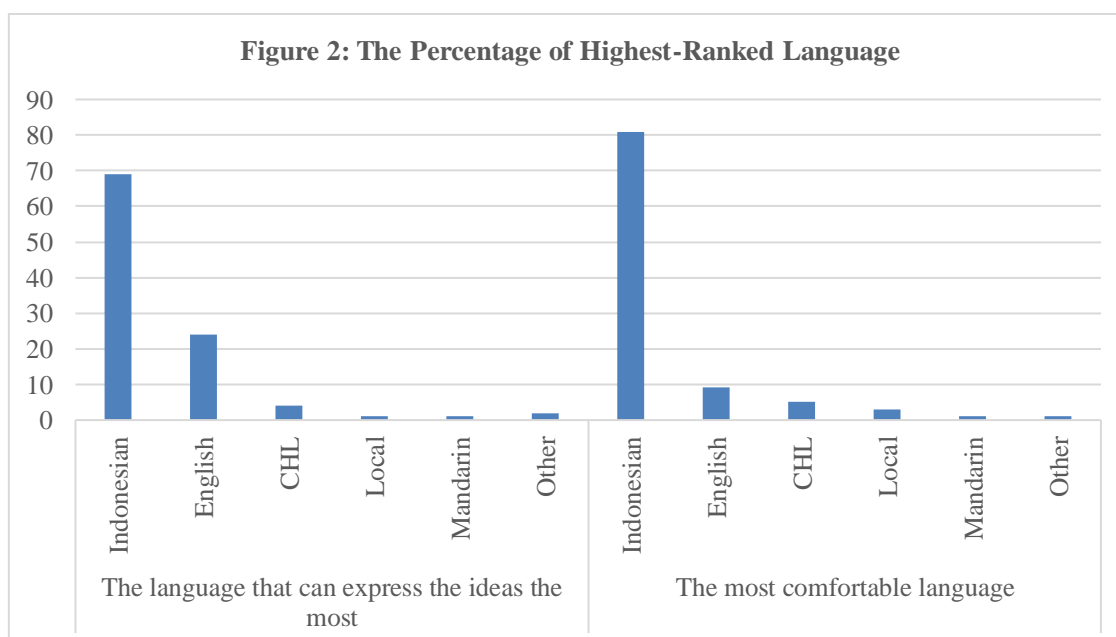
Bahasa Hokkian itu biasanya dipakai di rumah doang. (I usually use Hokkien only at home.)

Excerpt 3 (CHL speaker 2, maintaining group)

Kalau bahasa Hokkian tuh perannya buat saya kalau ngomong sama keluarga, apalagi keluarga mama sama papa masih pakai bahasa Hokkian ya... Kadang kalau saya ketemu sama teman yang mungkin satu etnis, Hokkian Tionghoa juga, kadang saya juga ngajakin ngomong bahasa Hokkian juga. (I used the Hokkien language to speak with my family, because my extended family still uses Hokkien. Sometimes with my friends who are Hokkien Chinese, I also speak Hokkien to them.)

3.1.2 Cognitive Index

The cognitive index is determined by examining the language the participants think they can most express their ideas and they feel the most comfortable to use. It is assumed that when someone feels most comfortable using the language and can express their all-out ideas, it represents their cognitive index on a certain language.



As shown in Figure 2, for both indicators, the speakers ranked Indonesian the highest. Indonesian is rated by 69% of the participants as the language that can most express their ideas, and 80% participants say that Indonesian is the most comfortable language. Subsequently, English is ranked the second highest, with 24% for the language that can most express their ideas and 9% for the most comfortable language. Meanwhile, only 4-5% of the speakers rated CHL highest. In short, the cognitive index shows that Indonesian is ranked as the primary language, followed by English.

The speakers who can speak both Indonesian and CHL claim that it is easier for them to express their ideas in Indonesian than CHL because they have not mastered CHL well enough. They are more fluent speaking in Indonesian than in CHL, as represented by the following excerpts:

Excerpt 4 (CHL speaker 3, maintaining group)

Kadang susah ngomongnya, kadang kita tau idenya apa, tapi kalau ngomong ke Kheknya itu kadang susah, ke Indonesia lebih gampang.... Itu orang-orang yang benar-bener nguasain bahasa Khek banget itu yang bisa sih. (Sometimes it's hard to express my ideas in Hakka, it's easier in Indonesian. Only those who are really good at Hakka can do that.)

Excerpt 5 (CHL speaker 4, mixed group)

Karena aku lancar bahasa Indonesia dan lebih jelas pakai bahasa itu dibandingkan yang lain. (I am fluent in Indonesian compared to the other language.) [Context: the speaker was asked why Indonesian was the language mostly used to express ideas.]

3.1.3 Affective Index

Three indicators were used to measure the affective index, i.e., the most important language, the language that represents themselves, and the language they feel they can be themselves the most when they use it. The results are shown in Figure 3.

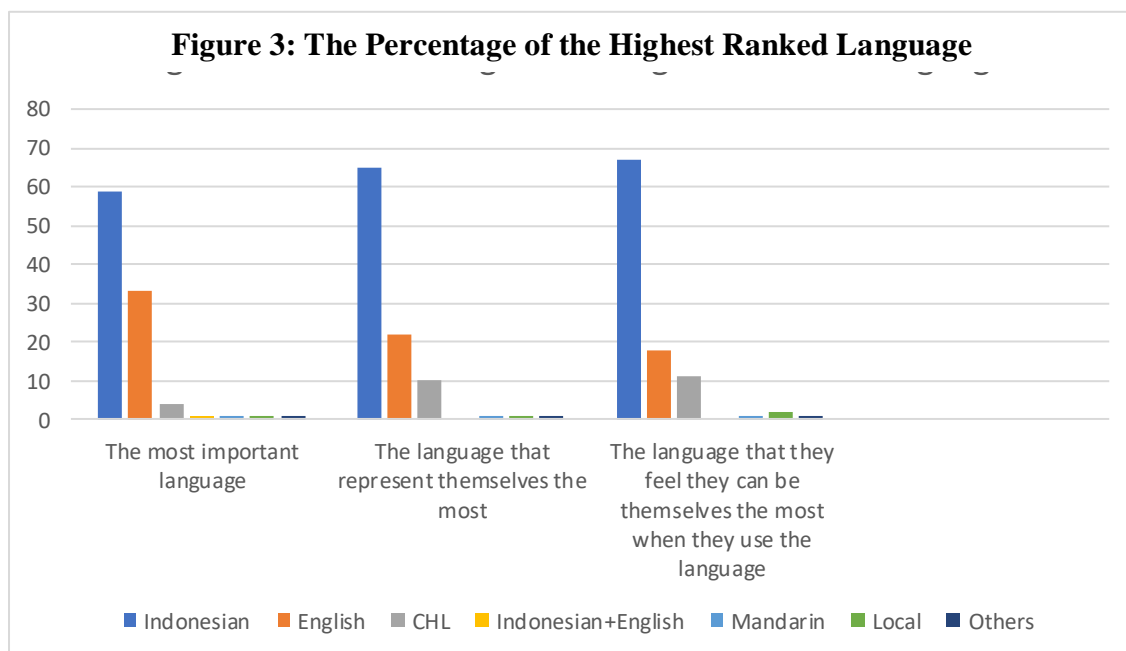


Figure 3 indicates that Indonesian is ranked much higher than CHL or English in all three indicators. Like the cognitive index, most speakers ranked Indonesian the highest, followed by English and then CHL. During the interview, speakers who speak or do not speak CHL agree that Indonesian is the most usable and self-representing language, as indicated in Excerpts 6 and 7 below.

Excerpt 6 (non-CHL speaker 1, shifted group)

Menurut aku bahasa yang digunakan sehari-hari di luar itu bahasa Indonesia. Soalnya kalau di luar ngomong bahasa Khek belum tentu orang luar tau. Soalnya Khek itu kan

lebih ke keluarga, ke orang-orang yang mengerti. Kalau bahasa Indonesia mereka pasti ngerti semua. (For me, Indonesian is the language I used with people outside [other than my family]. If I speak Hakka, other people may not understand me. Hakka is a language limited to my family, to those who understand it. As for Indonesian, all people surely understand it.)

Excerpt 7 (non-CHL speaker 3, shifted group)

Bahasa yang lebih sering dipakai, yaitu Indonesia. (The language I mostly used is Indonesian.) [Context: when asked about the language mostly used to represent herself.]

In addition to the three indicators to measure the affective index, the participants were also asked to decide whether they agreed or disagreed with some statements about the Chinese Heritage Language (CHL). These statements include CHL tightening family bonding, speaking in CHL is outdated, speaking in CHL is plebeian, mastering CHL strengthens ethnic identity, and Indonesian will replace CHL one day. Interestingly, the participants who did not speak CHL appeared to have positive attitudes about CHL. Figure 4 below presents the participants' responses to the statements about CHL.

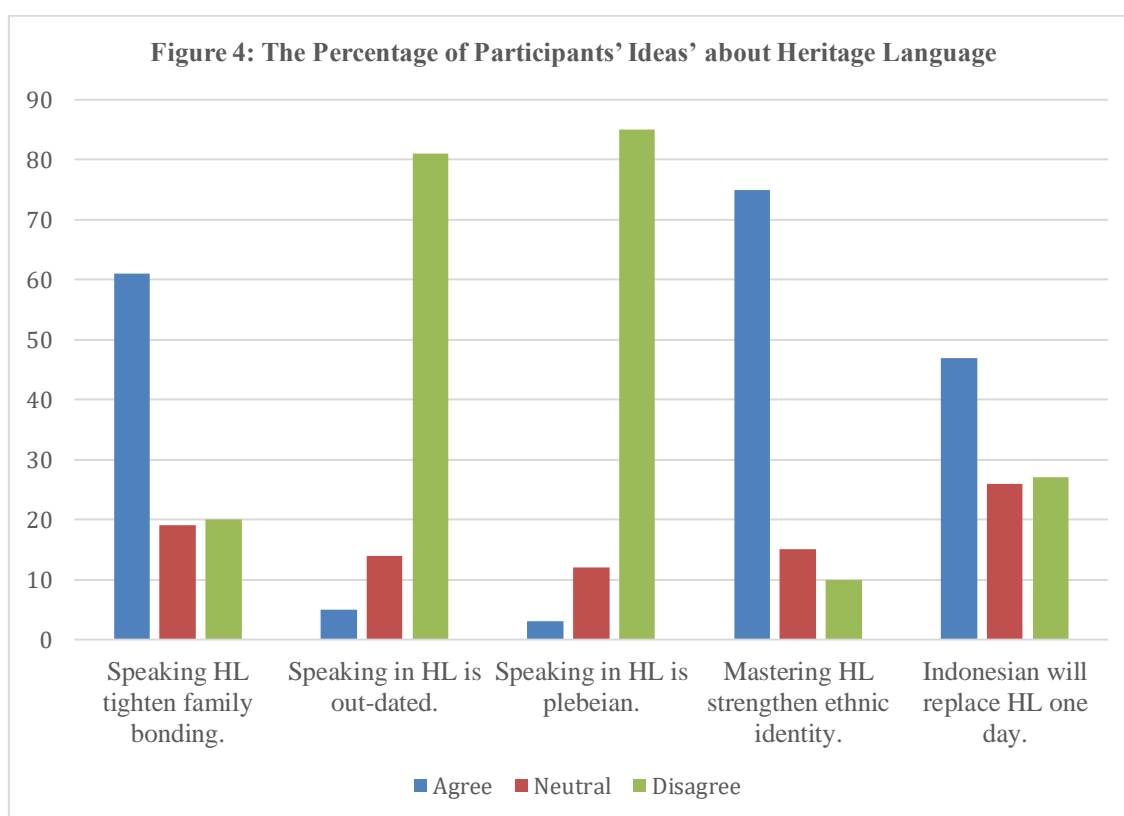


Figure 4 shows that 61% of the participants, including those who do not speak CHL, agree that speaking CHL can tighten family bonding. A CHL speaker feels close to the family when he uses CHL, as shown in Excerpt 8. Likewise, a non-CHL speaker admits that she is not close to the family because of CHL's incompetence, as shown in Excerpt 9.

Excerpt 8 (CHL speaker 3, maintaining group)

Soalnya kan di keluarga sendiri aja pakai bahasa Khek loh. Kalau pakai bahasa Indonesia jadinya gimana ya, kurang erat gitu. (Because we use Hakka language at home. If we use Indonesian, we don't feel close to one another.)

Excerpt 9 (non-CHL speaker 3, shifted group)

Karena yang pakai bahasa itu kan papa dan keluarganya. Jadi, aku sama keluarga papa kan tidak begitu dekat. Lebih dekat ke keluarga mama. (The ones who speak Mandarin are my dad and his family. Because I don't speak Mandarin, we are not that close. I am closer to my mom's family.) [Context: The father's family speaks Mandarin and she doesn't]

Although only very few speakers claim their use of CHL, more than 80% of the speakers disagree that speaking CHL is outdated and plebeian. A participant thinks speaking CHL is expected since it is his family's language (see Excerpt 10). Furthermore, a participant belongs to the shifted group even admires the youngsters who still speak CHL in Jakarta (Excerpt 11).

Excerpt 10 (CHL speaker 1, maintaining group)

Pandangan gue kalau ngomong pakai bahasa daerah bukan hal yang kuno atau kampung ya. Ya itu kan dari kayak diri sendiri, keluarga sendiri gitu lho. Kayak... apa yang aneh gitu. Apalagi dari kecil diajarin kan. Ya udah itu hal yang normal. (To me, speaking CHL is not something outdated or plebeian. This language is a part of me and my family. So, it's not strange using it; moreover, I have used it since I was a kid, so it's something normal.)

Excerpt 11 (non-CHL speaker 1, shifted group)

Justru aku ketika mendengar orang itu masih bisa ya seumuranku masih bisa ngobrol pakai bahasa Chinese heritage language-nya dia, gitu kan, aku justru kagum dan salut gitu gimana sih orang tuanya mempertahankan itu sampai anaknya segede itu. Makanya aku nggak setuju kalau dianggap kuno gitu. Justru mereka melestarikan bahasanya walaupun berada di kota besar, nggak di kampung halaman, tetapi masih pakai, masih bisa mengerti gitu. (In fact, I am impressed when someone at my age can speak using their Chinese Heritage language and I wonder how the parents maintain the language. I disagree that it is seen as outdated. In fact, they preserve the language although they live in big cities.)

Regarding whether or not mastering CHL can strengthen their ethnic identities, 75% of the participants claim that mastering CHL represents their identity as ethnic Chinese, as shown in Excerpts 12 and 13.

Excerpt 12 (CHL speaker 2, maintaining group)

Kalau kamu etnis China, terus kamu bisa berbahasa Mandarin, itu jadi kayak oh ini orang bener-bener keturunan, gitu. (If you are ethnically Chinese and can speak Mandarin, it shows that you are a true Chinese).

Excerpt 13 (non-CHL speaker 1, shifted group)

Nah tapi aku sendiri yang merasakan ketika misalnya ada budaya-budaya yang aku nggak paham, padahal sebagai orang Tionghoa seharusnya tahu gitu ya, terlepas dari bahasa. Sebenarnya bahasa ini juga salah satu faktor gitu, faktor untuk mendukung ini

tuh bener-bener Chinese tulen gitu, aku sih merasa enggak ya. Semakin ke sini itu semakin berkurang ya gitu menjadi seorang Tionghoa, gitu. (Well, this is what I feel. I do not understand some Chinese culture, whereas as a Chinese, I should've known that. Mastering the language is a supporting factor in being a real Chinese, and I don't think I am. The lesser I know about the culture, the lesser I feel as a Chinese.)

Finally, more than half participants believe that Indonesian will replace CHL one day. During the interview, a CHL speaker states that he is aware of the possibility of language loss if people do not preserve the language (see Excerpt 14). Thus, it is important to pass the language to the next generation and hope to do so, as expressed in Excerpt 15.

Excerpt 14 (CHL speaker 1, maintaining group)

Pasti akan tergantikan kalo gua ga ngajarin ke anak. Nah lama-lama kan dia ga bisa, ga tau, ga ngajarin ke anak-anaknya, dan seterusnya. Nanti di suatu saat, mereka ga akan tau bahasa Hokkien itu gimana. (CHL will surely shift if I don't pass it to my children. They won't speak and pass it to their child, and so on. One day, they won't know how Hokkien is like.)

Excerpt 15 (CHL speaker 1, maintaining group)

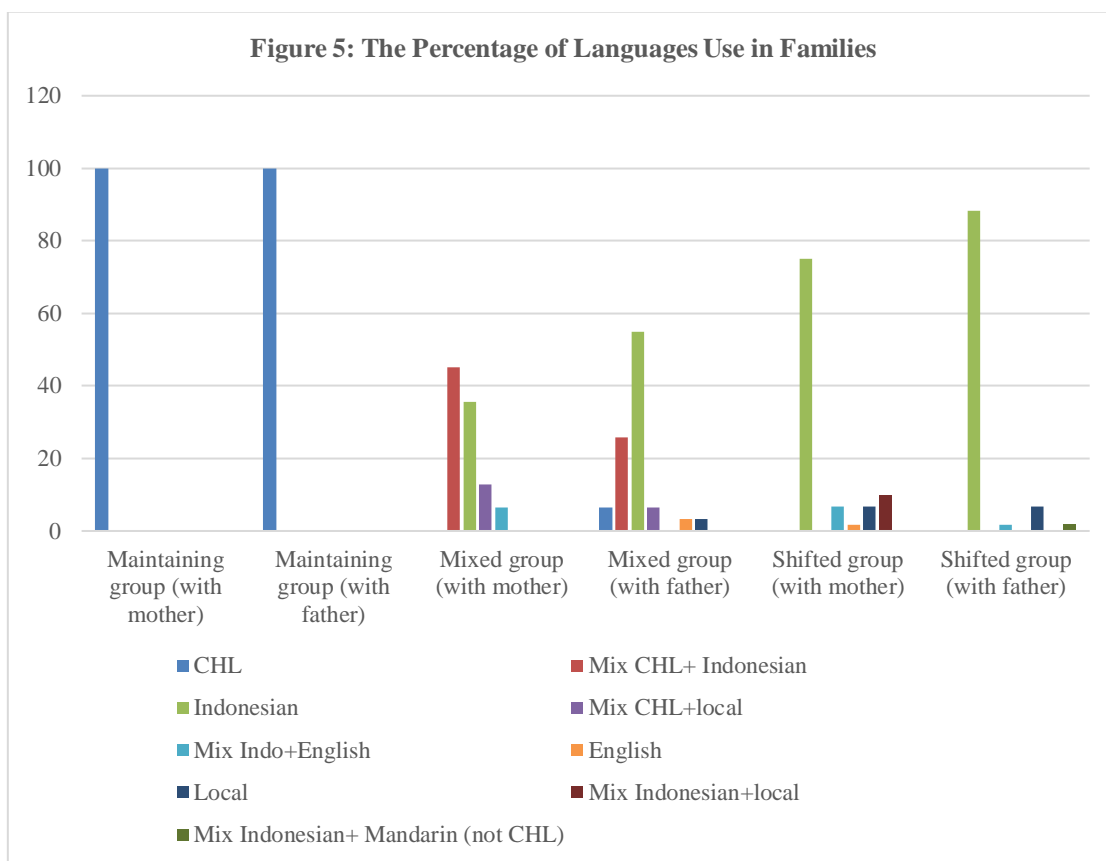
Nanti rencananya kalo punya anak juga bakal diajarin sih, biar turun ke anak. Soalnya udah dari kakek nenek yang menurunkan bahasanya. (If I have a child, I plan to pass the language to my child. This is because the language has been passed on from my grandparents.)

3.2 Have the Jakartan Chinese Indonesians shifted or maintained their CHL?

The language used in the family plays an essential role in the language shift or maintenance of the CHL. Once parents decide not to use CHL with their children, the language transmission ceases at the parents' generations. The behavioral index shows that many Jakartan Chinese Indonesians have shifted to Indonesian in many domains, except the family and friendship. However, the picture is more complex than expected. When examining the language used in the family, the participants vary, and they can be divided into three groups.

- i. Maintaining group
Only 9% of the participants actively and consistently use CHL with their parents and extended family.
- ii. Mixed group
31% of the total participants use CHL, Indonesian, and some English and local languages with the parents and the extended family.
- iii. Shifted group
60% of the participants only use Indonesian and some English and local languages (such as Javanese and Palembangnese) with the parents. Only CHL kinship terms are used.

The details of the language patterns in the family are shown in Figure 5.



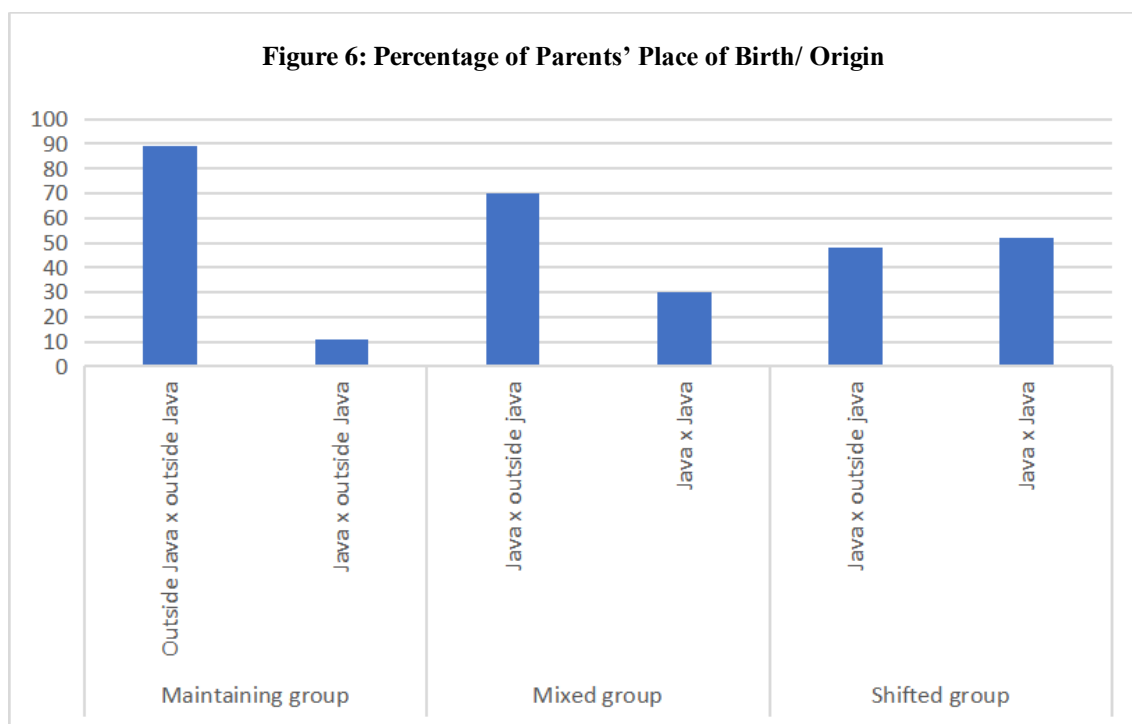
3.3 Factors that have Caused Language Shift and Maintenance

This study found that two significant factors have contributed to the language shift and maintenance of Jakartan Chinese Indonesians, namely, (i) family backgrounds and (ii) domains and functionality of the language. The family backgrounds include parents' place of birth or origin, parents' first language, parents' language attitudes and policies at home, and the language contact with extended families and how they value CHL.

3.3.1 Family Backgrounds

3.3.1.1 Parents' Place of Birth or Origin

Parents' place of birth or place of origin affects language maintenance and shift, as shown in Figure 6. If both parents are from outside Java, they tend to speak only CHL to their children. Almost 90% of the participants belonging to the maintaining group have parents who are not from Java. On the contrary, if one of the parents is from Java, the tendency to speak only CHL to their children decreases.



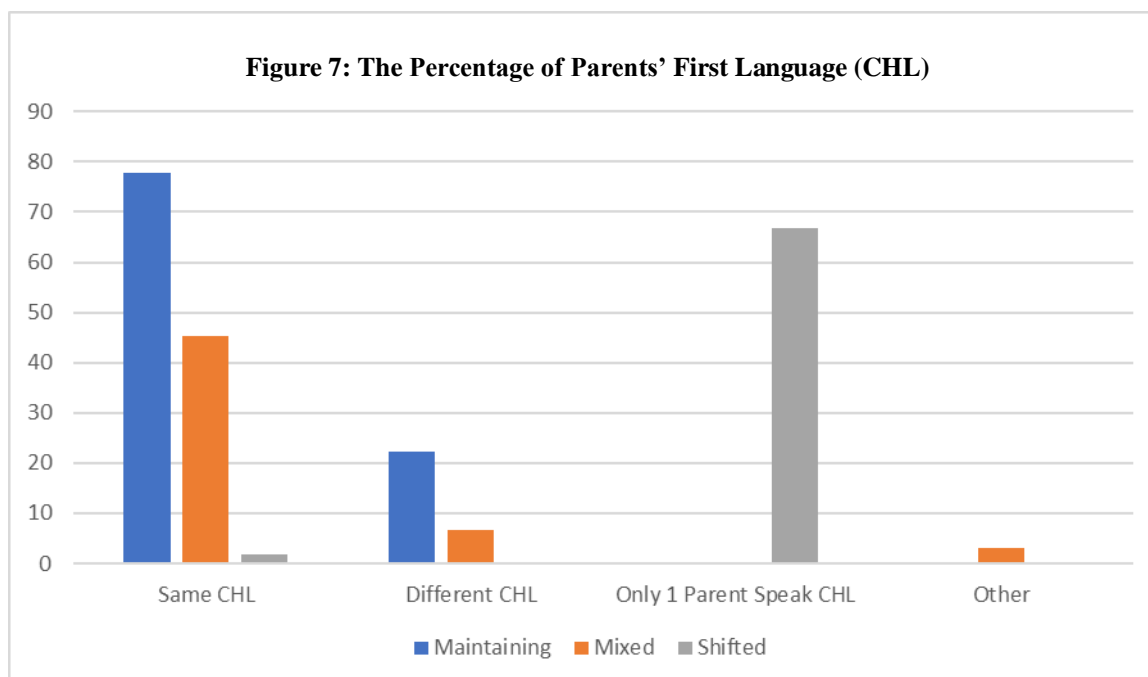
During the interview, a CHL speaker whose parents are from Bagan Siapi-Api (Sumatra) admits that their parents keep using CHL because most people in Bagan Siapi-Api speak Hokkien. Moreover, her grandmother cannot speak Indonesian.

Excerpt 16 (CHL speaker 4, mixed group)

Karena nenek juga nggak bisa bahasa Indonesia maka masih dipakai Hokkian nya. Terus kayak karena orang tua dari Bagan Siapi-Api, yang mayoritas ngomong bahasa Hokkian. Kalau mereka ngomong bahasa Hokkian, kita juga balasnya pakai bahasa Hokkian. (My grandmother cannot speak Indonesian, so I speak Hokkien with her. Moreover, my parents come from Bagan Siapi-Api, the majority of the people there speak Hokkien. If they speak Hokkien to us, we also reply in Hokkien.)

3.3.1.2 Parents' First Language

Parents' first language is very influential in whether they pass it to their children. Some of the respondents' parents speak the same CHL, some speaking different CHLs. In some families, only one of the parents speaks CHL. Putting aside parents who do not speak CHL, Figure 7 presents the participants' parents' first language data.



As the highest percentage is in the maintaining group, the figure shows that if both parents' first language is the same CHL, they tend to use only CHL with their children. On the other hand, if one parent's first language is not the same, although one speaks CHL, the possibility of transferring the language decreases. The parents are likely to use Indonesian or both Indonesian and CHL. If the parents speak different CHL, there are two tendencies: applying one-parent-one-language policy at home or sacrificing one CHL.

As shown in Excerpt 17, the participants, whose parents are from Bagan Siapi-Api and both speak Hokkien, demand the children to be able to speak Hokkien. He assumes that if one parent comes from Jakarta (or only one parent can speak Hokkien), the parents will be more flexible.

Excerpt 17 (CHL speaker 2, maintaining group)

Mungkin menurut aku kalau satu orang tua berbicara Hokkian, dan satu orang tua berasal dari Jakarta mungkin mereka ngga terlalu minta anaknya bisa bahasa Hokkian. Tapi kalau aku karena dua-duanya Hokkian jadi maunya semua anaknya bisa bahasa Hokkian. (I think maybe if one parent speaks Hokkien, one parent comes from Jakarta [doesn't speak Hokkien], maybe they don't really ask the children to speak Hokkien. But both my parents speak Hokkien. So, they want the children to use Hokkien as well).

3.3.1.3 Parent's Language Attitudes and Policies at Home

The interview data show that the more parents prioritize the use of CHL at home, the more the children tend to maintain the language. Excerpts 18, 19, and 20 share the information on how the language policies at home are and how they affect CHL maintenance in different groups.

Excerpt 18 (CHL speaker 2, maintaining group)

Karena mama aku di rumah selalu bilang.... (talking in Hokkien) Artinya jangan ngomong Bahasa Indonesia gitu. Kalau misalnya di rumah gitu, jadi biasa kan kalau ketemu saudara kan lebih ada perasaan kaya banggalah kalau anaknya bisa bahasa

Hokkian. ... Jadi kadang kalau papa ngomong Bahasa Indonesia ditegor sama mama. (My mom always told us not to speak in Indonesian. My mom is proud when our relatives come to our house and see we speak Hokkien one another. Even she warns my dad when he speaks Indonesian.)

Excerpt 18 shows that the participant's mother is very strict in keeping CHL at home, which results in the constant CHL use by the children. Slightly different, the participant in Excerpt 19 below explains that her parents are quite moderate at language policies at home, resulting in the children not minding what languages to speak.

Excerpt 19 (CHL speaker 4, mixed group)

Kalau papa mamaku orangnya lebih santai. Mereka bukan orang yang menuntut harus pakai bahasa Hokkian atau bahasa Mandarin. Kita anaknya jawab pakai bahasa yang mereka gunain gitu. Kalo ngomong pakai bahasa Indonesia ya balesnya pakai bahasa Indonesia, kalau bahasa Hokkian ya balesnya pakai bahasa Hokkian. Tapi kalau dia ngomong pakai bahasa Hokkian aku bales pakai bahasa Indonesia juga biasa aja. (My parents are quite moderate. They never force us to speak Hokkien or Mandarin. We usually respond in a language that they use to speak to us. But when they speak in Hokkien, and I answer in Indonesian, it's also fine.)

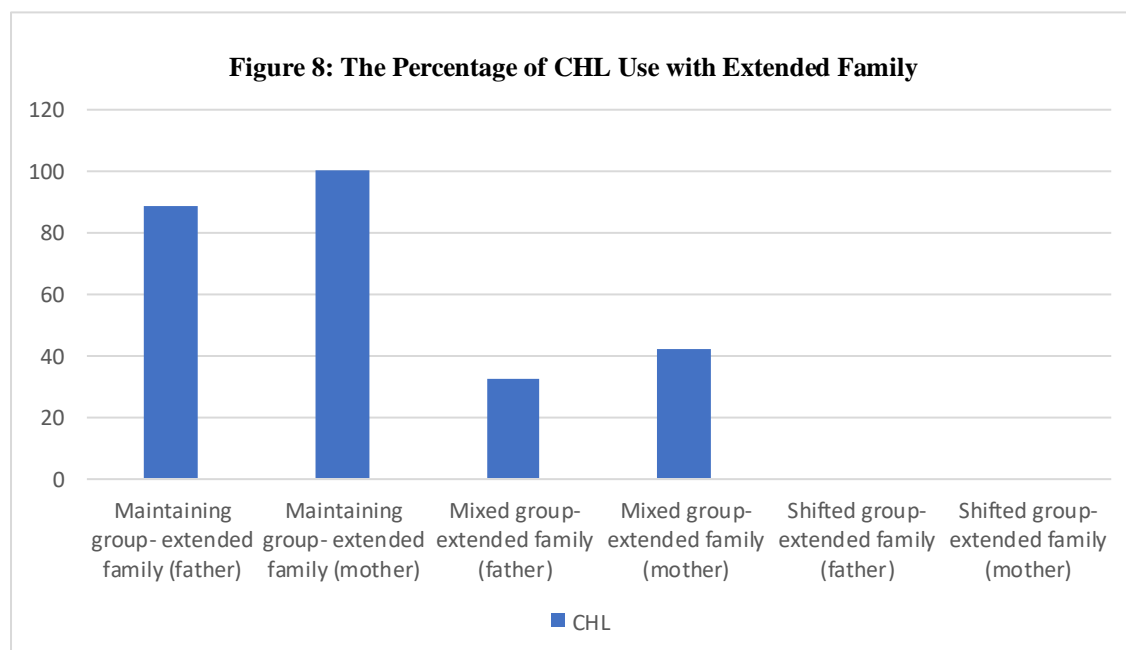
Meanwhile, a participant from the shifted group, whose parents still speak CHL with the grandparents and the siblings but not to the children, assumes that they probably think that CHL has no use in society.

Excerpt 20 (non-CHL speaker 1, shifted group)

Karena lingkungan sekitar itu pakai bahasa Palembang, jadi mamaku merasa kayaknya nggak ada tuntutan deh, toh di sekolah juga guru pakai bahasa Palembang campur bahasa Indonesia, gitu kan. (My mom thinks she does not need to inherit her CHL to me probably because my environment dominantly uses Palembangnese, and the teachers at school use Palembangnese and Indonesian, so she might think I have no demand for mastering CHL.)

3.3.1.4 The Language Contact with Extended Families and How They Value CHL

Besides the parents' role, the extended families' CHL use and value toward CHL contribute to the language shift and maintenance. Figure 8 shows the percentage of language use by the extended families of maintaining, mixed, and shifted groups.



The data shows that more than 80% of the extended family contacts speak CHL in the maintaining group. In the maintaining group, the extended family from the mother's side speaks no languages but CHL, while almost 90% from the father's side speaks CHL. In the mixed group, the number decreases. Only 32.26% of the extended family from the father's side uses CHL (10% CHL and 90% Indonesian-CHL), and 41.94% from the mother's side still speaks CHL (7.69% CHL and 92.31% mixed Indonesian-CHL). Meanwhile, no CHL is used in the extended family of shifted group.

During the interview, the participants agreed that extended family plays a role in language shift and maintenance. In Excerpt 21, a participant from the maintaining group mentions that the extended family shows the necessity for the family members to master CHL by quipping the ones who do not speak CHL. On the contrary, the extended family of a participant in the shifted group says that the extended family does not prioritize CHL anymore since their elders can speak the local language (see Excerpt 22).

Excerpt 21 (CHL speaker 2, maintaining group)

Kalau nggak bisa kadang keluarga suka nyinggung masa nggak bisa denger atau nggak bisa ngomong pakai Hokkien gitu. Dari saudara suka nyinggung gitu sih. (If we cannot speak Hokkien, the extended family will quip us.)

Excerpt 22 (non-CHL speaker 1, shifted group)

Waktu kecil kakek nenek itu kan udah nggak ada, jadi kemungkinan untuk bisa komunikasi pakai bahasa Khek itu nggak terlalu ketat gitu ya. Karena kan ie-ie, cici juga toh bisa bahasa Palembang walaupun kami atau ponakan, anak-anak itu nggak bisa bahasa Khek. (My grandparents have passed away since I was a kid, so I have no demand to speak in Hakka. It is also because my aunties and older sisters can speak Palembangnese, and my cousins and I cannot speak Hakka.)

3.3.2 Domains and Functionality of the Language

CHL domains and functionality are factors of the gradual language shift. As mentioned in the language attitudes section, CHL use is merely supported for home and friendship domains. Indonesian, followed by English, is used in broader domains; they are regarded as more functional languages.

Furthermore, in Excerpt 23, a participant from the maintaining group admits that CHL is limited in the home domain. This participant thinks that Indonesian is occupied as a daily language because it is an official language in Indonesia. Meanwhile, English is commonly used for professional purposes.

Excerpt 23 (CHL speaker 1, maintaining group)

Bahasa daerah yang dikuasai tu biasanya dipake buat di rumah doang. Bahasa Indonesia ya memang di negara Indonesia. Jadi pakenya bahasa itu kan. Bahasa Inggris itu lebih kepake buat bukan percakapan sehari-hari sih. Lebih ke arah profesional, misalnya perkantoran. Entah itu interview, atau ngomong ke client atau meeting buat orang luar. Itu berguna banget sih. (I use CHL only at home. I use Indonesian because I live in Indonesia. English is used not for daily conversation, it's more for professional purposes, for my job such as interviews and meeting international clients. It helps me a lot.)

4 DISCUSSIONS

The language patterns used within the family domain have shown that most participants have shifted from CHL to Indonesian. Sixty percent of the participants never use CHL, 31% use CHL, Indonesian and some English and local languages, and only 9% use CHL actively and consistently with their parents. This finding is not surprising because in a multilingual context, like Jakarta, the speakers of more minor languages shift to the primary language, which is Indonesian (Kurniasih, 2005; Smith-Hefner, 2009; Masruddin, 2013; Musgrave, 2014; Sukmawan, 2017; Winarti, 2018). However, the shifted group says that although they do not speak CHL, they are not detached from CHL because the CHL kinship terms are still used (Sartini, 2007; Irawan, 2014). These phenomena also happen in the Chinese community in Tangerang, widely known as *Cina Benteng* and Surabaya. Although they have shifted from CHL to Indonesian, the majority of this community uses Hokkien kinship terms (i.e., *Koko* 'older brother', *Cici* 'older sister'), numbers (i.e., *it* 'one', *ji* 'two', *sa* 'three'), and food (i.e., *bakpao* 'bun') (Sartini, 2007; Irawan, 2014). Maintaining kinship terms in their heritage language is common in all ethnicities because it can tighten inter and intra-ethnic relationships (Hui, 2004, as cited in Sartini, 2007).

The language shift is due to the limited domains and functionality of CHL. Few speakers claim that they use only CHL in family, friendship, religion, and public place (market) domains and never in other domains. Masruddin (2013) states that heritage language is limited to family and intra-ethnic communities, whereas Indonesian connects people to a community other than their ethnic group. The Surabayan Chinese show similar language patterns to Jakartan Chinese Indonesians (Sartini, 2007). They use Indonesian, Javanese, Mandarin, and Hokkien to communicate intra-ethnically, while they use Indonesian and Javanese for broader domains (Sartini, 2007).

Meanwhile, instead of CHL, English interestingly gains its reputation among speakers. The data shows that when the speakers claim to use two languages, they use Indonesian and English more than Indonesian and CHL, especially in friendship, education, and employment

domains. In addition, we find that English is ranked second after Indonesian in the cognitive and affective index. This is not surprising because since early 2000, English has been the most widely used language globally (Crystal, 2003; Galloway & Rose, 2015). Further, the spread of English is highly influenced by the Internet, which is accessible worldwide (Crystal, 2011). By 2010, Internet World Stats states that English is the most dominant language on the Internet (Crystal, 2011). As the status and functions of English as a global language, in Indonesia, English serves as a means of international communication, scientific knowledge, and technology (Dardjowidjojo, 1998; Huda, 2000; Renandya, 2000; Simatupang, 1999, as cited in Lauder, 2008). Therefore, it is understandable that English becomes the second-ranked language used by the Jakartan Chinese Indonesians.

Interestingly, this study shows that family background appears to be the key to language shift and maintenance. First, it is found that at least having one parent who was born outside Java, the family tends to use CHL in various degrees. The participants whose both parents are from Medan (and areas near Medan) tend to maintain CHL (Hokkien). Meanwhile, the Jakartan-born (or other Java regions) are unlikely to use CHL; this is quite a common phenomenon, as the previous findings of the Chinese Indonesian language pattern by Sartini (2007), Irawan (2014), and Nasution (2019) report similar phenomenon. Nasution (2019) reports that in Medan, the Hokkien language is quite dominant compared to other CHL and is mastered by 95% of the total Hokkien-Medanese adult participants. Hokkien also becomes the primary language for communication at home and occupation (among Chinese co-workers). Therefore, it is no wonder that the Medanese parents pass on Hokkien to their children as the first language. They still have a strong attachment to the language, although they have migrated to Jakarta. In contrast, Sartini (2007) whose work on language patterns of Surabayan Chinese Indonesians finds that they mix Indonesian, Javanese, Mandarin, and Hokkien languages as their daily languages, which create distinctive Surabayan Chinese dialect variety, such as “*Tacike gak ada lagi ndeq toko*” (She is not in the shop). *Cina Benteng* community in Tangerang has also acculturated the language to Indonesian and Betawi (Irawan, 2014). In conclusion, it is expected that the parents from Java are less attached to CHL since CHL in their areas has been shifted or acculturated with Indonesian and local languages.

Second, interlingual marriages contribute to the language shift in the family. The data show that most parents with the same CHL transmit the language to their children, and the possibility decreases when they are in inter-lingual marriages. Interlingual marriages are more common in big cities (e.g., Jakarta) than in the suburbs (Livingston, 2014). The discrepancies in the parents’ native language may create an interlingual family. An interlingual family provides a bi/multilingual environment for the children, followed by a varied degree of language choice and maintenance (Yamamoto, 2002). Some children become active bi/multilingual, some might be passive, and some could be monolingual in the majority language (Yamamoto, 2001). However, family is the foundation of language acquisition and maintenance at an individual level (Pauwels, 2005) and vital to preserve the minority or heritage language (Fishman; 2000; Pauwels, 2005; Brown, 2011). Sometimes interlingual marriages are blamed for the language shift. Language shifts caused by mix-marriages also happen in other mix-marriage families across ethnicities (Igboanusi & Wolf, 2009). Igboanusi and Wolf (2009) examine language shift from minority languages to English, English (Nigeria’s official language), Nigerian Pidgin (informal lingua franca), and the major languages (i.e., Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba) by mix-marriage families in the

home domain. As the children grow up, most of them communicate using English at home (Igboanusi & Wolf, 2009).

As family is the key to language shift and maintenance at home, parents' different language attitudes toward CHL and language policy at home determine the degree of language shift and maintenance. This phenomenon is not only observed in Jakartan Chinese families but also Jakartan Indian families. Although the parents consider the Hindi language important, they fail to apply Hindi-speaking rules in families (Gupta, 2020). Meanwhile, they adopted English and other languages as their children's language, hoping their children to have a bright future and economic stability (Gupta, 2020). Similarly, a study on the Korean language shift in America reveals that family language ideology and practice greatly impact children's language use and choice (Jeon, 2008). Some parents who hold an ideology to shift the language to the dominant language steer their kids to assimilate into the majority language as early as possible (Jeon, 2008). Those cases are similar to the Jakarta Chinese parents whose children's language have shifted as they do not see the importance of using CHL.

5 CONCLUSIONS

This mixed-method study examined young Jakartan Chinese Indonesians' language attitudes, whether they have shifted or maintained their CHL, and explored the contributing factors for language shift and maintenance. Out of 100 samples, it is found that most Jakartan Chinese Indonesian have shifted to Indonesian, and only 9% of them still fully maintain the use of CHL in the family. Instead of CHL, English is more frequently used and mixed with Indonesian. This study revealed that the contributing factors to language shift are the language's domains, functionality, and family background. As for family background factors, parents' place of birth or origin, parents' first language, parents' language attitudes and policy at home, and the language contact with the extended family and how the extended family values CHL are influential for language shift. The findings also imply an alarm for CHL loss in the Jakartan Chinese community. Lastly, since this research is limited to the actual behavior in the behavioral index and puts aside the intended behavior, future research may carry on the actual behavior as one of the indicators of language attitudes.

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