

Investigating Language Shift Among Minangnese Second Generations in North Bandung

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the language shift phenomenon among the second generations of migrant minority groups, Minangnese, in the northern part of Bandung city, capital of West Java province. This study employs a descriptive qualitative method in which the data are collected through questionnaires, language tests, and interviews. The participants of the study are four Minangnese families, and the study mainly focuses on the second generations. By using Fishman's (2013) language shift and Holmes' (2013) domains of language use as the theoretical framework, the findings of this study reveal that the language shift occurs among Minangnese second generations, as most of them no longer use Minangnese language and lack proficiency in Minangnese language. The contributing factors to the shift were intergroup social dependency, economic, demographic, and attitude towards the Minangnese language. The findings suggest that language shift in migrant minorities has higher probability to occur especially if the host community or major society has huge impacts towards the minority. Consequently, the vitality of Minangnese has been challenged by the native speakers. Recommendation drawn from this study is that steps should be taken by the minority language speakers and researchers to maintain their mother language.

Keywords: *Minangnese, minangnese language, migrant minorities*

1. INTRODUCTION

The way we speak may reflect our ethnic identity. This is true when it comes to a language of our ethnic background. Also, we may show our ethnic identity in the way we speak even when we do not use our ethnic language. According to Fishman (2010), even though the two notions of language and ethnic identity are bare to be equated, to some extent, they have. For instance, a person's identity is considered a 'Sundanese' (one of the ethnic groups in Indonesia) when he or she uses Sundanese language.

The Sundanese language is a part of ethnic languages. Most ethnic languages are considered vernacular languages i.e., those unofficial languages that are not used nationwide and those used to express solidarity among ethnic groups (Holmes, 2013). Vernacular languages are spread all over multicultural countries include Indonesia.

Indonesia, as a multilingual country with 1331 ethnic groups spread across the country (Na'im & Syaputra, 2011), has 718 spoken vernacular languages (Kemendikbud, 2020). Na'im and Syaputra (2011) also state that these vernacular languages are being

maintained by over 236 million native speakers which give the country cultural diversity. Inside the Indonesian multicultural society, different ethnic groups tend to live in the same neighborhood within the urban areas due to gradually increasing urbanization (Tjiptoherijanto, 1999). The urbanization has made several ethnic groups migrate to seek a better life.

In this country, the most migrating ethnic group is Minangkabau (Naim, 1973). Based on the 2010 Indonesian census, an estimated half of the 4.2 million Minangkabau ethnic group members (also known as Minangnese) live outside West Sumatra province, their place of origin. The spread of the community has already reached many parts of the country, especially in West Java, the most populous province (*Badan Pusat Statistik*, 2015). The large proportion of Minangnese migration occurred between 1958 and 1978, where more than 80% of the migrants have left their hometown after the Dutch colonial period (Kato, 2005). This shows that Minangnese have been migrating for a long time and have already settled outside over two or three generations.

As one of the prevalent ethnic groups in Indonesia, the Minangnese are proud of their language. As

Fishman (2010) suggests, the Minangnese use their language to reflect their identity and pride. In the case of Minangnese who were born post-migration (later known as the second generation of migrated-Minangnese), there are two possibilities regarding the fate of the language, that is whether they pass it on or not. If the second-generation does not inherit their native language but speak other languages instead, there is a possibility of language shift.

A language shift is a phenomenon that usually happens among migrant community. Specifically, it occurs among the younger generations of the group. According to Ravindranath (2009), language shift is the process by which a speech community gradually stops using one of its two languages in favour of the other within social circumstances. Meanwhile, Fishman (1978) emphasizes that this happens among the younger members of a minority speech community who do not inherit their parents' language, but use a dominant majority language instead. Accordingly, the language shift happens among the second generation.

Language shifts have already occurred in many parts of the world; however, studies on language shifts among minority migrants in Indonesia are currently still limited. Alika, Rokhman, and Haryadi (2017) investigated language maintenance of the non-formal style of Minangnese language in a cultural community called "Sakato" in Yogyakarta. The researchers discovered that the language is maintained in the area of cultural activity, literature, family, and daily conversation. Their study did not show any language shift among its native speakers. Meanwhile, Marnita (2017) found out that the language shift had occurred among Minangnese adolescents in Padang. They shifted their language from Minangnese to Indonesian due to the perception of the Indonesian language as an educated language. They, therefore, encouraged the young families in Padang to teach their children Indonesian as the first language. Another study conducted by Reniwati, Noviatri, Aslinda, and Midawati (2016) compared Minangnese language spoken in the native area and Malaysia. They conducted a dialectological analysis to examine a language variety in the unit of lexicon. Their study is limited in the area of morphology. Hence, these previous studies are limited in the case of Minangnese language, culture, and non-migrant Minangnese only.

Therefore, this study attempts to investigate whether a language shift phenomenon has occurred among Minangnese second generations in North Bandung. It also examines the domains of the language shift. In addition, this study attempts to discover the contributing factors. This study uses Fishman's theory (2013) of language shift and Holmes' theory (2013) of domains of language use. In comparison to other studies, this study

uses a language test to prove the participants' language ability.

2. METHODS

The nature of this study is descriptive qualitative since it aims to describe and investigate the language shift among the Minangnese second generation in North Bandung. As explained by Wray, Trott, and Bloomer (1998), the qualitative method serves to describe language social phenomenon in which the research focused on description and analysis. Meanwhile, according to Hammarberg, Kirkman and de Lacey (2016), qualitative methods do not take account of measuring but include small-group discussion. Therefore, a qualitative approach is considered to be useful in conducting sociolinguistic research as well as be suitable for this present study as it does not focus on a large scale of data.

For the participants of the study, there were thirteen respondents, including five parents and eight children from four families. The participants were chosen because they met the requirement of being native Minangnese who migrated and lived in North Bandung for at least ten years for the parents, and being the children of pure Minangnese family for the children. Prior to data collection, they were given consent forms to be filled in. In addition, anonymity was used for all names of the participants involved in this study. They were identified using alphabet letter A, B, C, and D. The data were successfully gathered from four families (see Table 1 for participants' information).

The instruments of this study include interviews, questionnaires, and a language test. They are adapted from the study of Dweik and Al-Refa'i (2015). Schilling (2013) states that interviews and questionnaires are considered suitable for sociolinguistic research, a study that focuses on language in the field. Each of the participants was asked to fill out the questionnaire in an online form along with the language test. Later, they were interviewed through either voice record in a social media application named "WhatsApp" or a direct phone call. The steps taken in the study are as follow:

1. Sociolinguistics questionnaire: shared online in Google Form. The questionnaires are divided into two types: parent questionnaire and children questionnaire. The difference between the questionnaires depends on the participants.
2. Language Test: provided at the end of the questionnaire section to measure the participants' Minangnese language skills. The test was given in the form of Minangnese and Indonesian poems. A lecturer in the Minangnese literature study program from Andalas University, Mr. Bahren, S.S., M.A., helped the researcher to grade each participants' poem translation.

3. Interview: several questions were asked regarding participants' sociolinguistic background, linguistic repertoire, Minangnese language teaching and learning, and their perception of Minangnese identity. The interviews were recorded through a

phone call or voice record using a social media application named "WhatsApp".

Finally, the collected data were analyzed, interpreted, and a conclusion was drawn.

Table 1. Participants' Information

Participant	Age	Family origins	Occupation	Family living duration in North Bandung	Condition during migration
Son A	18	Batusangkar & Bukittinggi	College student	12 years	Six years old
Daughter A	13		JHS student		One year old
Mother A	47		Housewife		High school graduate
Father A	51		Entrepreneur		High school graduate
Elder Son B	21	Pariaman	College student	20 years	Ten months old
Younger Son B	14		High school student		Since birth
Mother B	51		Housewife		Undergraduate
Older Daughter C	44	Padang Panjang	Employee	59 years	Since birth
Younger Daughter C	40		Employee		Since birth
Mother C	78		Lecturer		High school graduate
Older Son D	47	Solok	Employee	54 years	Since birth
Younger Son D	42		Employee		since birth
Mother D	72		Housewife		High school graduate

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. The occurrence of language shift

The results of the study demonstrate that the majority of the parents, the first generation of Minangnese parents in North Bandung, tend to be bilinguals by using the Minangnese language and other languages in different domains. Meanwhile, most of their children tend to use other languages than Minangnese in an everyday context. With that being said, a shift has been observed to occur in the second generation of the family. The data for the shift were taken from the statistics of language use, which is compiled from six domains (community, home, self-expression, neighbourhood, school/workplace, and public place) among the participants, which is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1 indicates that most parents tend to use other languages instead of the Minangnese language with a 39.5% percentage. However, the number is almost the same as the number of parents that use the Minangnese language, which is 37.50%. Meanwhile, 22.92% of the parents tend to use bilingual language. Then, the percentage of children that use other languages in everyday context reaches as high as 73%. This number is significantly higher than that of the language use of Minangnese language as the later only reaches 4%. However, the number of children that use Minangnese and other languages is a quarter or 22.92%, similar to

the parents. As seen from the significant disparity between the use of Minangnese and other languages, which is 73% against 4%, it can be inferred that the Minangnese children or second generations shifted their language from Minangnese to other languages, meanwhile Minangnese parents tend to use Minangnese and other languages in their everyday communication.

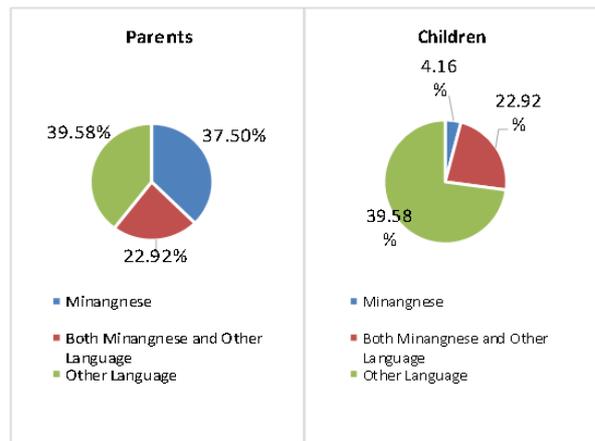


Figure 1 The Comparison of Language Use between Parents and Children.

In addition to the statistics of language use data from six domains, an additional test was administered to prove the Minangnese children's ability of Minangnese language. Table 2 presents the scores of their translated poems from Minangnese to Indonesian and vice versa.

According to the Table 2, the average score of the Minangnese children translated poems is 66.125, with the highest score of 85 and the lowest score of 0. In contrast, the average score of the Minangnese parents translated poems is 89.4, with the highest score of 90 and the lowest score of 88. Therefore, it can be inferred that there exists a significant difference in performance between the first generations who were the native speakers of Minangnese and the second generations.

Table 2. Translated Poems Scores

Participant	Minangnese → Indonesian Translated Poem	Indonesian → Minangnese Translated Poem	Overall score
Daughter A	90	80	85
Son A	78	78	78
Oldest Son B	75	75	75
Youngest Son B	Unable	Unable	0
Older Daughter C	79	77	78
Younger Daughter C	68	Unable	68
Older Son D	75	75	75
Younger Son D	71	69	70
Children's average			66.125
Mother A	89	91	90
Father A	90	90	90
Mother B	88	92	90
Mother C	88	88	88
Mother D	88	90	89
Parents' average			89.4

From the decrease of the performance, as seen in table 2, the second generation of the Minangnese family tends to achieve lower scores than that of the first generation. This statement is in line with Holmes' (2013) postulates that language shift among minority migrant community is completed in the third generation, which means that it is started from the first generation, gradually continues to the second generation, and finished in the third generation.

Also, Fishman (1978) argues that language shift is highly possible in a situation when the younger members of a minority speech community no longer speak the language of their parents but speak the dominant majority language instead. As previously stated in diagram I, the majority of the second generations of Minangnese prefer to use other languages in different domains.

Based on Haugen's (1953) stages of bilingualism to language shift, and according to the children's pie diagram, the Minangnese second generations are positioned in aB, considering the fact that most members are better at using the majority's language. Meanwhile, the Minangnese first-generations are positioned in AB with competency in both languages, thus making them bilinguals. Therefore, Minangnese

parents maintain their mother tongue while the children encounter a language shift.

Some similar studies that use the same method show the same result of language shift phenomena. Through the percentage of language use, either in structured questions or survey instruments, some studies reveal language shift phenomenon among both migrant communities (Assyrians in Jordan) and non-migrant communities (Indonesian Wotunese, Mandailingnese, and Javanese) (Masruddin, 2013; Dweik & Al-Refa'i, 2015; Marpaung & Firdaus, 2017; Ulfa, Isda, & Purwati, 2018).

In other words, the Minangnese second generations shift their language from Minangnese to other languages according to their language use and their performance in Minangnese language skills.

3.2. Domain of language use

Domains of language use outlined by Holmes (2013) consist of community, home, self-expression, neighbourhood, school/workplace, and public place. In this study, these domains of language use specified the participants' language choice in every domain within two topics; a light topic that involves family addressee and heavy topics that address family issues. These topics were adjusted to the domains and the addressee.

As mentioned earlier, it is revealed that both of the first generations and second generations tend to use other languages instead of the Minangnese language. However, the difference lies in terms of domains as they tend to use other languages in different contexts. In the case of the parents, they use the Minangnese in the family, Minangnese community, and self-expression domains and other languages such as Indonesian or Sundanese in a public situation such as neighbourhood, school/workplace, and other public domains. On the other hand, the children tend to use other languages in most of the domains, namely their neighbourhood, school/workplace, family self-expression, and public with the exception of the Minangnese community in which they use both Minangnese languages combined with other languages. The following diagram (2) shows the summary of the data as well as its description.

Based on the Figure 2, it can be seen that most of the parents tend to use Minangnese language in the community, home, and self-expression domains. In contrast, fewer than 20% of the children speak Minangnese in the home and community domains only. None of the parents and children uses Minangnese language in the rest of the domains (neighborhood, school/workplace, and public place). This percentage seems to demonstrate that the frequency of Minangnese language use of the parents is far higher than the children. It implies that Minangnese parents are eventually using the Minangnese language according to

their addressees' identity. Meanwhile, the children who lack in Minangnese proficiency prefer other languages even though their addressees' identity is Minangnese.

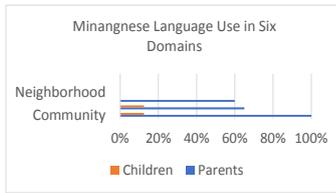


Figure 2 Minangnese language use among Minangnese parents and children.

Based on the findings presented earlier in the chapter, it can be inferred that a language shift has occurred in the second generation of Minangnese in North Bandung. It is discovered that the second generation shifts their language from Minangnese in the neighborhood, school, public place, and self-expression domains. These findings are supported by Fasold (1984) theory, which explains the phenomena of language shift occurs when the speakers start to use one language in domains and functions in which its members had previously used other languages and a change in the number of speakers of a language. This condition reflects the Minangnese children who speak languages other than Minangnese more frequently.

In addition, language shift defines a gradual change of the frequent use of language from one language to another language (Weinreich, 2010; Ravindranath, 2009; Mesthrie et al., 2009). This statement supports the fact that Minangnese children tend to use other languages in their everyday communication. About a quarter of the children prefer to use both languages, and only a fraction of them regularly use Minangnese language. It can be assumed that the second generation of migrated-Minangnese use other languages as they group in the society where the majority group is not their ethnic group, and this affects their linguistic repertoire. The similar use of domain language is also conducted by Dweik and Al-Refa'i (2015) among Assyrian migrants in Jordan.

Overall, most parents tend to use other languages instead of the Minangnese in domains that do not involve other Minangnese. Meanwhile, the children mostly use other languages in all six domains.

3.3. Factors Contributing to the Shift

In addition to the occurrence of language shift and the domains in which the shift occurs, this research investigates the factors that contribute to the shift of

language among the second generation of Minangnese in North Bandung. Literature suggests that several factors fostering a language shift among migrants include economic and social factors/intergroup social dependency, demographic factors, and attitude/value (Fishman, 2013; Holmes, 2013; Mesthrie et al., 2009). In line with factors discussed in the literature, this study discovered that factors like demographic, socio-economic, and attitudes contribute to the language shift in this Minangnese family. The discussion of the three factors is as follows.

3.3.1. Demographic factors

According to Holmes (2013), demographic factors that contribute to language shift are divided into three: geographical, the number of community members, and intermarriage. Mesthrie et al. (2009) further emphasize the size of a minority speech community and the distribution of speakers of dominating language, which affects the language shift progress. This study reveals that geographical and the number of community members mostly contribute to Minangnese second generations' language shift.

Through interview data, Minangnese children's language choice is reflected by the society that they live in, which is in Bandung, Indonesia. In this study, location determines inter-cultural group interaction, meaning that they need to use other languages to interact with their neighbors and fellow workers or students. They choose Bandung as their destination because the city is famous for its education institution or working opportunity. Samples of the parents' statement about their reasons are presented in the following excerpts below.

- A1. Back then, most of people would go to either Bandung or Jakarta to continue their study.
- A2. My husband and I came to Bandung by invitation from our relatives who had been living here longer than us.

In short, the second-generation have limited interactions with fellow Minangnese that results in the lack of usage of their native language. Literature suggests that the habitual usage of language is correlated with its stability or even change (Fishman, 1964; Fishman, 1989; Mesthrie, et al., 2009). As the children do not maintain the language for its platform is limited, a shift then occurs; the second-generation prefers to use other languages as they are used to them. This also results in the degradation of skills in their native language while other languages skills are enhanced (Dorian, 1981). However, this condition is not exclusive for the second generations of Minangnese, other ethnicities share similar experiences as well; the teenagers of Mandailingnese, Acehnese, and Wotunese in different parts of Indonesia have also shifted their

languages due as well (Masruddin, 2013; Marpaung & Firdaus, 2017; Ulfa, et al., 2018).

3.3.2. *Economic and social factors/intergroup social dependency*

Both economic and social factors are correlated; nevertheless, the two fields are influenced by different factors and aims. Holmes (2013) explains that immigrants will perceive the majority language as a benefit in economic perception so they will learn it. For example, it will be easier for them to seek a job opportunity or run a business. Meanwhile, according to Fishman (2013), the intergroup social dependency portrays a reward for the newcomers who can speak the host language. In this study, both the economic and social contribute to Minangnese second generations' language shift.

For economic reasons, two of four Minangnese parents speak languages other than Minangnese to interact with their majority non-Minangnese customers. A mother supports this statement in family A who reveals that she speaks Sundanese to her customers in her restaurant, as presented in the following excerpt.

A3. I speak mixed languages. If the addressee is a Minangnese, I will speak Minangnese, if the addressee is a Sundanese, I will speak mixed Sundanese and Indonesian.

Following economic factor, there is social intergroup dependency which largely influences Minangnese children to use languages other than Minangnese. Based on Minangnese children's linguistic repertoire, most of them understand Indonesian, Minangnese, Sundanese, and English. However, they are more fluent in speaking Indonesian and Sundanese, as two of the languages are their everyday languages. As a result, their ethnic group depends on the host's language choice, in this case Indonesian and Sundanese, in order to foster relations among them.

The findings show that most of the children in the families mostly interact with other ethnicities. Hence, most of them speak Indonesian better in comparison to Minangnese. As suggested by the interview data, this condition is mainly because of the intergroup factor as limited contact among the people in the same ethnicity fosters change (Fishman, 2013). Thus, the children rely on the host's predominantly spoken language to interact with them (Holmes, 2013). This condition is the opposite to that of the Minangnese in the "Sakato" community. They maintain their language through various activities which inhibits linguistic shift (Alika, et al., 2017). In addition, the survival of Sundanese language among Sundanese families in Australia is also the result of language maintenance (Muslim, 2015).

3.3.3. *Attitudes towards Language*

Based on the interview, most of the second generations highly value the Minangnese language and their parents. However, because their parents did not teach them the language, their most-mastered language is not Minangnese, they never learn the language intensively, and lack frequent use of Minangnese due to lack of interaction with Minangnese speakers other than their parents (where most of them are passive speakers), the Minangnese second generations mostly used and mastered other languages. This fact is also the most significant factor of the second generations' language shift (Fishman, 2013; Holmes, 2013). As literature suggests, positive attitudes among minorities would create efforts to maintain their language (Holmes, 2013).

Most of the parents value the Minangnese language highly. They perceive it as an imperative language. For example, Mother A perceives Minangnese language as a characteristic of Minangnese identity. Meanwhile, Mother B thinks that the Minangnese language is not hard and understandable, unlike the Sundanese language. Also, Mother D states that the Minangnese language is our ancestors' language, and we should never leave the language. She never forgets the language ever since she migrated to Bandung as can be seen in the excerpt below.

A4. Minangnese is a prestigious language and a good language. This language must be maintained by the Minangnese. It is our ancestors' language and we should never leave the language. I never forget the language and taught it to my children when my family went to my hometown.

While the children do not maintain their native language exclusively, the interview data indicate that they high-value the Minangnese language. Nevertheless, the attitude towards the language indicates negative as they do not use Minangnese frequently and do not learn the language nor have intentions to do so. As discussed, the second-generations express their pride towards the language. However, the taken attitudes are negative in which contrasts with Holmes' (2013) statement about positive attitudes inhibit language shift.

4. CONCLUSION

This research examines the language shift phenomena among the second generations of Minangnese in North Bandung. According to the statistics of language use and language tests in Minangnese, the second generations tend to use other languages and lack in their mother tongue proficiency. The data of language use are compiled from six domains of language use, only 12.5% of the Minangnese second generations use Minangnese language. This study also highlights some contributing factors to the language

shift among the Minangnese second generations; which are demographic, intergroup social dependency, and attitude.

For further studies, it is suggested for future researchers to cover a larger area in Bandung or other areas in West Java province where numerous ethnic groups settle and employ a quantitative method to gain accurate data, especially in the sociolinguistics field.

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