Language distribution and variation in the urban area; A case study in Depok, a socio-dialectological perspective

Sri Munawarah
Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia, sri-m@ui.ac.id

Summary of PhD Thesis

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Sri Munawarah

Sri Munawarah is a linguist and lecturer at the Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia. She has been working for more than 20 years in research and teachings on dialectology, sociolinguistics, phonology, and toponymy. She obtained her PhD from Universitas Indonesia in 2021 in language variation in Depok, Indonesia, through a socio-dialectological approach. One of her publications is "Linguistic evidence in question of language and dialect for the Badui Tribe" (as co-author with D. Rusady, in *Sociolinguistics and dialectological studies in Indonesia*, pp. 95-117, Nova Science Publishers, 2021). Sri Munawarah may be contacted at: sri-m@ui.ac.id.

INTRODUCTION

Linguistic problems always grow and develop in line with the life dynamics of the speech community. Various social, political, and historical factors combined with the life dynamics of Indonesian people when interacting or making language contacts with regional and foreign languages can develop a language. It is possible that similar factors have influenced the development of languages in Depok.

Figure 1. Map of Depok in West Java Province (Retrieved from: https//id/m. wikipedia.org/ wiki/Daftar_kabupaten_dan_kota_di_Jawa_Barat).

Importantly, as the observation area, Depok has become the area in which two waves of languages intersect. They are the Betawi language, whose focus area is in Jakarta, and Sundanese language, whose focus area is located in Bandung (Figure 2).
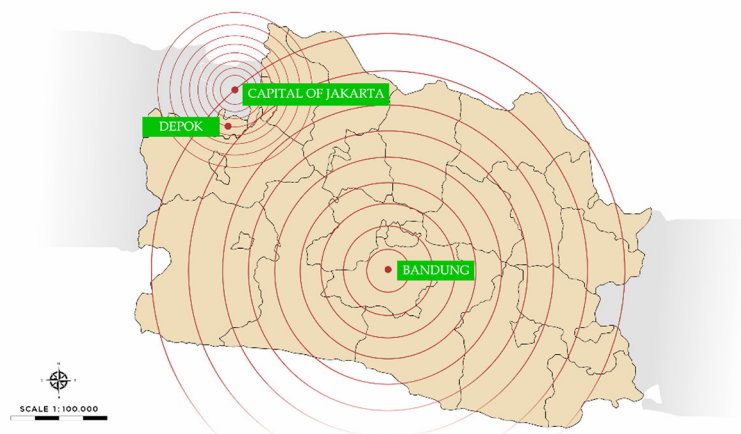

Figure 2. Depok as the peripheral area for the two language waves (map modified by the author, 2020; retrieved from: https://id.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berkas:Locator_kota_depok.png).

One of the interesting linguistic phenomena to be studied in Depok is how the linguistic situation there, an urban area in which language contact occurs, gives rise to language variations. In turn, these lead to the acknowledgement that Depok people use a distinctive language variation as part of their identity.

On the basis of the formulation of the problem, three research questions were developed as follows.

1. What is the current linguistic situation in Depok?
2. Which language has the broadest language dispersal ability (distribution) in Depok?
3. How do language contacts between speakers in Depok happen?

The purpose of this research is to reveal the variation and distribution of languages in Depok – as an urban area – which occur as a result of language contacts between language speakers in the city.

On the theoretical level, the results of this research can be used as a description of and information about linguistic conditions in Depok, an urban area in Indonesia. Importantly, the results can serve as language documentation in the form of a language distribution map which reveals the current linguistic condition in Depok. Furthermore, this research is also valuable to re-examining whether or not the percentage of dialectometry of lexical variations proposed in the criteria of H. Guiter (1973) and M.R.M.T. Lauder (2007) is relevant to the linguistic situation in Depok. Finally, on a practical level, it is expected that the policy makers can take the results of this research into account as one of the considerations in deciding which local languages or local content should be taught in Depok City.

This research combines dialectology and sociolinguistics; consequently, the analyses of data from the field must be based on specific theories. In short, this research is based on specific dialectological theories and the results of the dialectology research are discussed using specific sociolinguistic approaches to discover the social aspects of language revealed in the results of language mapping. The sociolinguistics theories used in this research include those related to language variations and language borrowing caused by language contact. In this research, language mapping was conducted by creating language maps, isoglosses, and isogloss bundles to identify the use of dialects from dialectological studies, particularly those which examine the problem of language variation within a particular geographical area scope (Lauder 2007). Therefore, this research uses various approaches: (1) dialectology (J.K. Chambers and P. Trudgill 2007); (2) language mapping (Ayatrohaedi 2002; Chambers and Trudgill 2007; Lauder 2007); (3) sociolinguistics (Trudgill 2000; J. Holmes 2013; F. Coulmas 2009); (4) sociodialectology (T. Kristiansen 2018); (5) language contact (Y. Matras 2009; S.G. Thomason 2001) and borrowing (A.M.S. McMahon 1994).

This research has used the qualitative research method with a socio-dialectological design, combining sociolinguistics with dialectology. The data were collected from questionnaires containing 235 questions, distributed to 63

sub-districts in Depok as the observation points using the field survey method (with face-to-face and recording techniques). The data were analysed using the isogloss bundle method to calculate the vocabulary distance utilizing the dialectometric method, specifically the inter-village triangles and etymon techniques.

DIALECTOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

In the overall isogloss bundles, it can be seen that there is a thickening of the isogloss lines between the sub-districts which divides Depok into four language dispersal zones (distribution). This results in the four patterns of language use (Figure 3). Pattern A shows Peripheral Betawi, which definitely uses *ora*. Pattern B has Peripheral Betawi which uses the typical *Betawi Ora* words: *wadon, lanang, bocah*, but it no longer uses the vocabulary *ora*. In Pattern C, the Peripheral Betawi language does not use the vocabulary of either *ora* or the typical *Betawi Ora* words: *wadon, lanang, bocah*. Finally, Pattern D shows the use of Sundanese.
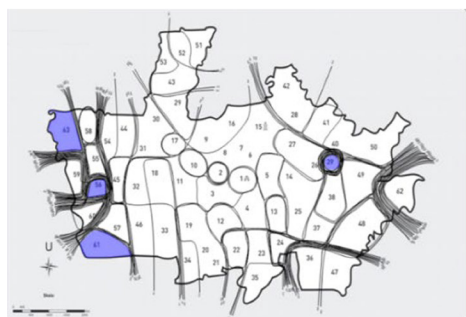
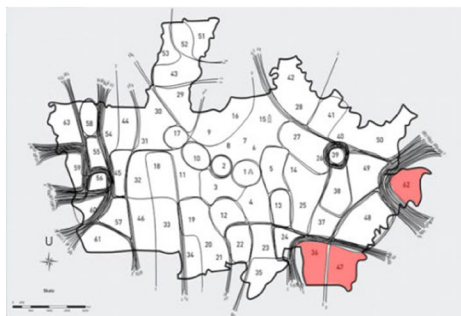Pattern A. Peripheral Betawi, use definitively *Ora* words.
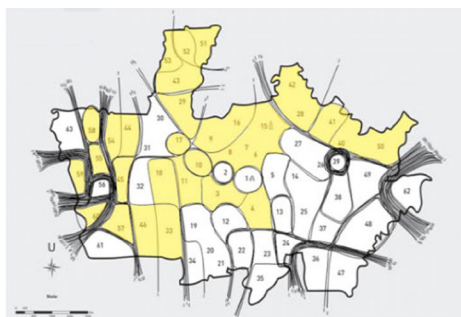
Pattern B. Peripheral Betawi which uses the typical *Betawi Ora* words
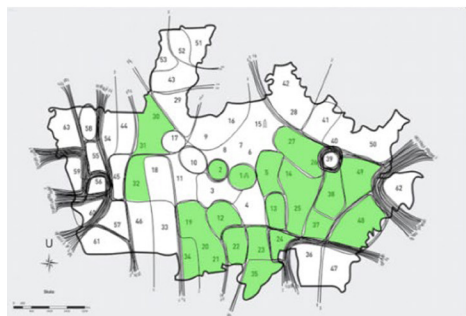
Pattern C. Peripheral Betawi

Pattern D. Sundanese

Figure 3. Patterns of language distribution in Depok.

Based on the calculation of the number of etymons which appear on 235 language maps, the vocabulary with two etymons has the highest percentage as shown in Figure 4.
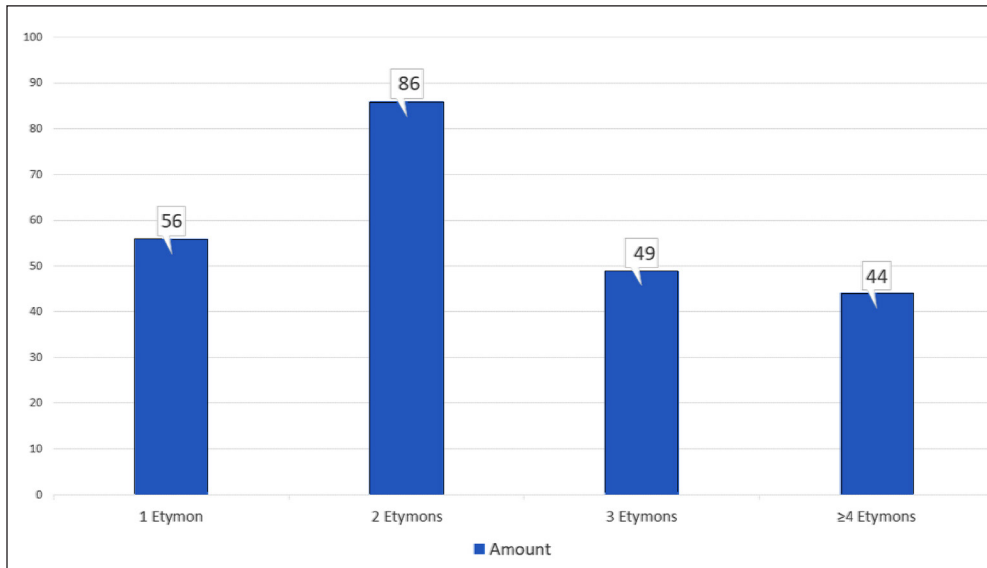
Figure 4. The overall vocabulary of etymon groups.

In Figure 4, it can be seen that, generally speaking, the most common etymon groups found are the two etymon groups with 86 language maps or 36.59 percent of the total 235 language maps. This is followed by the etymon group with 56 language maps or 23.82 percent. However, the group of three etymons has 49 language maps (20.85%), and the group of four etymons or more has 44 language maps (18.72%).

The etymon groups which have been derived primarily from the basic Swadesh vocabulary group, kinship system vocabulary, and the overall vocabulary are the vocabulary groups with two etymons. This shows that Depok has two different languages. However, in the group of pronouns, terms of address, and references, the etymon groups which are mostly found are the vocabulary with three etymons.

In addition, the highest dialectometric calculation results were found between 48 and 55 percent. Hence, the criteria for the dialectometry percentage proposed by Lauder (2007), which is above 70 percent, was not achieved. The status of the Sundanese and Betawi languages as different languages (70%) is found only in the calculation of the vocabulary of pronouns, terms of address, and references. The high mobility of the population as a result of the ease of access to transportation and communication is one of the reasons for the increase of mutual understanding between speakers of the Sundanese and Betawi languages reflected in this dialectometry calculation. Examining the claims made by the people in Depok, there are those who claim to be native speakers of the Betawi and Sundanese languages, but there are also those who claim that the language they use is Depok language or the local village language, neither Betawi nor Sundanese.

Dialectometric calculations show that pronouns, terms of address, and reference words are vocabularies which are easily changed or influenced.

These changes are influenced by the presence of areas bordering on other areas which use different languages, intense community interaction, and the movement of people from areas which use different languages. The language variation in Depok occurs because Depok is bordered by two different language-speaking areas: DKI Jakarta with the Betawi language and the Bogor Regency with the Sundanese language.

Socio-dialectological discussion; Language contact in Depok

The Sundanese terms of address system for SMALL GIRL and TEENAGE GIRL have a wider distribution area. For little and teenage girls, the vocabulary used is *eneng* with 84 percent from the Depok area, which has a variation of /ənɛŋ/ 63 or /nɛŋ/ 21 percent.

However, the terms of address for boys (including those for little boys, teenagers, and older men) are dominated by those of Betawi language vocabulary. The vocabulary used to address a LITTLE BOY is *entong* at 88 percent and its variation of address terms stands /əntɔŋ/ at 78 and /tɔŋ/ at 11 percent.

The terms of address for a TEENAGE BOY include *entong* at 65 percent, and its variations are /əntɔŋ/ at 60 and [tɔŋ] at 5 percent. Among the address terms, the loanword from Sundanese, /aaʔ/, is the second-highest variation in terms of address found in the data. Therefore, it can be concluded that the extensive use of the word /aaʔ/ also indicates the intensive contacts between speakers of Sundanese and Betawi in Depok.

To address a GRANDFATHER, people in Depok use the address terms of /əŋkɔŋ/ at 63 percent, followed by /kakɛʔ/ at 33, /əmbah/ at 2, and /ɔyɔt/ at 2 percent. To address a GRANDMOTHER, the Betawi terms of address terms also dominate: /nɛnɛʔ/ at 74 percent, /ɲai/ at 19, /əmaʔ/ at 5, and /mbah/ at 2 percent.

Consequently, the language contacts which occur in Depok generate inter-language borrowing but only on the level of vocabulary. This kind of language contact is categorized as casual contact in the borrowing scale proposed by Thomason (2001). In this casual contact, the borrowers do not have to be fluent in the source language. Generally, the words borrowed are non-basic vocabulary and the primary form classes (content words), all of which are shown in language contact in Depok in terms of borrowing terms of address (nouns). Based on its most extensive usage, the use of address terms in Depok can be seen in Table 1.

No.	Gloss	Vocabulary	References	Percentage
1.	To address a little boy	/əntɔŋ/ and /tɔŋ/	Betawi (A. Chaer 1976: 125, 388)	88%
2.	To address older man	/bapaʔ/ or /paʔ/	Betawi (Chaer 1976: 62) / Sundanese (M.O. Koesman 1984: 17)	43%
3.	To address a little girl	/ənɛŋ/ or /nɛŋ/	Betawi (Chaer 1976: 124, 250) / Sundanese (Koesman 1984: 47)	84%
4.	To address an older girl	/əmpɔʔ/ or /mpɔʔ/	Betawi (Chaer 1976: 122, 244)	75%
5.	To address an older brother	/abaŋ/	Betawi (Chaer 1976: 43)	90%
6.	To address a younger sibling	/adɛʔ/	Betawi (Chaer 1976: 44)	95%
7.	To address a younger brother of someone else's parents / your parents	/mamaŋ/	Sundanese (Koesman 1984: 111)	84%
8.	To address a younger sister of someone else's parents / your parents	/əncɪŋ/	Betawi (Chaer 1976: 123)	57%
9.	To address an older sister	/əmpɔʔ/	Betawi (Chaer 1976: 122)	79%
10.	To address someone else's father / your father	/baba/ or /babah/ or /abah/ or /babe/	Betawi (Chaer 1976: 57)	51%
11.	To address someone else's mother / your mother	/əmaʔ/ and /amak/	Betawi (Chaer 1976: 121)	65%
12.	To address an older brother/sister of father/mother	/uʷaʔ/	Betawi (Chaer 1976: 404)	70%
13.	To address a grandfather	/əŋkɔŋ/	Betawi (Chaer 1976: 125)	65%
14.	To address a grandmother	/nɛnɛʔ/	Betawi (Chaer 1976: 250)	57%
15.	To address parents of grandparents	/uyʊt/ and /buyʊt/	Sundanese (Koesman 1984: 28)	75%

Table 1. The percentage of the most widely distributed terms of address in Depok.

Regarding the terms of address which have the widest dispersal in Depok, an interesting insight is given by the banners celebrating Depok Anniversary in 2019. The theme of the banners was an appeal to "*Rame-rame berbudaya*" (Let's share a culture together). As shown in Figure 5, the appeal from Depok Government to its people is indicated by the use of the terms of address:

"*NYAI ENGKONG, EMAK BABA, NCE MAMANG, NDE, ABANG MPOK, BOCAH BOCAH NYOK AH RAME RAME BERBUDAYA*" (Grandmother, grandfather, mother, father, uncle, aunt, brother, sister, little children, let's share a culture together). Some of these are those terms of address which do not have the widest dispersal.
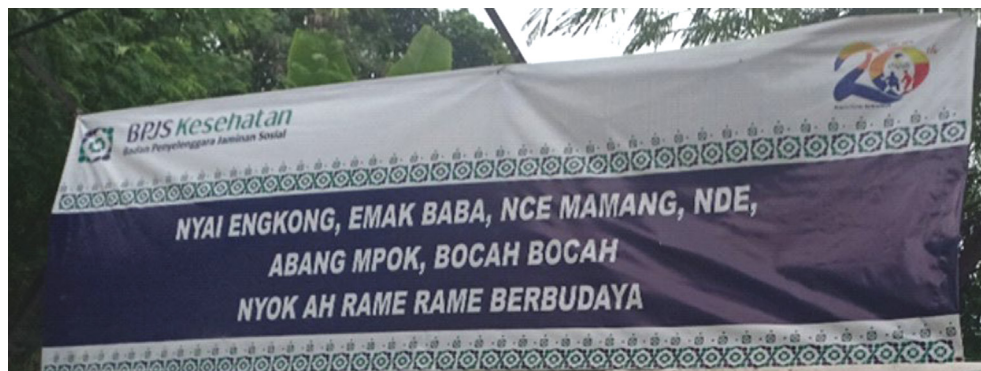

Figure 5. The use of terms of address on banners in Depok (2019).

The terms of address /ɲai/, /əncɛʔ/, and /nde/ are also used in Depok. It has been found that the dispersal of the word /ɲai/ TO ADDRESS A GRANDMOTHER stands at only 19 percent, which is not as widespread as the word /nɛnɛʔ/ which reaches 57 percent. The dispersal of the word, /əncɛʔ/, used TO ADDRESS THE YOUNGER SISTER OF FATHER/MOTHER hits only 21 percent, compared to /əncɪŋ/ which gets 57 percent. The dispersal of the word, /nde/, used TO ADDRESS THE OLDER BROTHER OF FATHER/MOTHER stands at only 5 percent, compared to /uʷaʔ/ which attains 70 percent. Therefore, in its effort to display the common address terms to the people of Depok, its government has not used the words which have the widest dispersal zone. This indicates that Depok government has tried to accommodate the terms of address which are used by the Depok speech community as one of its efforts to seek its identity. Further investigation of these terms of address is intriguing because they can be one of the indicators which determine the identity of the Depok community – which ethnic group it belongs to.

The state of the bilingual or multilingual society is influenced by the domains of language use which, in this case, are related to the characteristics of the participants and the background to the conversation (for example, the family domain) as mentioned by Holmes (2013). Therefore, the situation a bilingual or multilingual society can lead to several language contact situations, one of which is diglossia (J.F. Hamers and M.H.A. Blanc 2000).

Generally, the natives of Depok speak *Betawi Ora*. The *Betawi Ora* dialect comes from people of Javanese ethnic descent whose ancestors settled in the Jakarta area after they had lost the war against the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the early seventeenth century (Muhadjir 2000). The Betawi language is divided into Middle Betawi and Peripheral Betawi (or *Betawi*

Ora). Both Betawi languages have differences based on their phonological characteristics and vocabulary. The final vowel *è*, especially pronounced in Indonesian as [a], is pronounced [aˀ] or [ah] in the periphery dialect. So *(s) ayè* is pronounced [sajah] or [sajaˀ]. Examining vocabulary use shows that the Middle Betawi Tengahan sub-dialect has no words derived from Javanese, while the Peripheral Betawi sub-dialect still contains many words derived from Javanese, such as *bocah, lanang, kulon,* and *jeleh* which are not found in Middle Betawi (Muhadjir 2000). Peripheral Betawi is often referred to as *Betawi Ora* because *ora* means 'no' to express the negation in the lower register of Javanese. The *ora* negation is a unique feature of Peripheral Betawi distinguishing it from the Middle Betawi language. Middle Betawi expresses the negation "no" by using the words *enggak* and *kagak*.

Besides *Betawi Ora*, the Sundanese language is also found in Depok, which makes Depok City an area overlapped by the two language waves. The Sundanese language in Depok definitively influences sub-districts whose people still speak *Betawi Ora* (use the word *ora* and other typical vocabularies of the *Betawi Ora*). The four sub-districts which have undergone Sundanese influence are Curug-Cimanggis in eastern Depok and Bojongsari, Duren Seribu, and Pondok Petir in the western part of Depok. In these four-pocket areas of *Betawi Ora*, with the exception of Duren Seribu sub-district, extensive use of Sundanese vocabulary can be found.

However, it is interesting to discover that, in all the *Betawi Ora* pockets, Sundanese address terms such as /mamaŋ/ and /ənɛŋ/ are used. Furthermore, the word /uʷaˀ/ is used in two sub-districts: Curug-Cimanggis and Bojongsari, while the other two sub-districts still use the *Betawi Ora* word, /maˀ gədɛ/. This extensive use of Sundanese terms of address in the *Betawi Ora* pocket areas indicates that the *Betawi Ora* community accommodates the Sundanese vocabulary in order to close social distance and create more solidarity with the Sundanese people.

On the other hand, the influence of the Betawi language on Sundanese is indicated by the low percentage of Sundanese vocabulary in the Sundanese pocket areas, which include three sub-districts: Leuwinanggung, Cimpaeun, and Cilangkap. In these sub-districts, the people claim to use Sundanese. However, the percentage of Sundanese vocabulary used in Leuwinanggung is only 43 percent, while in Cimpaeun and Cilangkap, the percentage is even lower at 20 and 18 percent, respectively. Therefore, more than 50 percent of the vocabularies used in these Sundanese pockets are words from a non-Sundanese language: Betawi or Indonesian.

CONCLUSIONS

This research covers two disciplines: dialectology and sociodialectology. Based on the dialectological analyses, the following conclusions can be drawn.

Firstly, based on the analyses of isogloss bundles, there are four dispersal areas as is shown in Figure 6 which illustrates how Peripheral Betawi has the widest dispersal areas in Depok.
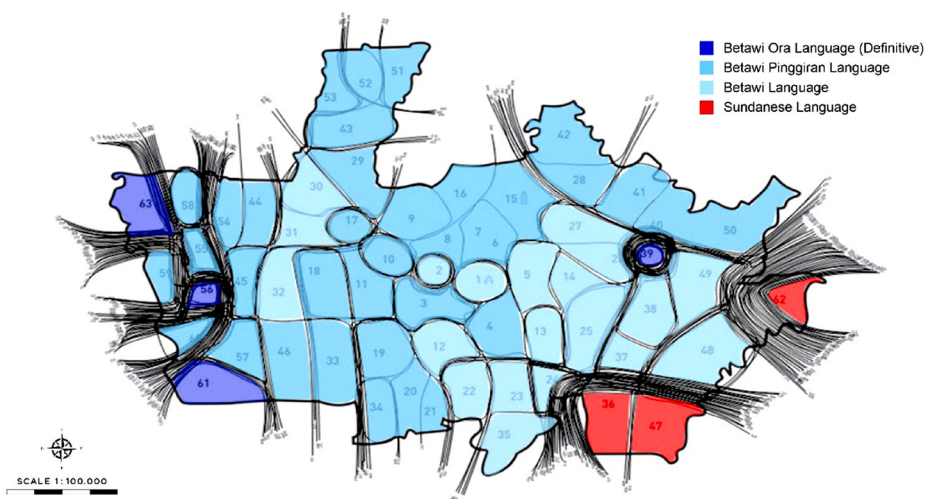
Figure 6. Coloured map of language dispersal in Depok.

Secondly, based on the calculation of the number of etyma, the words most found are the vocabulary with two etyma, including the primary Swadesh vocabulary group, the kinship system vocabulary, and the overall vocabulary. The map also indicates that two different languages, Betawi and Sundanese, are used in Depok as everyday languages. These two different languages are used in the Depok area because it is a melting-pot in which the two language-waves meet: Sundanese and Betawi. Furthermore, the map also indicates that intense language contact has less impact on the kinship system vocabulary group in one of the two languages because the kinship system is closely related to the identity of a language community.

Thirdly, based on dialectometric calculations, language differences are found only in the pronouns, terms of address, and references. The dialectometry calculation shows that the highest scores are in pronouns, greetings, and references which reach 70 percent in Cinere and Pondok Petir in the western part of Depok. Based on Lauder's dialectometric scale (Ayatrohaedi 2002), this 70 percent figure already indicates a language difference. However, in Swadesh basic vocabulary, in the kinship system vocabulary, and overall vocabulary, the only found differences are dialect. In Harjamukti and Leuwinanggung, the highest dialectometric calculation results in three areas: the basic Swadesh vocabulary, the kinship system, and the overal vocabulary are found with 55, 48, and 53 percent respectively.

Consequently, even though they claim to speak different languages as Betawi- and Sundanese-speaking communities, the formula for the dialectometry percentage above the 70 percent, proposed by Lauder (2007), is not entirely achieved. Therefore, this could be evidence that there have been intense language contacts between language-speakers in Depok.

The status of the Sundanese and Betawi languages as two different languages (70%) is found only when calculating pronouns, terms of address, and

references. For the Swadesh vocabulary calculation, the highest distinguisher stands at only 55 percent, whereas the highest distinguishers for the kinship system and the overall vocabulary only reach 48 and 53 percent respectively. The high mobility of the population because of the ease of transportation and communication access is one of the reasons for the increasing understanding between speakers of the Sundanese and Betawi languages, which is reflected in this dialectometry calculation. The findings also show that some people in Depok claim to be native speakers of the Betawi and Sundanese languages, but some claim that they use Depok language or the local village language, which is neither Betawi nor Sundanese. The dialectometry calculation also shows that pronouns, terms of address, and reference words are easily changed vocabularies. These changes can be influenced by areas bordering other using different languages, with intense community interaction and high mobility of people from areas which use different languages.

Based on the socio-dialectological analysis, it can be concluded that the *ora* vocabulary has begun to wane and is no longer widely used by Depok people. However, the vocabulary /wadɔn/ 'female', the typical vocabulary marker used by speakers of the Peripheral Betawi dialect, has a wide distribution area of 57 percent. On the other hand, another Peripheral Betawi dialect marker vocabulary, /lanaŋ/, which is still used in Depok, reaches 21 percent of the distribution area, which is lower than /wadɔn/. Similarly, the word /bɔcah/ still stands at 24 percent in its distribution area. To sum up, Depok people are speakers of Peripheral Betawi (*Ora*) language, although the use of *ora* vocabulary is disappearing.

It can also be concluded that language contact also occurs in terms of address for little girls and teenagers, with Sundanese vocabulary having the widest dispersal. However, the Betawi vocabulary has the widest dispersal in words used to address little boys and teenagers. Likewise, Betawi terms of address for adult females and males and the kinship vocabulary for grandparents are more widely used. Therefore, it appears that language contact in Depok City occurs through mutual borrowing of address terms which Thomason (2001) classifies as belonging to casual contact in the borrowing scale.

Based on interviews with informants, many claim that they are using the local village language or the Depok language. Based on a decree of the Governor of West Java, the language used in Depok is the Depok Malay family. Hence, the findings of this research derives three definitions of language. Firstly, language is an identity marker as is shown by the label attached by the language community in the area itself whose inhabitants claim they speak Depok language. These people prefer to be known as Depok people and, in this case, their identity can no longer be separated into Betawi people, Sundanese, and other immigrant groups. Secondly, from the point of view of governmental politics, language is a regional identity and the governor has declared that people in Depok uses Depok Malay. Thirdly, language is a linguistic entity whose existence cannot be separated from the methodological calculations carried out by linguists. This can be seen from the label of "Betawi dialect of Malay".

The use of two or more languages in one place at one time by Depok people makes them generally bilinguals or multilingual. The state of the bilingual or multilingual society gives rise to several language contact situations, one of which is diglossia. In general, the diglossia phenomenon in Depok is found in the use of high variety (H) linguistic expressions in formal situations and conversations outside the family domain and in the use of low variety (L) in everyday communication and in the family domain. This is found in the Sundanese-speaking pockets in Depok in which Sundanese is used as the low variety (L), whereas non-formal Indonesian, which might actually be the Jakarta dialect of Malay, is used as the high variety (H).

Guiter (1973) and Lauder (2007) have proposed criteria for language differentiation in dialectological studies based on the dialectometric method specifying that only when the difference reaches > 70 can two languages be considered two different languages. This research clearly shows that the criteria are not entirely proven in Depok because it is an urban area whose language speakers do not experience any difficulty in communicating. The high mobility of the language speakers supported by adequate means of transportation between observation points assists in smooth communication between the speakers. Therefore, the application of language differentiation proposed by Guiter (1973) and Lauder (2007) needs to be studied more extensively in those urban areas which have a higher intensity of language contact.

The results of this research can also serve as a basis for consideration for policy makers when deciding which local language or local content should be taught in schools in Depok. Based on the language map produced by this research, it can be determined that the Betawi pocket has the widest area of use, whereas the Sundanese pocket has been limited to only three sub-districts. Consequently, it would be appropriate to choose Betawi language as the local content to be taught in Depok. Teaching facilities can be equipped with Betawi dictionaries in accordance with the levels of education. Doing this can also develop the existing dictionaries in Depok.

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