Assessing Language Vitality of the Gorontalo Language

by

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to examine the linguistic vitality of the Gorontalo language, which was assessed as a threatened language by Ethnologue in 2020 (Eberhard, et al., 2020). Based on an extensive literature review, two research questions emerged: *1) What is the current language vitality of the Gorontalo Language? and 2) To what extent do the following variables influence Gorontalo language vitality: age, gender, place of origin, place of growing up, level of education and profession?*

This study employed an explanatory mixed-methods design. In the first phase of the study 60 participants who live in Gorontalo regency of Gorontalo province completed the quantitative sociolinguistic survey. A second phase involved qualitative data collection through semi-structured interviews with eight mothers of lower elementary school children. Both data collection phases were conducted in 2021.

The study is informed by Fishman's language use and language shift, Baker's language attitudes, and the UNESCO language vitality assessment. Based on the Language Vitality Measurement Scales (LVMS), which were adapted from UNESCO's frameworks, it was found that the current status of the Gorontalo language is shifting, with the child-bearing generation knowing the language well enough to converse among themselves, but not passing it on to their children. Vygotsky's theory on language learning, Bonnie Norton's theory on language and identity, and a large body of research on language planning and policy guided in interpreting the research findings.

With the increasing numbers of endangered languages in Indonesia and the shortage of professional literature on the health of the Gorontalo language in Indonesia, the results of this study contribute to the scholarly literature on the Gorontalo language. It offers a contemporary descriptive portrait of language transmission, language use, language attitudes and language fluency within the Gorontalo community in Gorontalo province. Results can guide policies and practices for reversing language shift in the Gorontalo community and elsewhere in Indonesia.

PREFACE

This dissertation is an original intellectual product by the author Rahmawaty Kadir. The

research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the

University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name "Assessing Language Vitality of the

Gorontalo Language", No. Pro00103210.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my beloved Gorontalese communities,

Mongowutata wawu mongodulaa,

Dulo ito mopodu'oto Bahasa lo Hulondhalo

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Almighty Allah the Most Gracious, and the Most Merciful, thank you for blessing me with health and strength to complete this dissertation. Many people have contributed to this challenging but rewarding journey. It would have been impossible for me to complete this dissertation without their support. Firstly, and foremost, I want to express my gratitude to my doctoral supervisor, Dr. Olenka Bilash, for her excellent guidance, support, kindness, and love throughout this process. She has challenged me to think critically and encouraged me to pursue my passions in language endangerment. She always offered words of encouragement and understanding when I was feeling overwhelmed. Words cannot express my gratitude to her, *odu olo*, from the bottom of my heart. This work would never have been completed without my additional dedicated supervisory committee members, Dr. Bonita Watt, and Dr. Marc Higgins. I am grateful for their guidance and support throughout the study. Their commitment to excellence has been motivating and inspiring. To my candidacy examining committee, Dr. Alla Nedashkivska and Dr. Lynne Wiltse: thank you for your thoughtful feedback and comprehensive questions about my study. I am grateful to my external examiner, Dr. Gregory Tweedie, for reading my dissertation and providing valuable feedback. To Dr. William Dunn, my examination chair: your support was invaluable, and I am grateful for your presence.

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No words can adequately express how grateful I am for my parents' support, blessings, and prayers. This dissertation is a tribute to my parents, who have been a huge influence on my education throughout my life. To my mother in-law, thank you for all of your help with the boys when I needed it the most. To my little sister, Novy, thank you for always being there for me and taking care of our parents when I have been away. Finally, to my beloved husband, throughout the entire PhD program and dissertation process, you have been my best friend, my supporter, and an amazing father to our sons. I would not be able to go on without your love and support. My two wonderful boys, Yasin and Ahmad, you are my sunshine and my comfort, *thank you for your understanding when I was distracted or unable to give you my full attention during this project*. I am so grateful to have you all in my life and for the countless memories we have made together. You all are my greatest blessings.

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Chapter I

Contextualizing the Research

"Living with many languages is unique and enriching. It gives you the richness of a diverse

world – a kaleidoscope of languages, cultures, and world-views." (Mohanty, 2019, p. 1)

Introduction

The spirit of Mohanty (2019) initiated the process that led me to embark on this mixed-methods study. This study reflects a process that has connected my personal experiences, my awareness about language loss, and the intellectual fields of my life. The dissertation is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter mainly centers on a personal narrative that emerges from my linguistic history, my involvement in language preservation and documentation of my mother tongue as well as my experience as a language learner and instructor. This provides readers with some insight into how this study came about and the research questions that guide the study. Chapter II provides a literature review pertinent to the study. A brief description of the context of languages in Indonesia and a description of the Gorontalo tribe can be found in Chapter III. Chapter IV describes the methodology used in this study. Due to the mixed methods used in this study, the quantitative data results are presented in Chapter V, while the qualitative data results appear in Chapter VI. The assessment of Gorontalo language vitality can be found in Chapter VII. A summary of the findings, recommendations and suggestions for future research are provided at the end of Chapter VIII of this dissertation.

I begin by positioning myself as a researcher and discussing my background as someone who grew up in a multigenerational, multicultural household. My childhood life and educational experiences have shaped my identity and way of thinking. Having learned and taught different

languages, witnessed language preservation efforts while living and studying abroad, and experienced language loss and maintenance has prepared me for this research project. These reasons guide me to formulate my research questions and describe the significance of my research, which I provide at the end of this first chapter.

Background of the Study

"Can you play the piano without your fingers?

Can you walk without your feet?

Can you see, hear, smell, touch, and taste if you lost all your senses?

Paralyzed, unidentified, and alone!"

(Kadir, 2021, p. 83)

The above poem illustrates that my language has become an integral part of my multiple identities as a native of Gorontalo. Growing up in a multilingual and multiethnic family environment has broadened my perspective on multilingualism, language shift (or changing to a new dominant language), and language maintenance. The Republic of Indonesia's linguistic diversity includes 722 Indigenous languages spoken across the nation (Eberhard et al., 2020). In addition to the language variety, the country is made up of 1,340 ethnic sub-groups (Statistics Indonesia, 2010) that spread across the 13,367 official islands (Turner, 1996) of Indonesia.

Figure 1

Map of Provinces on Indonesia

Note. The black square is Gorontalo province. Adapted from "GeoCurrents Maps of Indonesia," by GeoCurrents, 2016, http://www.geocurrents.info/gc-maps/geocurrents-maps-by-country/geocurrents-maps-of-indonesia

I was born and raised in Gorontalo, a province in the northern part of Sulawesi (Celebes) Island, Indonesia. The Sulawesi Island itself has more than 100 living languages (Lewis, 2009). Since I was a child, I have been exposed simultaneously to more than one language. I acquired the Gorontalo language at home, the Arabic language from the afterschool program and religious activities, and the Indonesian language, or *Bahasa* Indonesia (*Bahasa* means language), in school. There is also the Indonesian language variance called Gorontalo Malay and Manado Malay, a creole language spoken by the Minahasan tribe (Manado people or the Minahasans) in the North Sulawesi province. My language learning experience was enriched by the opportunities to study in the United States, to teach in Azerbaijan, and to pursue my

doctoral studies in Canada. Living in these foreign countries has enhanced my foreign language skills, such as English and Azerbaijani. These experiences also raised my awareness of multilingualism, language shift, and language maintenance.

The Indigenous languages of Indonesia, also called local / native languages or mother tongues[1], reveal significant variations in the number of speakers which range from over 84 million speakers for Javanese to many critically endangered languages with few or no living speakers. *Ethnologue* published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) International listed that of the 722 languages, 710 are living with varying degrees of status, and 12 are extinct. Ethnologue described a total of 347 local Indonesian languages that had been labeled in trouble and 81 languages that are dying (Eberhard et al., 2020). These dying languages usually have small numbers of speakers who are socially or economically disadvantaged and are not being transmitted to younger generations of speakers (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014; Musgrave, 2014). Even worse, some languages have only a few remaining speakers, and most of the speakers are older. However, according to Ravindranath and Cohn (2014), language endangerment in Indonesia not only threatens languages with a small speaker population, but languages with over a million speakers are also going through a similar fate. Florey (2005) suggests that "restricting the definition of an 'endangered language' to those languages with small speaker populations disguises the extent of the problem" (p. 59). Therefore, it is important to note that the size of the speaker population cannot guarantee the safety of the language.

The loss of Indonesia's Indigenous languages occurs for a variety of reasons, such as language policies, the official status of a language and its prestige, language attitudes, language

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[1] While I am aware of the significance of succinctly defining each of these terms, but for the purposes of this study I have used the terms native language, local language, and mother tongue interchangeably with reference to the Indigenous language of Gorontalo.

fluency, language shift, and language contact. Riza (2008) explains that the loss of Indigenous languages is primarily because of linguistic and cultural assimilation with the majority groups, and migration, including urbanization. Moreover, there is a lack of official support for these languages to be taught at school and to be used in state education (Sugiharto, 2014b), which also contributes to the problem. In fact, since Bahasa Indonesia has been taught in school, the Indigenous languages are losing their use in daily life. Data show that the growth of Bahasa Indonesia's speakers is reducing the number of speakers of Indonesia's Indigenous languages (Lauder, 2005; Musgrave, 2014; Steinhauer, 1994). Similarly, a study by Nurani (2015) on Javanese language documents that the Javanese people have negative attitudes toward their language and highly favor Arabic and English as a modern identity.

The Gorontalo language, also known as *Bahasa Hulondhalo* spoken by the Gorontalo tribe living in Gorontalo Province, the northern part of Sulawesi Island (see Figure 1). This language is continuously losing its speakers, despite having over a million who identify as Gorontalese. The inhabitants of this province acknowledge three native languages: Gorontalo, Bonda (spoken in Suwawa subdistrict), and Atinggola (spoken in Atinggola subdistrict). The Gorontalese also speak Bahasa Indonesia (the official language), Manado Malay (the language of a neighboring province), and Gorontalo Malay. Additionally, many people use Arabic as their language of prayer, as well as learn English as a compulsory subject in school.

The endangered status of the Gorontalo language is relatively understudied. Lack of publications in reputable journals makes it difficult to obtain information about its language vitality status and maintenance. The only reliable and available data that I found was from *Ethnologue,* published by the SIL International. Using the Expanded Graded Intergenerational

Scale (EGIDS) (see Chapter II for details), *Ethnologue* placed the Gorontalo language in the threatened (6b) category, where all generations use the language for face-to-face interaction, but it is still losing speakers (Eberhard et al., 2020). However, this report cannot be totally relied upon as it is unclear whether the assessment of the information is given as a default or taken from a review of previous reports and first-hand information. There is no adequate information provided on how the data were collected or the age of the data. As a native Gorontalo and having spent most of my years of public-school education and university in Gorontalo province, I am convinced that the vitality assessment has been overestimated on EGIDS. In my experiences and observations in the communities over the years, not all generations are using the language for face-to-face interaction. Consequently, to explore the (mis)match between previous reports, the observed situation, and my own experiences, I decided to undertake the study of the language vitality of the Gorontalo language.

UNESCO initiated a framework to assess language vitality based on the International Expert Meeting of the UNESCO program on *Safeguarding of Endangered Languages,* held in Paris (Brenzinger et al., 2003). The UNESCO experts proposed nine factors that must be taken into consideration when assessing vitality of a language, namely intergenerational language transmission; absolute number of speakers; proportion of speakers within the total population; trends in existing language domains; response to new domains and media; materials for language education and literacy; governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies; community members' attitudes toward their own language; and amount and quality of documentation. These experts asserted that one factor alone cannot be used to assess a language's vitality and its need for documentation.

Using the UNESCO nine factors to assess the vitality of languages, I developed the Language Vitality and Measurement Scale (LVMS) to measure the vitality of the Gorontalo language. This framework will look for the preliminary signs of language shift among the Gorontalese and to learn about the reasons behind the shift to another language(s). The LVMS is amalgamated and developed, based on the UNESCO nine factors, to fit the objective of this study. It contains ten factors that contribute to language sustainability (see Chapter IV for details). The LVMS framework is designed to meet the main objective of this study, which is to investigate the level of language vitality based on intergenerational language transmission, patterns of language use, language attitudes, language knowledge, etc.

Intergenerational transmission is one of the prominent factors in determining language vitality. Fishman (1991; 2001) claims that transmitting a language from one generation to another is critical for a language to survive. In minority language contexts, the extent to which parents wish to maintain their language and transmit it to the next generation will determine its linguistic health and survival. Women are considered more likely to use and maintain their minority languages (Holmes 1993; Winter & Pauwels 2005). Children's first language acquisition is influenced by their parents, especially women (Bilash, 2012). This means that the future of a language community lies in the proficiency of youth, especially in their childbearing years. The young people who have strong language skills, cultural awareness, and a positive sense of belonging to the community are the community's most valuable asset (Bilash, 2008; 2012). A study by Jeletic (2016) describes the parental influence of the mother tongue transmission in the home domain and highlights a more significant and stronger relationship between mothers and their children's mother tongue. Therefore, to assess the vitality of a language, it is important to explore the mother's language abilities and attitudes toward the

language. In the gendered society of Indonesia, mothers are the children's primary caregivers. The mothers' language transmission, language use, and language attitudes in this study were specifically assessed through interviews with mothers of lower grade elementary school-age children.

Another factor, stressed in language vitality studies, is the range of domains in which a language is used (Fishman, 1965; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). Many researchers (e.g., Fishman, 1991; Li, 2006a, 2006b; Reyhner & Tennant, 1995) have concluded that the home is the key to Indigenous language preservation. Several studies (e.g., Holmes, 2013; Kalra, 2018; Shaeffer, 2008) have shown that when the dominant language is used in education, the use of minority languages in other domains is likely to decrease. To ensure the sustainability of Indigenous languages, it is crucial that they are used in education. The national and regional governments should establish policies that guarantee the use of Indigenous languages in education. Many Asian countries, such as Indonesia, however, do not have this policy, or it is limited to certain levels of education.

A positive attitude towards the language is also essential for maintaining and revitalizing the language. Additionally, the speaker's language knowledge (competence) influences linguistic health (Bradley & Bradley, 2019). Individual perspectives, personal life history, attitudes, and choices determine their abilities in any language. Bradley and Bradley (2019) state that when a speaker's knowledge of the dominant language increases, the knowledge of the native language decreases and may even cease to develop after a certain age. Language that has official recognition in the country is more valued and appraised by its own speakers and even other minority language speakers. Apparently, the study of language transmission,

language use, language attitudes, and language knowledge are significant because they could measure linguistic health as well as assist in explaining language shift and maintenance.

In my 2017 online survey of language attitudes and language choices of Gorontalese living in the city of Gorontalo. It was found that the Gorontalese had shifted to Bahasa Indonesia and preferred to learn English, despite the participants' positive attitudes toward their mother tongue (Kadir, 2020). Since this initial study was completed online, most of the survey participants were highly educated and technologically literate, had been exposed to Bahasa Indonesia and English through schooling, and had access to technology and the internet. Therefore, it may not provide an accurate report of the Gorontalo language vitality throughout the province.

Further, the current study will build on other research about the use of Gorontalo language by urban youth 10 to 18 years of age and their attitudes towards the Gorontalo language (Zakaria, et.al., 2019). They found that the participants engaged in code mixing[2] between Gorontalo language and other languages such as Manado Malay, Bahasa Indonesia, English and Arabic, and held negative attitudes towards the Gorontalo language. This current study explores language use, language attitudes, and language knowledge among participants over the age of 18 living outside of the city.

This mixed-methods study attempts to determine the vitality of the Gorontalo Language in the rural areas in one regency of Gorontalo Province where it is spoken by examining the patterns of language use in different language domains, identifying language attitudes of the rural

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[2] Contemporary theorists might refer to code switching and code mixing as translanguaging (Garcia, 2011). This study intentionally used the term code switching and code mixing referring to the use of different language varieties within the same conversation, whereas translanguaging provides insight into the holistic nature of bilingual language use, demonstrating how code switching represents only a portion of the larger phenomenon of bilingual communication, which encompasses a deeper understanding of bilingual communication as a whole (Zhong, Z., & Fan, L, 2023).

communities, and obtaining information on intergenerational transmission, as well as the speakers' language knowledge and proficiency. I gathered preliminary information about the vitality of the Gorontalo language among the communities in areas outside the city as markers of whether the Gorontalese tribe is maintaining its language or shifting to another language, as is happening in the city. Further, I deepened the reliability of this information by interviewing mothers of school-aged children. These data will be beneficial to assist policy makers and inform the Gorontalese communities. I also looked into different policies at the national, provincial and regional levels, as well as grassroots programs to enhance my discussion. This will bring data to the attention of various levels of government so that they can examine the effectiveness of their language policy and practice.

A language survey became the primary data collection method and was distributed to several villages in Gorontalo regency (Kabupaten Gorontalo). Secondary data were gathered from interviewing the participants who agreed to participate in the study. Interviews were conducted with Gorontalese, explicitly targeting mothers who have children in lower grades of elementary school, because this age group is critical to language transmission or language loss.

Locating Myself

Everyone has a story about his/her life experiences, frustrations, and successes as a child, student, or professional worker. These stories become an important part of the research process as they shape and lead a researcher's beliefs, identity, and research interests. As Merriam (2009) notes when selecting a research topic, the first place to look is our everyday life experience, work, family, friends, and community. Likewise, Strauss (1987) observes that a researcher's lived experiences "not only give added theoretical sensitivity but provide a wealth of provisional suggestions for making comparisons, findings variations, and sampling widely on

theoretical grounds" (p. 11). Furthermore, Gadamer (2004) claims that through stating the researcher's lived experience, the researcher can reveal his/her own perspectives as well as "assumptions, worldviews, biases, theoretical orientation, and relationship to the study that may affect the investigation" (Merriam, 2009, p. 229). Consequently, when interpreting the data in a qualitative study, awareness of the researcher's worldview has become a fundamental requirement (Maxwell, 2008).

In this section, I describe the critical moments that left a strong impression and shaped my research interest. I shall begin with an introduction to offer an understanding of who I am, what my values are, and how they inform my inquiries and development as a researcher. During the process of this research, I have become aware of how my early childhood experiences have planted healthy seeds about the importance of education in my life. I have also witnessed how my education and work experiences have shaped my perspectives. It is also important to acknowledge my personal experiences in terms of my position in this research as a lens that reshapes my existing knowledge. Therefore, I asked myself the following questions: what brought me to this research, and how did my experiences shape my research interest? I shall tell you of my multilingual family background and the childhood experiences that built a strong foundation for me to respect diversity around me.

I will describe the educational experiences that taught me about nationalism and multilingualism at the same time. My experience while studying abroad, including working with the Language Documentation Training Center (LDTC) in Hawaii, and teaching immigrant students, has raised my awareness of the importance of respecting students' native languages and dialects, and at the same time, reversing the shift of my mother tongue. Finally, in the last section of this chapter, I invite the readers to follow my journey to Azerbaijan, with its multilingual

citizens, where the majority of parents preferred having an English-only learning environment for their children.

Multicultural and Multilingual Background

Growing up in a multigenerational household and a linguistically diverse environment taught me the valuable lesson of respecting diversity around me. As I mentioned previously, I have been exposed to different languages since I was born. My parents are Gorontalese though they are from different parts of the region. My father is a villager who did not have a chance to complete his primary education; therefore, his Gorontalo language is very strong because he only attended school in Bahasa Indonesia for a short time.

In contrast, my mother was an educated town girl who spent her school years in the neighborhood city called Manado, the capital of North Sulawesi province. My mother speaks the Manado Malay fluently in addition to the Gorontalo language and Bahasa Indonesia. As is typical in traditional Indonesian families, my family lived in my grandfather's house, which we shared with my uncle and aunt's family. In this family house, each member of the family shared responsibilities, such as farming, cooking, cleaning, and caring for the children.

As a child, I often heard different languages such as Bahasa Indonesia, Gorontalo language, Manado Malay and the Gorontalo Malay spoken at home. Code-switching from one language to another was common. The elders used Gorontalo language while young people, like my older cousins, who were at that time studying in Manado city, often code switched between Manado Malay and Gorontalo Malay when they were at home for a holiday. Although my parents used Gorontalo language with each other, when they talked to us (my sister and me) in this language, we would answer them in another language. With the development of technology and media information, I also began to listen to the national radio broadcasts, or I went to my

neighbor's house to watch national television. From these technologies, I acquired standard Bahasa Indonesia in my childhood. As a teacher in a public school, my mother often spoke to me in Bahasa Indonesia, the language she used in the classroom when she taught first grade.

Decreased Self-esteem Because of My Tongue

When I was seven or eight years old, my aunt took me to Manado city, about 350 km from Gorontalo, to visit another aunt. One day, my aunt asked me to buy some sugar in a shop across the street. Without hesitation, I asked the store owner for some sugar. He immediately recognized my dialect and asked if I was from Gorontalo, where I lived, and so on. I remember answering him politely, mixing codes between Gorontalo Language, Manado Malay, and Gorontalo Malay. At the time, I was not aware that the Minahasan people (ethnic group native to the North Sulawesi province) is a different ethnic group, and they do not speak or understand Gorontalo language. He suddenly laughed and kept repeating my dialect himself. I then felt nervous and ran back to my aunt's house. No one had ever laughed at my language before, but this man now made fun of it. Since then whenever I passed the shop, he would tease me by calling me "the Gorontalo people" and imitating my accent. These terms, at least for me at that time, were associated with some negative connotations such as being the villagers, the traditional, the poorer, and the darker skinned. When my cousin came home from school, they started to mimic my Gorontalo language accent to tease me. So, I became a quiet child; I did not speak much at home and did not want to play outside. From that time, I started to imitate my cousin's Manado Malay dialect when I spoke.

The Excitement of Learning

I spent my school and university years in Gorontalo city. As a brief history, Gorontalo was previously a regional district under the North Sulawesi province with Manado as the capital city, before it gained regional autonomy, and became the 32nd Indonesian province in 2000 (see Appendix M for details). Since becoming a separate province, Gorontalo has attracted many Indonesians to work and reside in it. Besides the Indonesian local ethnic groups such as Javanese, Minahasa, Bugis, etc., there are Dutch, Chinese, and Middle East descendants, which blend and live together.

When I started elementary school, I began to learn and acquire Standard (formal) Bahasa Indonesia rapidly, and it was intensified at home where my mother regularly brought home storybooks and children's magazines in this language. I was introduced to English as a foreign language in my first year of Junior high school. Most of the time, the English lesson was delivered in Bahasa Indonesia as the medium of instruction. There was once a student who transferred from Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, to my Junior High school, who spoke Bahasa Indonesia with a Jakarta dialect (the most popular Bahasa Indonesia colloquial language), a language that I heard only from TV and radio drama. I was excited and wanted to be friends with her just like everyone else. I found her language to be very cool and modern.

My junior high school was like other schools where students from different ethnicities spoke different languages at home. Bullying, or being excluded from the group, is one reason why the students do not use their mother tongue in school. Many others are not taught to use the language. Moreover, the teaching process and textbook materials are all delivered and written in Bahasa Indonesia. Therefore, students need to adjust to the school conditions. Although, there is no punishment for the students who use their native language in school for communication with

friends, there is no support from school for students' native language. In my situation, I did not use Gorontalo language in school because my parents did not use it with me. As I grew up speaking Gorontalo Malay, I began to associate Gorontalo language with being uneducated and traditional.

Throughout my school years, I code switched between Bahasa Indonesia, and Gorontalo Malay, depending on the occasion. Personally, I prefer Gorontalo Malay, because this language is a simplified and mixed version of different languages such as Gorontalo language, Bahasa Indonesia and Manado Malay. Having a classmate coming from Jakarta who spoke Bahasa Indonesia very well motivated me to master Bahasa Indonesia. Fishman (1965) states that the speaker's positive and negative attitudes towards the mother tongue and second languages contribute to language vitality. Unofficial language like my mother tongue, Gorontalo, tends to be stigmatized by its own speakers. In contrast, the dominant language, like Bahasa Indonesia, English, and Arabic with their special status, is often associated with economy and power (Sugiharto, 2014a).

Since Bahasa Indonesia is used as the Medium of Instruction (MOI), I never used Gorontalo Language in school, even when I spoke with Gorontalese teachers and classmates. I wrote, using the standard and proper Bahasa Indonesia and spoke Gorontalo Malay when I interacted with my classmates. I felt comfortable using Gorontalo Malay for daily conversation as it is a popular language among Gorontalese. In fact, I do not remember when I completely stopped using Gorontalo language and totally shifted to Gorontalo Malay and Bahasa Indonesia.

After graduating from high school, I studied English in Gorontalo State University, one of the most prominent teaching Universities in Sulawesi Island. During the university orientation, one of the seniors asked us to introduce ourselves, using our local language. I was

nervous because I realized that it was hard for me to even say a simple sentence in my language. However, I was relieved when I noticed that I was not the only Gorontalese who struggled to build sentences in my native language. This was the moment when I realized that I had shifted to other languages and started to lose my mother tongue. However, I did not feel wrong about it at that time. I was feeling slightly proud because my Bahasa Indonesia was getting better, and I was learning a foreign language.

The language shift has led to Indigenous language endangerment and death (Mufwene, 2006). The speakers of a minority language may stick to the language that they have traditionally spoken if this language has official recognition in their country, or if it has positive values in society. However, in a bi/multilingual country, the speakers may learn other languages for different purposes and interaction with outsiders. Fishman (1991; 2001) views shifting to a dominant language as typically linked with social and economic benefits. This claim is supported by Mufwene (2001) and Brenzinger (2006) who also see economic and social prestige contributing to language shift in the community. In my case, my parents used the language between themselves and other older people, and there was no obligation for the children to use the language at home. As I grew up, having an education in Bahasa Indonesia, I did not make it necessary to speak my mother tongue. Additionally, the intention to be recognized as a modern and educated person had motivated me to shift languages. Looking at Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) model, it could be said that intergenerational transmission will not take place if adult speakers do not transmit the language to their children.

In my third year, I represented my university in the Indonesian students' National Sail with Indonesia's battleship. This event aimed to educate and foster the spirit of nationalism, patriotism, and love of country among Indonesian youth. During two-weeks sailing across the

Indonesian oceans, visiting remote border islands, and studying nationalism and patriotism from the Indonesian navy SEAL army, my sense of nationalism and patriotism increased. I understood how hard our people fought against colonialism and tried to unite our diverse country under one nation, one language, and one land, as the Indonesian youth's pledge in 1928 states. During this event, I had the opportunity to meet many young Indonesians from different universities and ethnicities. As the only Gorontalese student, I initially felt inferior because my Bahasa Indonesia was heavily influenced by my local dialect. I tried very hard to sound like other students who came from Jakarta. In the first and second days, I joined the students from the North Sulawesi who spoke Manado Malay; however, I soon started to mingle as I became more confident with my Bahasa Indonesia.

It was a pleasure to meet students of diverse ethnic backgrounds, and exchange gifts as a symbol of friendship. I gave them a Gorontalese traditional handicraft, called "Karawang", which is a hand-held fan and scarf. I initially hesitated to take them because they looked very traditional, but my mother insisted. Later that day, I found that many students favored my traditional gift. This boosted my self-confidence and self-identity as a Gorontalese.

At the end of my university year, I became involved in several volunteer teaching projects, such as English tutoring for children and adult literacy programs. I worked as a volunteer teacher to eliminate illiteracy in remote areas and villages in Gorontalo. Surprisingly these activities required me to speak, not only Bahasa Indonesia, but also my native language to deliver information clearly. Since some older people spoke only Gorontalo language, it was not easy to teach them to read using Bahasa Indonesia. Therefore, I had to adapt and even relearn my mother tongue.

Official Language or English Only

Following graduation, I passed the Indonesian government's teacher recruitment test and was hired as a teacher in a public elementary school. Although English had been taught as a subject in Indonesian elementary schools since 1960, the Gorontalo provincial government only adopted it officially in 2009 and supported this policy by recruiting English teachers for elementary school. This decision created euphoria in society, particularly among the students' parents.

On my first day as a government teacher in Gorontalo, I was assigned to teach grade two. As I walked into the classroom, I saw many parents standing outside the classroom, sitting on the bench or peeking through the glass window. When I reached the classroom door, the parents greeted me and told me that they were here to see their children learn English for the first time. I was surprised but managed to explain to them that the lesson would be 70 minutes in length, and I invited them to join the first lesson if they wished. I greeted the classroom teacher inside who then introduced me to the students. I offered the parents, who were waiting outside, to find empty seats or to stand at the back of the class. I introduced myself in English, followed by the Bahasa Indonesia translation. In the middle of the lesson, I showed a picture of a kite, some students called it "alanggaya" (Gorontalo language), "falinggir" (Manado Malay), and some others called it "layang-layang" (Bahasa Indonesia). The students started arguing, and I heard the parents explain to their children that the correct word is only in Bahasa Indonesia. I decided to write the words in all the languages that the student used. There were many more examples of the students' confusion between their native language(s), Bahasa Indonesia, and English. My approach, which tried to accommodate the students' mother tongue in the English class, surprisingly upset some parents. After a month of teaching, I was questioned by my

teacher colleagues who told me that I must use English or the Standard Indonesian language because they were most suitable for students.

Leaving the Island and Study Abroad

A multilingual living environment follows my life journey as I travelled and lived in different parts of the world. The Ford Foundation International Fellowship Program and the East-West Center (EWC) Educational Fellowship Program awarded me full scholarships for my community work. I decided to pursue my master's degree in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Living in Hawaii gave me a deep insight of their achievement in language and cultural preservation. The community was able to revive the Hawaiian language through various successful programs such as language nest and language immersion programs. During my time at university and EWC, I observed how Hawaiian language and culture were incorporated into every formal meeting. The Hawaiian dances and rituals became part of every official ceremony, not only at the universities and EWC, but also in the state government.

An opportunity to be involved with minority groups of immigrant students occurred during the teaching practicum in the middle of my master's degree program. I quickly related to the Chuukese immigrant students within the schools where I worked. As most of them did not speak English, they were delighted when their language and culture were incorporated in the lessons and their names were pronounced correctly. In other words, they did not need to leave their mother tongue at home, and teachers acknowledged and respected it.

Involved in a Language Documentation Program

Involvement in language preservation was one of the great experiences I had when I was in Hawaii. I was invited to attend the Language Documentation Training Center (LDTC) workshop, which was run by the University of Hawaii (UH) linguistic study department.

Initially, I attended the workshop to learn more about the program, then I continued in the second week and stayed for three semesters. Through the LDTC at UH Manoa, I gained an understanding of what happens when languages die and how we can prevent language loss. The LDTC trained me to document my native language, which is spoken less and less since Bahasa Indonesia became the official language of Indonesia. These experiences raised my awareness of language loss and preservation.

Because of my work in documenting my mother tongue with LDTC, I had the chance to talk about language preservation and the process of documenting my mother tongue as a guest speaker on several occasions at HPU. I felt honored and motivated because people were eager and interested to learn about my language and my culture, one that I once was not proud of. Upon returning to my hometown, I committed to developing a dictionary of Gorontalo-Indonesian-English (see Appendix A) and created an online blog about the Gorontalo language and culture. Through these projects, I attempted to reclaim my identity as Gorontalese and the language that I started to lose.

More Languages to Learn, More Cultures to Embrace.

My life adventure was not finished yet as I followed my husband, who is a citizen of Azerbaijan, and moved to Baku, the capital city of Azerbaijan at the end of 2013. Adjusting to life in a new country was not easy for me, particularly in a country where English was not commonly used. Because Azerbaijan was one of the Soviet republics prior to gaining its independence from the Soviet Union, which enforced and promoted the Russian language as the language of interethnic communication, this language is still used widely for communication, and is a medium of instruction in Azeri-Russian public schools. As a multilingual nation, Azeri

people are fluent in their mother tongue, Azerbaijani, as well as Russian, and the languages of their neighboring countries, such as Turkish, and Georgian.

In Baku, I was employed as a teacher of English at a language education center. This position was available since the school was seeking a teacher who did not speak either Azerbaijani or Russian. Their goal was to foster the students' English learning skills. Some parents specifically requested my class so their children would not use Azeri or Russian. Although I had some experience in teaching English to young students, it was not easy because I did not speak the students' mother tongue. Reflecting on my experience teaching Micronesian students in Hawaii, I realized that I needed to support the students' first language and culture to build their self-esteem.

I spent three years living in Azerbaijan while learning the Azeri and Turkish languages. I became aware of how my previous language learning experiences were useful when I was learning new languages, such as English, Azeri, and Turkish. I could also see how supporting the children's mother tongue fosters positive learning experiences.

A Reflection on My Voyage

Reflecting on my childhood, educational experiences, professional work as a teacher, and living and teaching in different countries has taught me an abundance of valuable lessons. Through my childhood experience of living in a multilingual and multigenerational household and experiencing learning from the environment, I planted the seed of respecting linguistic diversity and nature surrounding me. In contrast, being bullied and having low self-esteem at a young age, because of my mother tongue, not only caused me to become a quiet and shy person, but motivated me to shift to other languages, for example, Bahasa Indonesia, Gorontalo Malay, and English. The shift to these three languages continued to develop throughout my school years,

where correct and proper use of Bahasa Indonesia is required in school and speaking Gorontalo Malay sounded easier and modern. It was only during a university orientation when I was asked to introduce myself in my mother tongue that I realized that I had already started to shift to other languages. However, at that time, I was not concerned because I saw other people had the same response. I became a passive speaker, or what Bradley and Bradley (2019) called "understanders", that is, people with the ability to understand but with little or no speaking ability. I noticed how the influence of other people contributed to my language shift, such as my parents who never bothered to correct me when I answered them in other languages. There was no intention from the community leaders to encourage young people to speak the language and create a space where the language could be learned and used. National and regional government regulations do not exist to require the use of the Gorontalo language in the school context or provide community language learning opportunities. Looking back, it seemed that no one really cared, or perhaps they never anticipated the consequences.

My experience in the Youth Sailing Exchange strengthened my awareness about nationalism, the importance of learning Bahasa Indonesia, and my identity as an Indonesian. Further, and perhaps more importantly, the sense of being acknowledged through my traditional gifts during the student exchange program sparked the feeling of pride in my identity as a Gorontalese. I consider this experience a turning point in my life which later influenced my way of thinking. I started to be involved in community activities. such as teaching in the rural areas of Gorontalo. Consequently, this involvement required me to speak my mother tongue to transfer information to my students. It was only when I was hired as a public-school English teacher that I understood that, as a language teacher, I needed to respect the children's home language when teaching a foreign language.

I witnessed how parents' and teachers' perspectives about the mother tongue could influence children's success. My study-abroad experiences helped me to find my own identity as a Gorontalese and, at the same time, broaden my mind to see that I am compelled and ethically obligated to promote and preserve my native language. Looking at Hawaiians effort to preserve the Hawaiian language directed me to attend LDTC and commit to document my mother tongue, the Gorontalo language. My professional experiences as a teacher in Gorontalo, Azerbaijan, Hawaii, and Canada have led me to believe that, as an educator, I should do all that I can to demonstrate to the students that their languages and culture are as equally valid and valued as other languages.

Research Questions

Language vitality is an indicator of the sustainability of a language and determines the extent to which intervention is required to ensure its maintenance. Grenoble and Whaley (2006) note that "assessing and understanding language vitality is a complex enterprise… yet the degree of language vitality is the basic indicator used to determine the appropriate type of language revitalization program" (p. 3). Roche (2017) stresses that vitality pertains not only to language itself, nor to the population that speaks that language; it pertains to the relationship between the language, the speakers, and its broader linguistic, social, and political context. Through an examination of the linguistic vitality of the Gorontalo language, I attempt to investigate language use in the community, determine if the Gorontalese is experiencing language shift, and identify factors that might contribute to the language shift of the Gorontalo language to other languages.

Experiencing a language shift since my childhood, because of neglecting my mother tongue in favor of the dominant language(s), has made me realize that as an Indigenous Gorontalese, I am obligated to preserve it. My experience, living in the Hawaiian Islands and

witnessing their successful efforts of language preservation, has compelled me to contribute

something to my language, and my people. A lack of study of Gorontalo Language's

endangerment status and attempts to preserve it led me to focus my research on assessing the

language vitality of the Gorontalo language. For these reasons, in this study, the language

transmission, the speakers' language attitudes, language use, and language knowledge, help to

evaluate language vitality, which I define as the ability of a language (Indigenous language) to

survive as a separate language in a multilingual speaker population setting without being

assimilated into a dominant language. To be more specific, this study aims to address the

following research questions (RQ):

1. *What is the current Language vitality of the Gorontalo Language?*

2. *To what extent do the following variables influence Gorontalo language vitality: age,*
   gender, place of origin, place of growing up, level of education and professions?

The vitality of Gorontalo was assessed through a Language Vitality Measurement Scale

(LVMS), a 10-factor framework based on UNESCO's nine factors of language vitality

assessment scale. The 10 factors are: 1) intergenerational transmission of language of speakers

over 18 years old, 2) language attitudes and desire, 3) shift in domain of language use, 4)

language knowledge and proficiency, 5) response to new domains and media, 6) availability of

materials for language education and literacy, 7) language policy, 8) language opportunities to

learn and appreciate the language, 9) language documentation, and 10) number of speakers.

A questionnaire survey and semi-structured interviews were employed to gather

empirical data. A survey was conducted with Gorontalese who live in the rural areas of

Gorontalo regency. The quantitative data were subjected to descriptive statistics to describe the

existence of intergenerational transmission of the language, patterns of language use, language

attitude perception and language proficiency and knowledge. Qualitative interviews with mothers were analyzed and interpreted in order to further understand their perspectives of the Gorontalo language and their language practices.

Significance of Study

With the increasing number of endangered languages in Indonesia and the shortage of professional literature on Gorontalo language vitality in Indonesia, the results of this study will contribute to the scholarly literature on Gorontalo language's linguistic health by giving a vibrant descriptive portrait of language use, language attitudes, language policy, and language proficiency of the Gorontalo community in Gorontalo province. The findings will assist policy makers, researchers, and the Gorontalo Community in several ways. First, by assessing the language vitality of the Gorontalo language, the study provides empirical data on Gorontalo language situations that can be used as input in designing and reviewing language policy planning at regional, provincial and national levels. Second, with the results offered from this study, informed actions in language maintenance and preventing language shift in the community can be taken by the local community. Third, results related to parental transmission of language, their language use and attitudes toward Gorontalo language and the teaching of it as a subject and a language of instruction in elementary school, may help the regional authority to review and improve teaching and learning of Gorontalo language. Findings will inform the parents as well as educators that their attitude and language use impact the language learning of children. Fourth, this research is expected to give benefits for the people of Gorontalo in preserving and teaching their children to be proud to use the Gorontalo language, and to have a positive attitude towards their local language. Moreover, this study may also be easily replicated

for other languages in Gorontalo province and in Indonesia. Finally, this study may serve as reference materials for future studies about the Gorontalo language.

Definition of Terms

The following key terms are defined as used in the study:

Multilingualism: "the ability of societies, institutions, groups, and individuals to engage on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives" (European Commission, 2007, p.6).

Endangered languages: A language is in danger when its speech community stops using it in different language domains and ceases to pass it on from one generation to the next (Brenzinger et al., 2003; Fishman, 1991).

Indigenous: Indigenous (with uppercase I) refers to the native people and non-official language spoken by ethnic groups in Indonesia. Throughout this dissertation, terms such as mother tongue, minority language and local / native language are used interchangeably with Indigenous language.

Medium of Instruction (MOI): The language used in the classroom to teach a particular concept.

Language vitality: Language vitality can be determined by the extent to which it is used as a means of communication in various social contexts for specific purposes (Fishman, 1991; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). It may also refer to linguistic health.

Intergenerational transmission: The transfer of individual abilities, characters, behaviors, and outcomes from parents to their children (Fishman, 1991; 2001).

Language attitudes: Language attitudes are the speakers' opinions, ideas, and prejudices towards a language (Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010).

Language choice: Occurs when the speaker chooses what language to use in a particular situation in bilingual or multilingual communities (Fishman, 1965; Romaine, 2017).

Language maintenance: A condition where the community members attempt to keep their language while their language is competing with other dominant or powerful languages in their society (Pauwels, 2016).

Language shift: This is a process where a community of speakers of a language shift to speaking a completely different language, usually over an extended period of time (Fishman, 1991; Pauwels, 2016).

Domain: Domain refers to the language sphere or area where a language is used. The concept also pertains to human activities in which one particular speech variety, or several speech varieties, are regularly used (Richards & Schmidt, 2010, p. 182).

Summary

The above chapter of this dissertation introduces the reader to the study, its relevance and significance and research questions. I have also described the growth of my interest in multilingualism through my experience living in multilingual cultures. I became aware of endangered languages because of both my own language shift and the current condition of my mother tongue, which has fostered my involvement in language preservation and documentation. My educational experiences taught me the importance of language transmission and positive attitudes from the speech community toward their languages and helped me to formulate the research questions of the study. In the next chapter, I review the literature related to the study and then present an overview of historical and sociolinguistic conditions of Indonesia and Gorontalo in Chapter III.

Chapter II

Literature Review and Interpretive Lens

I heard a little boy counting "satu, dua, tiga"

His grandma asked him, "what language is it?"

He said, "it is the language on TV, a language that unifies us"

Grandma weeps and walks away.

(Kadir, 2021, p.83)

Introduction

Cultural and linguistic assimilation often lead people to overlook their cultural roots and origins especially when they come from marginalized and minority groups. This poem prompted me to share that without efforts in preserving the language, each Indigenous language on this earth is facing language and cultural extinction. As I move forward, it is necessary to remember my roots and what my family stands for. This chapter begins with a discussion of the thoughtful concept of multilingualism and linguistic diversity, which leads to language shift or maintenance in the community. These conceptual ideas serve as theoretical understandings that inform the study. Additionally, the concepts of language use, language attitudes, and the ethnolinguistic vitality and assessment tools provided by Fishman (1991), the UNESCO's expert team (Brenzinger et al., 2003), and Lewis and Simon (2010), which are pertinent to this study, are also discussed in more depth. In the last section of this literature review, sociocultural theories, such as Vygotsky's language learning development, Norton's identity theory and Language Policy and Planning, are discussed to help shed light on the research findings. These theories are significant in choosing a framework, designing survey questionnaires, and investigating how the

vitality of a language can be identified and sustained. The following figure visually represents the theoretical framework of this study.

Figure 2

Visual Representation of Theoretical Framework for this Study
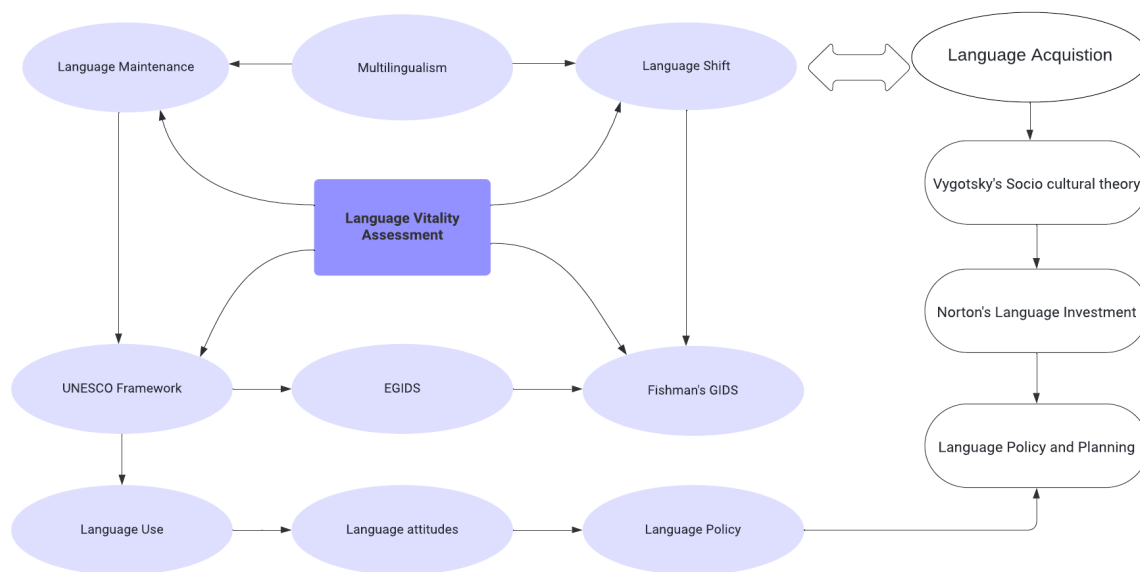
Multilingualism and Linguistic Diversity

Multilingualism is a global phenomenon and a common practice for most of the world's population. Herdina and Jessner (2002) define a multilingual as a person who can use two or more languages. There are more complex definitions of multilingualism offered by different researchers. Li (2008) states a multilingual individual is "anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it active (through speaking and writing) or passive (through listening and reading)" (p. 4). Gracia, Peltz and Schiffman (2006) suggest that a multilingual person has a "proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experiences of several cultures." A similar definition is provided by Butler (2012) who describes multi-language users as individuals

or groups of individuals who acquire communication skills in more than one language, with varying degrees of proficiency, in order to interact with speakers of one or more languages within a community. A renowned definition of multilingualism is provided by the Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture (European Commission, 2007): "the ability of societies, institutions, groups, and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives" (p. 6). Therefore, a multilingual individual is one who speaks more than one language on a daily basis.

In terms of fluency, Romaine (2017) states that multilingual individuals rarely possess equal fluency in all the languages they speak, as different languages are used for different functions. An Indonesian worker in a foreign company may use his native language, Javanese, when communicating with his family, Bahasa Indonesia when talking with his colleagues and English when communicating with his employer. Another example is Indonesian students who learned English as their third/fourth language in school and have already acquired two/three languages in their early childhood – Indigenous languages and Bahasa Indonesia. The students use English in their English class and assignments. Communication with her grandmother will be in Gorontalo, texting with friends in Gorontalo Malay and writing school papers in Bahasa Indonesia. Multilinguals use their languages for various purposes, in different domains, to achieve different things. In accordance with Grosjean (1982) and Romaine, (2017), multilinguals' fluency in each language varies according to their needs.

Individual Versus Societal Multilingualism

Romaine (2017) differentiates between individual multilingualism and societal multilingualism by saying that individual multilingualism takes place when a person has three or more languages in his/her repertoire without the involvement of the state and the state recognizes

only one official language. However, individual multilingualism is not restricted to the countries

that acknowledge only one official language. It can occur in countries that recognize more than

one official language (Romaine, 2017) such as Canada which has English and French as official

languages. A Canadian may be fluent in English, French, and Bahasa Indonesia. Another

Canadian could also be a speaker of Indigenous languages and an official language such as

English.

In contrast, societal multilingualism takes place in countries that are officially bilingual

or multilingual, for example, Canada, India, South Africa and New Zealand (Romaine. 2017).

According to Romaine, societal multilingualism is usually the result of dominant groups in

society managing to obtain a status for their language over the languages of less powerful

groups. In Canada, most individuals were proficient in their Indigenous languages before settlers

forced their European language upon them. In other words, while societal multilingualism

focusses on linguistic diversity found in a country or community, individual multilingualism

refers to an individual's ability to speak other languages in addition to their mother tongue.

With over 6,000 languages in the world and only about 200 independent countries

(Moseley, 2010), many languages are not official languages. The number of speakers of these

different marginalized languages is unequally distributed, meaning that speakers of smaller

languages must speak other languages in their daily life (Cenoz, 2013). In this sense,

multilinguals are speakers of an Indigenous language, but need to learn the national language or

are immigrants who learn the host country's language.

Phillipson (1992) asserts that multilingualism needs to be promoted to combat linguistic

misuse of languages and to keep the endangered languages alive. Similarly, Anderson (2010b)

asserts, "where there is no one dominant local language, and groups with diverse linguistic

heritages come into regular contact with one another, multilingualism is a perfectly natural condition" (p. 3). If there is no single major language monopolizes the public sphere, there is no reason for the speakers of a minority and undocumented language to abandon their language.

In linguistically diverse communities, one cannot avoid having contact with other languages for different purposes, such as economic (the exchange of goods) or social (education and marriage partners) (Romaine, 2017). Today, linguistic integration is possible across the world with current communication technologies and mobility. The multilingual education system should be promoted to enhance the learning of minority children as well as to prevent language loss (Sugiharto, 2014b).

Multilingual education should be based on the languages spoken in the community (UNESCO, 2003). Although there is an official language of instruction, other languages that students are familiar with need to be incorporated into the school. UNESCO (2003) emphasizes that multilingual education incorporates the use of at least three languages of instruction: the mother tongue, a national language, and an international language. With complex implications for individual identity, communication, social integration, schooling, culture and customs, multilingual education is important for people and the world (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013; UNESCO, 2003). It is crucial to encourage national and international commitment to promote multilingualism and linguistic diversity, including the safeguarding of endangered languages.

Multilingualism and Its Effects on Language Maintenance

Multilingual or bilingual speakers in every language community have a range of language choices available, and often choose their language varieties and switch between different languages (Grosjean, 1982; Wardhaugh, 2010). Studies of Döpke (1992) and Piller (2001) in bilingualism, find that parents in the bilingual community perceive bilingualism as an

investment in the children's academic progress, intellectual development, and job opportunity in the future. Mills (2004) discovered that parents who decided not to transmit their language to their children are concerned about the difficulties involved in language maintenance, particularly in the presence of a dominant or official language. Mills further contends that these parents may have failed to understand the importance of teaching the children their linguistic and cultural heritage, and how the language sustains cross-generational communication and strengthens family ties. These parents show negative attitudes towards their ethnicity, language, and cultural traditions. Okita (2002) sees language shift to a dominant language as a stepping stone toward social and economic benefits. When it comes to the linguistic conditions in Gorontalo province, multilingualism can impact the attitudes and language choice of Indigenous speakers by preferring the national language over their own language. Therefore, it may impact language maintenance.

Language Maintenance and Language Shift

Language maintenance refers to a condition when a speaker, or a group of speech communities, continues using their language in some or all aspects of their life despite the pressure and competition from the powerful dominant group (Pauwels, 2016). An example of language maintenance can be seen when a language group moves to another linguistic territory, but this group keeps maintaining its language because of a lack of contact with outsiders. Pauwels (2016) explains that language maintenance takes place only if the migrated group can provide for itself and have minimal contact with the broader community for its existence although the dominant language will infiltrate this minority language group for some functions or in specific contexts.

Pauwels (2016) introduces three major factors of language maintenance: 1) the period of continued use since the first language contact, 2) the extent to which it is the exclusive language in any given context, and 3) the domains or spheres of usage in which the L1 continues to be used either exclusively or in conjunction with another language (p. 21). Fishman (1965; 1991) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1999; 2013) state that the motives for a community to maintain its language include a sense of group identity and group membership. Fishman (1991) views a strong sense of ethnic identity as a central factor contributing to language maintenance. If the language is considered an important part of that identity, the community will preserve it. Fishman emphasizes that language maintenance must involve the intergenerational transmission of the language or else the speakers will shift to another language.

The study of language maintenance and language shift cannot be separated from each other. They focus on the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, and ongoing psychological, social and cultural processes, particularly when different language communities are in contact with each other (Fishman, 1965; Pauwels, 2016). Fishman (1965) states that language shift and language maintenance are a long-term process of language choice. A language is maintained when a speech community keeps using the language in one or more life domains, although language contact occurs with the mainstream language. On the contrary, language shift occurs when a speech community gives up its language in favor of another language (Pauwels, 2016) in at least one language domain (Clyne, 2003).

Tandefelt (1992) distinguishes four types of language shifts: partial shift, total shift, macro-level shift, and micro-level shift. Partial shift refers to the on-going process of language shift in the community, while the total shift shows a "point of no return" (Tandefelt, 1992, p.

151). Macro-level shift is studied as a societal phenomenon and lastly, the micro-level shift takes place in an individual's linguistic life (Tandefelt, 1992).

Clyne (2003) identifies two types of language shift as part of his study on the "dynamics of language shift" in immigrant languages in Australia. He found that first-generation and second-generation shifts occur in the immigrant community. In first-generation or intra-generational shifts, changes occur within the same generation or among overseas-born individuals. The second shift appears in the second or third generation of a migrant group (Clyne, 2003). He asserts that language shift is typically higher in the second than in the first generation (Clyne, 2003; Clyne & Kipp, 1997).

Why Does Language Shift Occur?

Factors that contribute to our understanding of language shift include lack of intergenerational transmission of language (Fishman, 1991), migration, industrialization, urbanization, language prestige, the medium of instruction, loss of group loyalty, religious and educational background, settlement patterns, exogamous marriage, attitudes of a language's speakers, the role of school, language policy in education, speakers' inability to maintain their language in the home domain, and lack of learning of a language by the younger generation (Dorian, 2014; Gal, 1979; Romaine, 2017). Fishman (1965) describes language shift as a sign of dislocation that is "the breakdown of previously established social functions, relationships, situations and domains, that no longer call for the use of the language that was previously used" (p. 212). In another publication, Fishman (1991) identifies three main categories of disruption affecting language shift, namely: physical and demographic dislocation, social dislocation, and cultural dislocation.

Physical and Demographic Factors. Fishman (1991) notes that "one of the major physical threats to intergenerational language-in-culture continuity is population transfer and voluntary or involuntary out-migration" (p. 57). According to Fishman, physical disruption may contain the language-in-culture pattern of the language-in-society and language-in-economy patterns as well, even in the people who stay behind. This type of dislocation may be caused by natural disasters, such as earthquakes, tsunami, and famines (Fishman, 1991). Dislocation also occurs because of human intervention such as wars, ethnic cleansing, and more recent disruptions like a toxic environment that affects air, water, soil, animals, and humans. These environmental disruptions force people to migrate to safe places.

Romaine (2017) discovers immigration, either forced or voluntary, to a place where it is not possible to maintain the speakers' native language may contribute to language shift. Holmes (2013) and Romaine (2017) describe the size of the speech community that immigrates as an influence on language shift. Large immigrant groups concentrated in a geographical area are better able to preserve their languages. For example, third-generation Chinese Americans who live in Chinatown may have shifted less towards English than their age-mates outside Chinatown (Romaine, 2017). Another example is a large and concentrated number of Maltese speakers in Australia showed the lowest propensity of migrant groups to shift their language to English (Holmes, 2013).

Recently, urbanization has had an impact on the speed of language shift. Studies by Fishman (1991), Gal (1979), and Holmes (2013) found that in a rural community, newcomers tend to interact with people from the urban (outside) community through school, neighborhood, work, shopping, and transportation. Newcomers must adapt to a new language which is usually a

dominant language. This dominant language may compete and replace the native language in the home domain, particularly for the young generation.

Demographic factors, such as age, gender, size, distribution of the ethno-linguistic group, spatial concentration, and exogamy, affect the degree and rate of shift that minority language groups experience (Pendakur, 1990) and are included in the physical and demographic factors of language shift. Holmes (2013) views demographic factors as important in accounting for the speed of language shift. Clyne (2003) suggests that different age groups shift at different rates. This explains the early study by Grenier (1984) that found that few shifts occurred during childhood and in those above thirty-five years. Young children have lower rates of shift because they are not exposed to the majority language as much as those in older age groups. In contrast, people older than thirty-five tend to have made their language choice, having either previously shifted to or retained a minority language. However, Pendakur (1990) reminds readers that "the survival of a language is generally a product of how well it is passed on to and accepted by the children of a particular language group" (p. 5).

The role of gender may also explain the patterns of language maintenance and shift in the community. It has been viewed that language maintenance and shift in women is qualitatively different than in men (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2012). Women are more likely than men to use and maintain minority languages (Gal, 1978; Holmes, 1993; Winter & Pauwels, 2005). Females are often more conservative in terms of language shift because traditionally, men work outside the home and women are engaged in domestic activities. Therefore, women are more likely to retain their language, especially in Indigenous contexts.

The spatial concentration of the linguistic community impacts the language use in the community (Pendakur, 1990). When the population is scattered, and there is less contact among

members of the linguistic group, they are less likely to maintain their minority language. If the community is concentrated in one place and is relatively isolated with only a few contacts with other groups, the chance of language retention is enhanced (Grenier, 1984; Pendakur, 1990; Romaine, 2017). A rural language community may have longer resistance to language shift than those in the urban area. As Holmes (2013) discovers, rural groups retain the use of their language because with it, they can meet most of their social needs. Accordingly, small size populations residing in certain areas may maintain their language as compared to a small size population who lives across a widespread area (Kipp & Clyne, 2003).

Exogamous marriages can play a role in language shift or language maintenance (Baker, 2011; Clyne, 2003; Holmes, 2013; Pendakur, 1990; Tandefelt, 1992). Pendakur (1990) notes that exogamous marriage is the most crucial factor that causes French-English language shift in French and English communities along the border of Québec and Ontario. In Australian immigrant groups, language shift is considerably higher among the children from mixed marriage families than from marriages within one ethnolinguistic group (Clyne, 2003).

As Tandefelt (1992) states "in a mixed family the minority language is clearly used to a more limited extent by the children's generation than in that of the parent, who could have given this language as an inheritance" (p. 155). In an exogamous family, if one parent speaks a minority language, and another speaks the dominant language, there is a higher chance that the minority language will not be passed on to the children.

Social Dislocation Factor. According to Fishman (1991), members of minority groups are often socially disadvantaged because they experience restricted access to education and economic benefits compared to the average population. Romaine (2017) claims that the absence of schooling in one's native language can make language maintenance difficult. Formal

education is often the first contact children have with the world outside their own community. In many countries like Indonesia, children are not taught in their own language because there is an official language which serves as a MOI. Fishman (1991) points out that the underprivileged community with low educational levels and economic status may be stigmatized. As a result, the members of this community develop a negative attitude towards their own community, culture, and language. It is common that some language speakers may refuse to use their language and adopt the dominant, majority language, which could provide them with social and economic benefits. Gal's (1979) groundbreaking study on young Hungarian women who shifted from Hungarian to German to improve their socioeconomic status provides an excellent example of this process. Eventually, this leads to inter-generational language shifts over many generations (Gal, 1979).

Cultural Dislocation Factor. Cultural dislocation takes place when the dominant group exerts its control as the most influential culture in a community. According to Fishman (1991), repressive regimes may engage in reprehensible cultural dislocation through massive arrests, execution of cultural leaders, deportations, and genocide. Fishman views modernization and democratization as additional forms of cultural dislocation because they lead to increased interaction between people from different groups and cultures. This interaction increases the impact of the majority group on the minority group. Fishman (1991), states that democratic societies can decrease the maintenance of minority language and cultures because "they undercut the very cultural and identity distinctions on which minority language maintenance must be based" (p. 63). Democratic communities may provide their members from all backgrounds with unrestricted communication, thus strengthening the control of the majority cultures (including the language) over the Indigenous cultures. Democracy can gradually reduce social diversity in

that community, including cultural and religious differences. In fact, it has been argued by Fishman that people in democratic communities eventually depend on the same media information and educational and cultural institutions, which are dominated by the majority and most powerful group.

Other Related Factors. In addition to the demographic, social, and cultural dislocation that Fishman (1991) proposes, other scholars such as Clyne (2003), Pauwels (2016), and Pendakur (1990) suggest other factors that cause language shift include the economy, national policy, the language in education policy, and religious practices.

After the demographic factor, institutional supports have been most seen to have influenced a language's vitality. Institutional supports include recognition and use of minority language in education, media, government, religion, and other social institutions to strengthen the language status (Fishman, 1991; Lewis, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013). However, for minority groups, this privilege rarely exists. To maintain a minority language, language schools, libraries, print and broadcast media, religious services, social clubs, and ethnic restaurants and shops, play a role to ensure retention of the minority language within an ethnolinguistic community.

The status factor refers to the values placed on the language from economic, social, sociohistorical, and language perspectives, all of which influence language maintenance (Fishman, 1991). The economic factor is the most crucial because language choices are influenced by financial advantages (Holmes, 2013). Gaining employment is a strong reason for learning a dominant language. In countries where English is an official or majority language, people would rather learn English than a minority language to get better jobs (Holmes, 2013). In Indonesia, since Bahasa Indonesia is the official language, Indigenous people must master the

language in order to gain employment. Social goals are also significant in terms of the speed of language shift (Holmes, 2013). When a minority group is socially accepted as equal to the dominant group, it is more likely to preserve its language. Finally, having a similar historical struggle for its rights affects the vitality of the group. Giles et al. (1977) view past events "as mobilizing symbols [which] inspire individuals to bind together as group members in the present" (pp. 310–311).

National policies and political decisions can also influence the degree of language maintenance (Pendakur, 1990). In many African countries, politics have influenced language shift as we see how the language of former colonizers often determines the official languages of a state. Colonial education systems use the language as a powerful tool in pursuing the political, economic, and cultural goals of the colonial governments. Those languages consequently have almost entirely replaced African tribal languages. In Indonesia, national policy to use Bahasa Indonesia as the official language has contributed to the language shift of many Indigenous language speakers (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014; Errington, 1986; Mufwene, 2006).

Finally, religious institutions such as mosques and churches play a positive role in preserving the ethnic minority group's language (Holmes, 2013; Romaine, 2017). When a language serves important religious functions, it stands a better chance of survival, as is the case of German among the Old Order Mennonites who attend a church where all services continue to take place in their language (Romaine, 2017).

Language Choice in Multilingual Communities

In 1965 Fishman asked a question "who speaks what language to whom and when?" as a description for the study of sociolinguistics in bilingualism. This quote has become a foundation for the study of language choice. Fishman (1965) defines language choice when the

speaker chooses what language to use in a particular situation in bilingual or multilingual communities. A multilingual language user has several language options for making contact with other people. Fishman (1972) states that within multilingual groups, language choice is far from random: "Proper usage dictates that only one of the theoretically co-available languages will be chosen by particular classes of interlocutors on specific kinds of occasions to discuss particular topics" (p. 437). This implies that the choice depends mostly on the interlocutor of a conversation, and language contexts, including where and when the conversation takes place and the topic of the conversation.

In the same vein, Romaine (2017) notes that multilingual people do not always consider the languages they know as adequate for use in all speech situations. In addition to the speech situation, Apfelbaum and Meyer (2010) add that multilingual people may choose to communicate in a specific language to compensate for a lack of proficiency in another language.

Romaine (2017) suggests one of the motivating factors for language choice is the "act of identity" or choosing the groups with whom they want to identify (p. 518). To perform the "acts of identity" when selecting to use one language over another, multilingual speakers base their choice on their intention to identify themselves with a particular group, such as an ethnic group, national group, peer group, or ideological group (Romaine, 2017).

Researchers have acknowledged several factors that influence language choice and language use in ethnic minority settings. These factors include language interlocutors, situations, and topics. These factors are discussed in the following sections.

Interlocutors. The first factors that determine language choice are the speakers and their preferences. Bilingual or multilingual speakers choose their language differently than monolingual speakers. The theory of accommodation proposed by Giles et al. (1977), implies

that speakers adjust their speech to suit the needs of the person being spoken to. Speakers modify their speech to encourage further interaction and decrease the perceived disagreements among the participants. If both parties are bilingual, they may choose the language in which they both are most proficient and/or in which one has greater fluency. Wei (2000) categorizes a conversation between the interlocutors by factors such as age or gender as well as sociological features such as religion, race, and status. Fishman (1965) emphasizes that the primary factor is the preference of group membership. For example, a government officer in Brussels uses French at work, Dutch at the club, and Flemish at home. Based on this example, the language choice of a government worker varies from one situation to another, depending on how the officer identifies himself. The functionary may identify with the group to which he belongs or to which he wants to claim membership; by using the appropriate language. Fishman concludes reference group membership reveals that different relationships with the interlocutors have an impact on the language choice in a conversation. In other words, the language will be chosen based on the intimacy and formality of the relationship between the speakers (Hakuta, 1999).

When investigating the language use of ethnic minority groups in a suburb of London, Harris (2006) found that language use between children and grandparents displayed an extensive use of their minority languages. The minority language showed respect and made the parents proud because their children maintained their mother tongue at home. Another study suggests that language choice may relate to the speaker's age (Harris, 2006; Romaine, 2017). A study on older people in the Chinese community in Newcastle, England showed that older family members use Chinese because of social networks and their limited English proficiency (Romaine, 2017)

Situations. Fishman (1965) uses the term situation to describe a larger variety of aspects such as the settings, topics, functions, and styles of a speaker. Fishman concentrates on the aspects of styles that give a clue about the degree of intimacy and formality of a conversation. The style can display information about the status of interlocutors as well as demonstrate power and solidarity. Certain styles in different languages may articulate the relationships between the speakers in terms of their intimacy, formality, and equality (Fishman, 1965). Similarly, the choice may be triggered by the contexts and choices available such as using a different language when shopping in a traditional market and department store (Romaine, 2017).

Bi/multilingual speakers often relate one of their languages to intimacy, solidarity, formality and emotionality. Indonesians may choose to speak Bahasa Indonesia at work, a colloquial language in informal situations, and their Indigenous language for more intimate interaction with family. Language choice may also be related to circumstances (Apfelbaum & Meyer, 2010) such as accommodating to a customer's language preference.

Topic. Changing topics may trigger a switch to another language. A speaker tends to use a particular style when discussing a certain topic based on assumptions that discussing a specific matter might be better with a particular language. As mentioned by Fishman (2001) "certain topics are somehow handled better in one language than in another, particularly in multilingual contexts" (p. 92). Bilingual speakers are not always equally proficient in both languages; therefore, the speaker may feel more capable of dealing with a topic in a language that he/she has more proficiency in. A speaker may think that a certain language has a lack of terminology and relevant vocabulary for discussing a certain topic. Interlocutors, situations, and topics are considered relevant factors that influence language choice but are not sufficient to

explain the selection of language patterns (Haberland, 2005). In 1965, Fishman proposed the term language domain as a concept.

Domain of Language Use

A domain is "a speech situation in which one particular speech variety or combination of several speech varieties is regularly used" (Richards & Schmidt, 2010, p. 182). Five different domains are commonly recognized, namely family, friendship, religion, employment, and education (Romaine, 2017). Often these domains are referred to under the broad headings of informal domains, which include the family and friendship domains, and formal domains that include employment, religious, and education domains (Dyers, 1997). Fishman (1972) defines language domain as a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationship between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institution of a society and the area of activity of a spoken community in such a way that individual behavior and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet are related to each other. (p. 20)

Similarly, Spolsky (2012) refers to the language domain concept as each language or variety of languages being assigned to specific functions and participants in the society, such as the language used in the work domain, family domain or religious domain. Fishman (1965) claims that domain is useful in investigating individual and community language use. Knowing these domains guides us to understand related topics such as language choice, language shift, and language maintenance (Fishman, 1965). Below is a summary of five domains based on Fishman's (1965) and Spolsky's (2004; 2012) research: family, schools, religions, workplaces, and local government.

Family Domain

The family domain plays a vital role as multilingualism often starts at home. The family domain is classified into two groups – the first consists of father, mother, child, domestic workers, governess, and tutor. The second includes cross-generational relationships. The family domain consists of the home domain (Fishman, 1965; Spolsky, 2004); participants are family members, topics may come from family's activities and each participant determines the language use patterns of a speaker or listener.

Spolsky (2004) describes the factors influencing the choice of language in a family which include the speaker's proficiency in the language (zero proficiency may prevent choice), the speaker's intention to gain benefit by using his or her stronger language, and the desire of the user to derive advantage by accommodating to the wishes of the audience, as in intermarriage, and immigration (Spolsky, 2004). Spolsky explains that a family may have a dominant home language, based on its practice and ideology. Language use at home is based on single language proficiency of the family (Tamene, 2017). In an Intermarriage Family Research finding, Spolsky (2004) reveals that the couple continued to speak to each other in the language that they had used together when they first met. However, this situation changed because of children's schooling, family social position, and grandparent presence in the home.

Immigration impacts language choice at home. When the first generation of immigrants begins to pick up the new language outside of the home, they do not switch until children acquire proficiency and commitment to the new language in school or in contact with their peers (Spolsky, 2004). Therefore, a choice to shift to another language and abandon their language may occur. More recent studies by Kim and Starks (2010) and Revis (2015) indicate that investigating interaction in the home domain offers more knowledge of language shift and

maintenance that will help to identify different aspects that influences parents' choices in maintaining their language.

School Domain

The language choice in the school domain is typically related to the education policy. It comprises language use as a medium of instruction, language subjects, and managing the gap between students' home language and school language (i.e., mother tongue education). Spolsky (2004) argues that the age at which students should start to learn and to be taught in the school's language can be included in the school domain. With the emergence of mother tongue-based multilingual education, the educational systems in some Asian and African countries have already started teaching the children's home language and transitioning to other languages in schools. In Indonesia, Bahasa Indonesia is still offered as the language of instruction at every stage of education while the students' home language is not included. Therefore, schools become a central domain to contribute to language policy and choice (Spolsky, 2004).

Religion and Religious Organizations Domain

Religion has been one of the most dominant powers leading to language change and the spread of spoken and written language (Pendakur, 1990; Romaine, 2017; Spolsky, 2004). According to Spolsky (2004), every system of religious belief contributes to some elements of languages. He argues that the language choices made by religions, such as the preference of Arabic for Islam, Latin for Christianity, Hebrew for Judaism, and Sanskrit for Hinduism maintains the original language.

Religion often preserves an earlier version of a language for prayers, mainly when sacred texts are maintained in the original format. Even after the texts are translated, many prefer to use the original version. Through rituals and ceremonies, religion takes part in maintaining

languages after migration. Spolsky (2004) argues that languages that are spread in connection with religion may be confined to the sphere of "holiness". The way a language is used in religious practices, both at the individual level (i.e., praying, confessing, and reading religious texts) and in group activities (i.e., praying, singing hymns, listening to sermons, and taking part in classes), can vary considerably (Spolsky, 2004).

In multilingual communities, religion plays a special role in language choice. In St. Lucia in the West Indies, English is the official language, but French Creole is widely used in services. In the churches in Liberia, both English and Krio were used in services. Younger ministers are expected to show their linguistic proficiency by making greater use of English in the sermons in contrast to older established religious leaders (Breitborde, 1983). In Indonesia, Arabic is the language of prayer, and the Qur'an is written in Arabic script. In addition, animism belief systems perform their rituals in their local Indigenous languages.

Workplace Domain

Language use in the workplace can be decided by company policy or government. Every organization has its own language policy, certainly in language practices, sometimes in ideological positions on language choice, and occasionally in explicit efforts at language management (Spolsky, 2004). Spolsky (2004) asserts that the language choice in the workplace can also be decided locally. Every company has its own language policy, set for the maximum benefit for the company. To increase the revenue, the company hires and prioritizes the workers who speak the buyers' language(s). Even more, the companies that have branches outside of their native area make efforts to learn the customers' language(s). In government institutions where there is no buyer to be served, the bureaucrats may not feel obligated to speak the non-official language. They will follow the regulations to use the official language in the workplace.

Local Government Domain

In many cases, local governments may not be responsible for public education and may not have the authority to determine the language policy in education. In Indonesia, the national government has full power over the language use in education, however with decentralization that permits provincial and regional governments to manage education locally, regional governments may now be involved in designing and regulating the educational system. In addition to Bahasa Indonesia as the national language, the Indigenous language may have a better chance to be taught and used as a medium of instruction. Moreover, the provincial government may also be able to make policy regarding language use in the local government offices and language for public signs in their territory. As there is no national policy concerning language choice for public signs in Indonesia, Spolsky (2004) suggests that a city council or a regional people's representative assembly in multilingual regions may choose to establish such a policy.

Language Attitudes

Defining the concept of language attitude is complicated, given the breadth of the term and the importance of the different aspects of attitudes (Garrett, 2010). According to Fasold (1984), "language attitudes" means attitudes towards "all sorts of behavior concerning language [...], including attitudes toward language maintenance and planning" (p. 148). Similarly, Baker (1992) refers to language attitude as "a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behavior" (p. 10). People's attitudes represent their evaluative reaction, either favorable or unfavorable and their thoughts, beliefs, and tendencies over something or someone.

Bouzidi (1989) explained that the attitudes of language speakers toward a different speech variety can be observed from three disciplinary fields in a sociological, sociolinguistic or socio-physiological framework. In a *sociological framework*, the symbolic values of language are viewed within societal and situational contexts. Attitude is measured through questionnaires and interviews. Bouzidi (1989) suggests that it is essential to conduct a content analysis of historical developments of language within society. The *sociolinguistic perspective* targets the understanding of the relationship between specific linguistic aspects such as phonology, lexicon, and grammar as well as some societal aspects, social groups, and the specific situations in which they occur. In the *socio-psychological framework*, the study of attitudes highlights the individual and his/her display of attitudes toward insider and outsider group members (Bouzidi, 1989). He notes attitudes are extracted by language and are reflected in its use. Social psychologists focused more on people's psychological practices as compared to societal categories as well as on individual motivations rather than social structure. In other words, social psychological research on language choice is more "person-centered than society-centered" (Giles et al., 1977).

The study of language attitudes has typically been the field of social psychologists (Bouzidi, 1989; Garrett, 2010). Generally, attitude research has been conducted according to the behaviorist and the mentalist (cognitive) theories (Bouzidi, 1989). The *behaviorist* argues that attitudes can be directly measured by observing the responses people make in social interaction with specific languages (Appel & Muysken, 1987). According to mentalists, attitudes comprised the *cognitive, affective, and conative* constituents (Edwards, 2012; Garrett, 2010). The cognitive refers to the influence of attitudes on an individual's views, thoughts and knowledge about a language or its speakers. The affective element encompasses emotions or feelings towards a

language and its speakers that includes favorable and unfavorable indicators. The conative refers to the interference of attitudes in behavior (Edwards, 2012; Garrett, 2010).

Understanding the concept of cognitive, affective and conative can be compared to a student's attitudes toward learning English as a foreign language. The cognitive component will offer a deeper understanding about western culture; the affective component could be enthusiasm about being able to speak with a foreigner; and the behavior aspect might be saving money to enroll in an English course. To simplify, language attitudes are expressed as opinions, feelings, and prejudices. Language attitudes cover attitudes of individuals, communities, nations, and governments. Language attitudes include the attitudes of people using the language, and of people using other languages toward the language and its users (Tamene, 2017). For this study, however, the most relevant definitions of language attitude refer to those that focus on the individuals' attitude toward their own language and the language of others.

Language Attitudes Towards Indigenous Language

Researchers have proven that language attitudes take part in shifting or maintaining the mother tongue (Baker, 1992; Grin, 2003; Grin & Vaillancourt, 1999; Holmes, 2013; Holmes et al., 1993; Mac Donnacha, 2000). Baker (1992) argues "attitudes to that language appear to be important in language restoration, preservation, decay or death" (p. 9). In Silva-Corvalan's (1994) study on language contact and change among Spanish-English bilinguals in Los Angeles, language attitude is found to predict the survival of the mother tongue. Speakers' attitudes towards mother tongue and other languages are associated with the patterns of language choice of the speakers. Similarly, a study of Holmes, et al. (1993) suggests that language attitudes became the most significant effect on language shift and maintenance at various levels in

Tongan, Greek, and Chinese communities in New Zealand. In another study, Holmes (2013) shows that having positive attitudes motivated the speakers of the minority language to use their language in various domains. This practice slowed down the shift to the dominant language.

Mac Donnacha (2000), in his Integrated Language Planning Model, includes language attitude as one of the key components in safeguarding the maintenance or loss of a minority language. He describes three reasons in support of positive attitudes towards the target language. The first is that a highly positive attitude toward the target language will lead one to take direct or secondary action towards that language, such as learning the language and using it in different situations. However, this action may cost time, effort and money by the individual or group. In contrast, secondary action contains a more passive act, and this includes providing children with the chance to learn the language, sending them to bilingual/multilingual schools with target language as a medium of instruction or donating to language organizations or activities. The second reason is that positive attitudes can offer moral support for those who speak and promote the target language. Finally, positive attitudes amongst the speakers' community are important for the government to provide funds to maintain or revive a minority language (Mac Donnacha, 2000).

Likewise, Grin and Vaillancourt (1999) and Grin (2003), consider positive language attitudes as one of the three conditions required to enhance language use in a community. According to these scholars, providing capacity and opportunity to use the language are also key conditions needed to increase willingness to use the language. Nevertheless, according to Grin and Vaillancourt (1999), for language revitalization to take place, "...favorable attitudes probably represent the single most important condition, and one that eventually pulls the others; in other words, we believe that supply follows demand" (p. 98). Apparently, a positive attitude towards

the mother tongue may encourage language use in the community which leads to maintenance of the language while negative attitudes may cause decline in the use of language. Baker (1992) suggests negative attitudes toward a language must be taken seriously to develop a language plan because, as Baker (1992) advocates:

> Attempting language shift by language planning, language policy making, and the provision of human and material resources can all come to nothing if attitudes are not favorable to change. Language engineering can flourish or fail according to the attitudes of the community. Having a favorable attitude to the subject of language attitudes becomes important in bilingual policy and practice. (p. 21)

Because language attitudes indicate the vitality of a language, where there is danger of language shift, increasing positive attitudes is an important task for language policymakers. In the case of regional and minority languages, the protection of these languages is supposed to have a high priority. Baker (1992) argues that "the favourability or unfavorability of attitudes in the population fundamentally affects the success of language preservation" (p. 9). The value of certain policies can be seen in a study of language attitudes in Catalonia, where language attitudes towards Catalan had become more positive after the Catalan language held official status in Catalonia, Spain (Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015; Woolard & Gahng, 1990). Therefore, it is crucial for the policy maker to create policy that may increase the minority language speakers' positive attitudes towards their language.

Nevertheless, it has been shown that attitudes towards a language do not often correlate with language use (Fishman, 1985; Garrett, 2010). An individual who confesses loyalties towards his native language may not automatically speak the language in daily interaction. It is common in language shift studies that speakers who have been "uprooted" from the community

should claim loyalty to their ethnic language (Garrett, 2010). Likewise, speakers of minority languages may exhibit a negative attitude towards their own language, but this does not imply that they do not attach to their culture. The language may still be highly valued for social or emotional reasons, as a symbol of ethnic identity, and solidarity between group members.

The relationship among cognitive, affective, and conative elements is not necessarily synchronous (Fasold, 1984). Fishman (1965) stated that language attitudes do not always predict language maintenance or shift, as attitudes need to be linked to the language's status as a core value, or related to other values, such as religious beliefs. Core values refer to the factors that are perceived as the most fundamental components in establishing a group's identity and a symbol of the group's membership (Pauwels, 2016).

The ethnolinguistic vitality theory (EV) was initially introduced by Giles et al. (1977) to identify factors that contribute to language maintenance and language shift. They defined EV as "…that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations…" (Giles et al., p. 308). They further argue that "ethnolinguistic minorities that have little or no group vitality… eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups" (p. 308). When a group uses its language actively and as a sign of ethnic distinctiveness from other ethnic groups, it will have higher ethnolinguistic vitality because speakers will be more likely to maintain their competence and use of their ethnic language. At the same time, their ethnolinguistic vitality is related to their attitude toward the dominant culture and language (Giles et al., 1977). Therefore, when speakers of a language have a positive attitude toward their language, they may feel motivated to learn and use the language, although attitudes and language use do not always go together.

Giles et al. (1977), state that sociocultural factors in intergroup relations influence the group vitality. The factors that determine the EV of a language are the language demographic, language status, and institutional support (discussed in the section of Why Does Language Shift Occur). These factors can be evaluated both objectively and subjectively. A group's status, demography, and institutional support can be measured by actual statistics (*objective measurement*) or by individuals' perceptions *(subjective measurement)*. According to Abrams et al. (2009), subjective perceptions of the ethnolinguistic group are more indicative of its future vitality than the objective realities.

Sociolinguists have criticized EV for being simplistic since its indicators are based on dominant group criteria without considering other factors. New indicators and models for assessing ethnolinguistic vitality have developed, expanding the original theory's three indicators of language status, demographic factors, and the level of institutional support (Lewis, 2009). One such model is a scale by Lewis and Simons (2010) created to measure ethnolinguistic vitality that is based largely on Joshua Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). The assessment measurement of language vitality is discussed in the next section.

Assessing Language Vitality

Language endangerment is the result of language shift. This shift is caused by the partial or total abandonment of the mother tongue. Language shift may lead to language endangerment, and eventually, language death. Fostering language revitalization or language maintenance is needed to prevent a language shift. According to Dwyer (2011), a language assessment is essential to understanding language shift so that we may take necessary acts to reverse it. The main factor in language survival is transmission of the language to the children (Bradley & Bradley, 2019; Dwyer, 2011; Fishman, 1991).

Language vitality is demonstrated by the degree the language is used as a communication tool in different social contexts for specific purposes (Eberhard et al., 2020). Scholars have suggested numerous perspectives on language vitality and reversing language shift. One of the earliest language vitality assessment tools, introduced by Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor in 1977, highlighted the importance of transmission from parents to children. Fishman, in 1991, introduced the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), which has become an influential assessment tool for language vitality. In 2003 UNESCO suggested nine factors determining language vitality. Lewis and Simon (2010) modernized Fishman's GIDS, known as the Expanded GIDS (EGIDS). The Fishman's GIDS, the UNESCO nine factors, and the Expanded GIDS are discussed below.

Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

Fishman's (1991) GIDS outlines the healthy existence of a language by providing necessary conditions for the transmission of language between generations. The GIDS functions as an eight-grade Richter scale to measure the degree of 'disruption' from a hypothetical situation of ideal linguistic stability and consistent language transmission (Fishman 1991). The greater the GIDS level, the "more severe or fundamental [the] threat is to the prospects for the language to be handed on intergenerationally" (Fishman, 1991, p.87)

Table 1

Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale based on Fishman in 1991

GIDS	
LEVEL	**DESCRIPTION**
1	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level
2	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services
3	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders
4	Literacy in the language is transmitted through education
5	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form throughout the community

6	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language
7	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children
8	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation

The Fishman's GIDS scale shows that levels 1 to 3 focus on language status and domains of language use, levels 4 to 5 on the existence and use of a written form of the language, and levels 6 to 8 on intergenerational transmission. Dwyer (2011) argues that beyond level 5, GIDS shows the most common preconditions for language loss to occur, even though the speakers have not yet shifted to another language, the domains in which the minority language is used are more and more limited.

UNESCO's Nine Factors in Language Vitality and Endangerment

In 2003, UNESCO held a meeting in Paris where an expert group on endangered languages assembled and designed a document called Language Vitality and Endangerment (Brenzinger et al. 2003). The group identified nine factors for determining the language vitality that allows a speech community and researchers to measure the vitality of a language. Most of the factors have grades from 0 to 5. The zero category describes a complete shift to another language (extinct), while 5 symbolizes the vitality of a language for that factor (safe). The nine factors proposed as features of the vitality and level of a language endangerment are:

1) Intergenerational transmission

2) Absolute number of speakers

3) Proportion of speakers within the total population

4) Trends in existing language domains

5) Response to new domains and media

6) Materials for language education and literacy

7) Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies

8) Community members' attitudes toward their own language

9) Amount and quality of documentation

The first factor was developed based on Fishman's (1991) GIDS model. The rest of the factors evaluate the critical influence that language attitudes have on the vitality of a language. This assessment includes an evaluation of documentary resources which are considered an essential factor in determining how urgent countermeasures to language attrition are (Dwyer, 2011). Six factors evaluate a language's vitality and state of endangerment, two further factors assess language attitudes, and one additional factor is used to determine the urgency of documentation.

Factor 1. Intergenerational Language Transmission. Following Fishman's (1991) GIDS model, a language is considered safe, receiving a grade of 5 when the language is spoken by all ages and transmitted from parents to children. A language is unsafe (4) if most but not all children or families of a particular community speak their language as their first language, it might be restricted to specific social domains (such as at home where children interact with their parents and grandparents). It is endangered (3) if it is no longer being learned as the mother tongue by children in the home. The language is severely endangered (2) if the language is used only by older generations while the parent generation may still understand the language, they typically do not speak it to their children. Critically endangered (1) the youngest speakers are in the great-grandparental generation, and the language is not used for everyday interactions. It is considered extinct (0) if no one can speak or remember the language. Overall, the more transmission happens, the stronger the language vitality will be.

Table 2

Factor 1 Intergenerational Language Transmission

Degree	Grade	Speaker Population
Safe	5	The language is used by all ages, from children up.
Unsafe	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.
Definitively endangered	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.
Severely endangered	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up.
Critically endangered	1	The language is used mostly by very few speakers of the great grandparental generation.
Extinct	0	There exists no speaker.

Note. Reprinted from "Language Maintenance and Shift," by Brenzinger et al., 2003.

Factor 2: Absolute Number of Speakers. According to Brenzinger et al. (2003), it is challenging to obtain valid information on absolute numbers of speakers of a language. For the assessment purpose, the basic question for vitality is the size and composition of the speaker population. Although the larger the number of speakers of the language, the more likely the language is to be maintained and be healthy. Many speakers do not guarantee vitality because speakers' populations must be considered in relation to other speech communities (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006) or the language speakers' shift to other languages (Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014).

A language with only a few speakers ultimately faces language extinction. With a small population, the language has the highest possibility of becoming extinct because of natural disaster, disease, or poverty. If the small community merges with a larger community, the smaller group eventually loses its own language and culture. Dwyer (2011) suggests that in addition to recording the absolute number of speakers, a reference date, a source, and the reliability of this source should be recorded.

Factor 3: Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population. The number of speakers in relation to the total population of a group is an important indicator of language vitality. A group may refer to the ethnic, religious, regional, or national group with which the speaker

community identifies (Brenzinger et al., 2003). The following scale may be used to determine the degree of endangerment.

Table 3

Factor 3 Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population

Degree	Grade	Proportion of Speakers Within the Total Reference Population
Safe	5	All speak the language.
Unsafe	4	Nearly all speak the language
Definitively endangered	3	A majority speak the language.
Severely endangered	2	A minority speak the language.
Critically endangered	1	Very few speak the language.
Extinct	0	None speak the language.

Note. Reprinted from "Language Maintenance and Shift," by Brenzinger et al., 2003.

Factor 4: Trends in Existing Language Domains. This factor identifies where and with whom the language is used, and for what topics. The more consistently and intensely the language is used, the stronger the language's vitality. A healthy language is ideally used in all domains (grade 5 - universal use) and transmitted to the next generation. It receives grade 4-multilingual parity if one or more dominant languages, rather than the language of the ethnolinguistic group, is/are the primary language(s) in most official domains such as government and educational institutions. Grade 3 - dwindling domain will be attached to a language where the local language loses ground and, at home, parents start to use the dominant language in their everyday interactions with their children. Grade 2 is limited or formal domain, if the local language is used only in highly formal domains such as rituals and administration or limited domains such as at home where grandparents and other older extended family members reside. Many people may understand the language but cannot speak it. Grade 1- highly limited domain if the local language is used in very restricted domains at special occasions, usually by very few individuals in a community, for example, ritual leaders on ceremonial occasions. Some

people may remember at least some of the language (*rememberers*). It is grade 0 - extinct if the language is no longer spoken at any place at any time.

Table 4

Factor 4 Domains and Functions

Degree	Grade	Domains and Functions
Universal use	5	The language is used in all domains and for all functions
Multilingual parity	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions.
Dwindling domains	3	The language is in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
Limited or formal domains	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions
Highly limited domains	1	The language is used only in a very restricted domains and for a very few functions
Extinct	0	The language is not used in any domain and for any function.

Note. Reprinted from "Language Maintenance and Shift," by Brenzinger et al., 2003.

Factor 5: Response to New Domains and Media. Some communities succeed in expanding their language into a new language domain. The language of education, new work environments, new media, including broadcast media and the Internet, are often used exclusively to develop and maintain the power of the dominant language. According to Dwyer (2011), a language is stronger if it is used actively in all-new domains (dynamic degree). It is robust or active if it is still used in most new domains, receptive if it is used in many domains, coping if it is used in some new domains, minimal if it is used in a few new domains and it will finally be inactive if it is not used in any new domains. The language will be trivial and stigmatized if it does not meet the challenges of modernity and change.

Table 5

Factor 5 Response to New Domains and Media

Degree	Grade	New Domains and Media Accepted by the Endangered Language
Dynamic	5	The language is used in all new domains.
Robust/active	4	The language is used in most new domains.
Receptive	3	The language is used in many domains.
Coping	2	The language is used in some new domains.
Minimal	1	The language is used only in a few new domains.

Inactive	0	The language is not used in any new domains.

Note. Reprinted from "Language Maintenance and Shift," by Brenzinger et al., 2003.

The type and use of a new domain will differ according to the local context and situation. A local language may be used on the radio or TV; however, only for a half hour a week. Although the language appeared to be used in the media, time allocation restrictions cause limited exposure to the language. This circumstance would put the language in degree 2 or 3 (Brenzinger et al., 2003).

Factor 6: Materials for Language Education and Literacy. Using a language as a medium of instruction is critical to maintaining the vitality of the language. Having instructions in the students' mother tongue is more desirable than to have instruction in a dominant language. There are language communities that still maintain their written and oral traditions; others are already extinct. In Factor 6, if the language is used in education and has ample oral and written documents, the language is in grade 5 and it will decrease to grade 0 where no orthography is available to the community.

Table 6

Factor 6 Materials for Language Education and Literacy

Grade	Accessibility of Written Materials
5	There is an established orthography, literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media. Writing in the language is used in administration and education.
4	Written materials exist, and at school, children are developing literacy in the language. Writing in the language is not used in administration.
3	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
2	Written materials exist, but they may only be useful for some members of the community; and for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.
1	A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.
0	No orthography available to the community.

Note. Reprinted from "Language Maintenance and Shift," by Brenzinger et al., 2003.

Factor 7: Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, including

Official Status & Use. Governments and official institutions have explicit policies and implicit attitudes toward the dominant or minority languages. A nation or province in which the use of all languages is supported for use in public domains such as government, education, media, and business, would receive a grade of 5. The language is stronger if there are positive official attitudes and policies toward the language of the community. If the language is prohibited to be used in any domains, the language will receive a grade of 0.

Table 7

Factor 7 Official Attitudes toward Language

Degree of Support	Grade	Official Attitudes toward Language
Equal support	5	All languages are protected
Differentiated support	4	Minority languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domains. The use of the language is prestigious.
Passive assimilation	3	No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.
Active assimilation	2	Government encourages assimilation to the dominant language. There is no protection for minority languages.
Forced assimilation	1	The dominant language is the sole official language, while non dominant languages are neither recognized nor protected.
Prohibition	0	Minority languages are prohibited.

Note. Reprinted from "Language Maintenance and Shift," by Brenzinger et al., 2003.

Factor 8: Community Members' Attitudes toward their Own Language. This factor measures the attitudes of the language speaker community toward its own language. Some may see that their language is essential to their community and identity, so they promote it. Others may be ashamed of it, annoyed, and intentionally limit themselves from using it. If the speakers view their language as a burden to economic mobility and integration into mainstream society, they may develop negative attitudes toward it. The language is stronger (grade 5) if all speakers have a positive attitude and are proud of it and their culture although it will continuously decline until no more people care about the language.

Table 8

Factor 8 Community Attitudes towards language

Grade	Community Attitudes towards language
5	All members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
4	Most members support language maintenance.
3	Many members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
2	Some members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
1	Only a few members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
0	No one cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language.

Note. Reprinted from "Language Maintenance and Shift," by Brenzinger et al., 2003.

Factor 9: Amount and Quality of Documentation. Plenty of well-documented, transcribed, and translated resources, including annotated audiovisual recordings of natural speech, are ideal for language documentation. This information benefits the community and the linguists who intend to design a research project together with the members of the community and the private or non-private organizations that want to support language documentation efforts. In the amount and quality of documentation factor, the highest grade (5) represents the richness of language materials such as dictionary and video recordings available in the language, while the lowest grade (0) indicates that no material exists in the language. See Table 9 below.

Table 9

Factor 9 Language Documentation

Documentation	Grade	Language Documentation
Superlative	5	There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts; constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist.
Good	4	There are one good grammar and a number of adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and occasionally updated everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings
Fair	3	There may be adequate grammar or sufficient amount of grammars, dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media; audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotation.
Fragmentary	2	There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation.

Inadequate	1	Only a few grammatical sketches, short word-lists, and fragmentary texts. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality, or are completely un-annotated.	
Undocumented	0	No material exists.	

Note. Reprinted from "Language Maintenance and Shift," by Brenzinger et al., 2003.

The UNESCO factors come with an important caution; no factor should be used alone (Brenzinger et al., 2003; Dwyer, 2011) in assessing linguistic health. The UNESCO expert groups note in assessing the vitality of language, all factors need to be treated with equal importance; however, specific local conditions may render one factor more important than others.

Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)

Intending to complete the shortcomings of the GIDS model and the UNESCO's nine factors framework, Lewis and Simons (2010) proposed EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale "to answer five key questions regarding the identity function, vehicularity, state of intergenerational language transmission, literacy acquisition status, and a societal profile of generational language use" (p. 117). EGIDS comprises 13 levels with each higher number on the scale representing a greater level of disruption to the intergenerational transmission of the language. A thirteen-point EGIDS, from levels 0 to 10 including two subcategories of levels 6 and 8 has associate terms as well as a numerical value at each level, as seen in Table 10 below.

Table 10

Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
0	International	The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the national level.	Safe
2	Provincial	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within major administrative subdivisions of a nation	Safe

3	Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.	Safe
4	Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.	Safe
5	Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the childbearing generation are transmitting it to their children.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children	Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct

Note. Reprinted from "Assessing Endangerment: Expanding Fishman's GIDS," by Lewis, M. P., & Simons, G. F, 2010, Revue Roumaine de Linguistique, LV(2), p.103–120.

The EGIDS framework offers a shorter assessment because it does not take into account some factors that determine language health such as the absolute or relative numbers of speakers, the language attitudes of the community, the government's policies, and existing documentation (Dwyer, 2011). Even though EGIDS presents a somewhat briefer survey than the UNESCO factors, both systems require that a researcher on site gathers information using a survey. Some of the EGIDS terms are somewhat ambiguous; for example, level 3, 'trade', it might be appropriate to use a language of wider communication covering regional and national use of language (Bradley & Bradley, 2019). Moreover, the labels used in EGIDS are confusing compared with the terms in the widely used UNESCO scale.

Socio Cultural Theories Interpretive Lenses

In this section, I review theories that will serve as lenses through which the data will be interpreted. They include Vygotsky's sociocultural theory as related to language development, Bonnie Norton's theory on language and identity, and a large body of research on language planning.

Vygotsky's Language Learning Development

The major premise of Vygotsky's theoretical framework indicates that the basis of knowledge production should not be sought in the mind but in the social interaction co-constructed between a more and a less knowledgeable individual (Lantolf, 2008). Social interaction plays a fundamental role in the development of thinking or cognition (Vygotsky, 1978). The construction of knowledge is a socioculturaly mediated process affected by the physical and psychological tools and artifacts (Lantolf, 2004). Put another way, no one's development can be separated from his culture, which emphasizes meaningful interaction among individuals as the greatest motivating force in human development and learning. Vygotsky (1978) views how culture contributes to children's intellectual training and development. In this sense, children acquire their thinking (knowledge) and their language from the surrounding culture. For Vygotsky, cognitive development is a dialectical process where the child resolves a problem with the help of someone else who is considered to have more knowledge on the issue, such as parents, teachers, siblings, and peers.

Walqui (2006) categorizes the following notions as the fundamental tenets underlying Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory: (1) Learning precedes development, (2) Language is the main vehicle (tool) of thought, (3) Mediation is central to learning, and (4) Social interaction is the basis of learning and development. Learning is a process of apprenticeship and internalization in which skills and knowledge are transformed from the social into the cognitive plane. (5) The

zone of proximal development (ZPD) is the primary activity space in which learning occurs (p.160).

In terms of first and second language learning, Vygotsky views that there is a diverse process of unification in learning L1 and L2. He states the following:

"Different paths of development, which take place under different conditions, cannot lead to completely identical results. It would be a miracle if the acquisition of a foreign language could be achieved through school instruction repeated, or reproduced that which was done earlier, under different conditions, for the development of the native language. These differences, no matter how different they are, should not distract us from the fact that both of the processes of the native and foreign language have between them a great deal in common…*they are internally united"* (Vygotsky, 1935 as cited in John-Steiner, 1985, p. 349).

Vygotsky sees the stages of acquisition of L2 as being different from the stages of development of L1, especially if the learner is already literate in his L1. L1 is learned unconsciously and unintentionally but L2 is learned consciously and intentionally. John-Steiner, (1985) cited the following arguments of Vygotsky:

"The development of the native language begins with free, spontaneous use of speech and is culminated in the conscious realization of linguistic forms and their mastery, then development of a foreign language begins with conscious realization of language and arbitrary command of it and culminates in spontaneous, free speech" (Vygotsky,1935 as cited in John-Steiner,1985, p. 350).

Vygotsky believes that "The child acquiring a foreign language is already in command of a system of meaning in the native language which she/he transfers to the sphere of another

language." (Vygotsky, 1935 as cited in John-Steiner, 1985, p. 350). It has been proven that literacy in the L1 plays a crucial part in L2 acquisition (Bilash, 2011, Dahm &de Angelis, 2018; Cummins, 1976,1979; Swain et al., 2015). Vygotsky also firmly advocated for the development of biliteracy and bilingualism because he considered that the L1 has significantly affected subsequent languages.

      Cultural Mediation. Mediation is the central concept in sociocultural theory in language acquisition (Lantolf, 2001). As a fundamental principle in sociocultural theory, Vygotsky (1978) views human psychological processes as mediated by psychological and material tools such as the symbolic system of language. Language is a tool that people use for communication, cultural transmission, and to mediate their connection with the world. Language, in this regard, is the most important tool that facilitates learning. Human mental activity is a mediated process in which symbolic and socioculturally constructed artifacts and language are the most crucial parts in the mental life of an individual (Vygotsky, 1978). Therefore, learning is a social mediated process and it transforms to an individual process because of language mediated interaction between the child and parents, teachers, and peers (Vygotsky, 1978). The concept of mediation can be seen as an indirect human relations activity with the world mediated through physical, sign, and symbolic instruments. Lantolf (2001) related the principle of mediation as follows:

      […] Humans do not act directly on the physical world but rely, instead, on tools and labor activity; we also use symbolic tools, or signs, to mediate and regulate our relationships with others. Physical and symbolic tools are artifacts created by human cultures over time and are made available to succeeding generations, which often modify these artifacts before passing them on to future generations. Included among symbolic tools are numbers and arithmetic systems, music, art, and, above all, language. As with physical

tools, humans use symbolic artifacts to establish an indirect, or mediated, relationship between ourselves and the world. The task for psychology, in Vygotsky's view, is to understand how human social and mental activity is organized through culturally constructed artifacts and social relationships (p.80)

Vygotsky (1987) found that children who originally memorized a list of vocabulary poorly were successful when they utilized flash cards to mediate their learning. In this way, flash cards act as a mediation tool which internalized the learning processes so that in the next level of learning development, cards do not need to be physically present. Vygotsky (1987) further notes that adolescents and adults were able to picture images mentally and associate them with the words to be remembered. Mediation is the way in which humans establish a relationship between their mental representations and the world.

Mediation can take different forms. Vygotsky (1978) suggests three groups of mediators: material tools, psychological tools, and other human beings. Material tools have an indirect impact on human physiological processes as they are directed at processes in nature. However, human mental processes are required in utilizing the material tools. In mediation through material tools, Kozulin (1998) states "they presuppose collective use, interpersonal communication, and symbolic representation" (p. 62) consisting of different media invented to assist the learning such as wood sticks, picture cards, etc. while mediator through psychological tools is to facilitate the psychological processes of human learning. Psychological tools have existed since early human history, for instance, the use of casting lots, tying knots, and counting fingers (Kozulin, 1998). Therefore, to mediate between the human mind and the abstract world, modern societies have altered and modernized these tools. Lantolf (2001) claims that the

outcome of upgrading some of these tools is known as symbolic tools and these can be found in the form of numbers, arithmetic systems, music, art, and language.

Lastly, mediation is through another individual. Kozulin (1998) states "gesture first appeared as a natural attempt to grasp an object". An example of this developmental process is the gesture of a child. Adults interpret a child grasping movement as a gesture, where the human meaning of a natural act is provided by the adult to the children from the outside. Vygotsky (1978) views this idea in the following example: a child intends to reach an object which is beyond his reach. In trying to do this, he points at it to establish a direct relationship with the object. His mother comes to aid him explaining the pointing as indicating the desire to reach the object. In this second, pointing becomes a sign for others. When the child realizes the change in the function of pointing, its orientation changes, too. From this moment on the child will use pointing to establish a relationship with others and not with the object. The mother, in this case, has become the mediator who helps the child reach his/her goal, through another mediation tool: pointing. Among these types of mediators, Vygotsky sees the human mediator becoming the first carrier of sign, symbol, and meaning.

Vygotsky (1978) introduces the Zone Proximal Development (ZPD) theory which states that "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with a more capable peer" (P.86). Zone Proximal Development encompasses two basic parts: a task or a problem that needs to be solved with the help of someone else who is considered the expert on the topic; and a child, often called learner, who can do better if well-assisted. Wood et al. (1976) introduced the concept of scaffolding to depict interaction between an adult and a child. Learning should always be related to the

students' previous knowledge and experience, and adults, including parents and teacher, should begin teaching a language by connecting the child's prior knowledge and experiences to attain the higher level of learning. It can be done by setting up the condition to ensure that the child learns successfully at the beginning and steadily pulling back the support as the child becomes familiar and proficient enough to do it alone. In Vygotsky's account, adults transmit the rich body of culture through their speech to children. Then the child's own language, as learning proceeds, comes to help his or her intellectual transformation.

As a mediator of language learning, parents, specifically the mother, play a significant role in teaching their native language to their children. Mediators help learners be more active in achieving knowledge through interacting with each other, siblings, and peers, which will help them to be a more self-directed learner. Positive language attitudes of mediator and learner should be considered in language learning and maintenance. Regarding ZPD, in this study, parents' interaction with different people, including the children, is something that I am interested to look at for my survey and interview. Obviously, to improve language learners' skills, it is beneficial to look at the social interaction of the participants and their effort in providing language learning inside the family. The work of Vygotsky has provided a strong foundation on the role of social interaction in language learning, and Norton's (2006) language and identity theory, which is strongly based on the socio-cultural concept.

Norton's Language and Identity Theory

Language is not merely a collection of words but a unit that attaches a person to his/her family, ethnic clan, identity, culture, music, beliefs, and wisdom. Language ultimately becomes the vehicle that transfers history, traditions, and knowledge from one generation to the next. Through a sociocultural perspective, Norton (2006) views identity as: " … dynamic and

constantly changing across time and place … complex, contradictory, and multifaceted…constructed by language" (Norton, 2006). In respect to cultural identity, Norton describes it as the relationship between an individual and [other] members of a particular ethnic group (such as Mexican and Japanese) who are considered to share a common history, a common language, and similar ways of understanding the world (p.3). Similarly, Phinney et al. (2001) define identity as "self-identification, feelings of belonging and commitment to a group, a sense of shared values, and attitudes towards one's own ethnic group" (p. 496). This idea is aligned with other constructivist theorists who perceive that identity is constructed by social and cultural interactions (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Riley, 2007).

In another publication, Norton (2013) clarifies identity as "how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future" (p. 5). Identity change might be the result of political decisions, geographical situations including migration and urbanization, or economic circumstances. In terms of economy, people may learn a new language for existing or future employment purposes. Therefore, learning a new language is like obtaining a new identity (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Taylor, 2010).

To connect with other people outside their group, a new language needs to be learned to ease the communication. The change in relationship with the new language speakers may lead to a change in identity. In Norton's (2000) studies on five immigrant women in Canada, most of the participants faced a change in their identity. This occurred because the participants learned English in a foreign country, where English is the official language, and becoming proficient English speakers opened up chances to immerse in the wider community. The study revealed that participants who felt a change in their identity considered it to be negative. They failed to

attain a satisfactory level of proficiency in English. Moreover, they felt that they did not have the same level of social status and value as they had had in their home country. In another study, Norton and Kamal (2003) found that Pakistani EFL students experienced multiple and hybrid identities. Many participants acknowledged that proficiency in English would bring many advantages and they hoped that their knowledge of English would help them introduce their country and values to the wider international community.

As identity is considered evolving and fluid, Dorian (1999) asserts people *"will redefine themselves when circumstances make it desirable or when circumstances force it on them"* (p.25). As a result, people may have multiple and overlapping identities (Coulmas, 2005; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999). These identities intermingle within individuals, one might be more prominent than others, according to the condition (Edwards, 2011), or they may conflict with each other. Taylor (2001) contends, "these identity images are composed of particular traits that are sometimes called self-defining goals and which represent the interface between identity strivings and motivation" (p.25). Each individual can self-identify and belong to a specific group, although he does not speak the language or has lost his ability to use the language. In today's world, parents of minority language children no longer speak and teach the language because of colonialism and traumatic experiences. The country's regulation may forbid the Indigenous people from using their language, or they had a terrifying ordeal causing neglect of their language. However, these people will never lose their right to identify themselves as part of an ethnic group.

The motivation to learn a particular language may lead to abandoning and abhorring the mother tongue (Majtanova & Jabar, 2014). In their study, Majtanova and Jabar (2014) highlight that the use of a foreign language helps to substitute the mother tongue in the construction of

identity. They observe language makes a link between personal and social identities which is displayed in feelings and behavior. Language is not the only factor that defines identity, but it serves as a tool to decode and to express identity (Majtanova & Jabar, 2014).

At the beginning of the 1950s, linguists and educators looked at motivation as a language learning catalyst. Later, Norton (1995; 2000; 2013) reasons that the traditional concept of motivation that views learners as motivated and unmotivated, introvert and extrovert, and nervous and confident, does not explain how a learner may be highly motivated, but may refuse to voice herself if she feels unequal. She recognizes that sometimes even the most motivated learners cannot achieve decent learning of the target language. She introduced the concept of investment into the field of SLA, where she clarifies that it is necessary to explore for language investment:

> Motivation is a more complex matter than hitherto conceived. Despite being
> highly motivated, there were particular social conditions under which the
> women were most uncomfortable and unlikely to speak (Norton, 1995, p.19)

Norton's (2006) notion of investment accepts that language learners have dynamic and multiple identities that are changing across time and space and are produced in social interactions. Underlining the socially and historically constructed relationship between learners and the target language, investment provides a critical lens that allows researchers to examine the relationship of power in different learning contexts, and to what extent these conditions shape how learners commit to learning a language (Darvin & Norton, 2016). Learners' investment in a language must be seen as a strategy that will assist them to obtain larger symbolic and material resources. This investment will improve their cultural capital and social control (Norton, 2013).

Based on her study of female immigrants learning English in Canada, she found that investment in learning English is related to the learners' multiple and hybrid identities and other related factors such as gender, ethnicity, and class (Norton, 2000). Concerning second language learning, teachers must understand students' investment in learning the target language and take their multiple identities into account. In another publication, Norton (2013) explains that learner's motivation is mediated by other investments that may conflict with the desire to speak - investments that are intimately connected to the ongoing production of the learner's identities and their desires for the future (p.120). Norton's concept of language investment may also be applied to Indigenous language learning.

Language Policy and Planning (LPP)

Cooper (1989) defines language planning as "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure or functional allocation of their language codes" (p. 45). Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) also describe language planning as a body of ideas, laws, and regulations that change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change in the language used in one or more communities (p.3). They argue that LPP is fundamentally an effort to modify the linguistic behavior of a community language speaker for some reason and that its goal could be to promote, maintain, or to hinder the growth of a language. While the distinction between language policy (the plan) and language planning (the implementation of the plan) is often discussed, in the literature, the two terms have frequently been used interchangeably (Baldauf, 2006). This study will use the term language planning (LP) to cover both terms. Some scholars associate language planning with official regulations (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). For Spolsky (2004), language planning consists of three interrelated

components that possibly occur at the micro level: language practices, language ideologies, and language management.

Hornberger (2006) sees language planning as attending to matters of society and nation at the macroscopic level, emphasizing the distribution of languages/literacies, and mainly concerned with standard language. Language planning consists of several components. She categorizes language planning into three different components: status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning. These elements of language planning were initially derived from Kloss (1969), who classified LP activities into corpus planning and status planning components. Later on, Cooper (1989) introduced the third component, acquisition planning. These will be clarified below in further detail.

Status planning. Kloss (1969) describes status planning as an intervention on the position of a language relative to that of other languages. Hornberger (2006) defines it as "efforts directed toward allocation of functions of languages/literacies in a given speech community" (p. 28). Therefore, in status planning, there are attempts to assign a language, or dialect, into functional domains in a society, which affects a language's standing and status. Most of the time, the selection of language functions occurs spontaneously; however, sometimes, it happens as a result of a plan. Some efforts involved in status planning include choosing a status, creating a special language, official languages, national languages, etc. Often this effort will increase the status of a language or dialect into a prestigious variety. Status planning may occur at the national or provincial levels (Cooper, 1989).

Acquisition planning. According to Cooper (1989), acquisition planning is aimed at increasing users (listeners, speakers, readers, and writers) of a language. Hornberger (2006) sees acquisition planning as "efforts to influence the allocation of users or the distribution of

languages/literacies, by means of creating or improving opportunity or incentive to learn one of them or both" (p. 28). Acquisition planning focuses on teaching and learning the national language, second language, and foreign language. This planning includes efforts to influence the number of users and the distribution of a language and its characters by creating an opportunity and incentive to learn it. Cooper (1989) asserts that the more significant part of acquisition planning includes language-in-education policy and planning. This is usually conducted by a responsible agency or educational institution. Language educational policy is substantial in language planning as it guarantees language maintenance (Fishman, 2001; Spolsky, 2017).

Corpus planning. Unlike status planning, which politicians and the official government primarily undertake, corpus planning generally involves planners with substantial linguistic expertise. Corpus planning refers to an intervention in a language by creating a new vocabulary, modifying the old one, selecting alternative forms, etc., (Hornberger, 2006). Corpus planning intends to develop the foundations of a language; therefore, the language can become the suitable medium for communication provided with terms needed for administrative purposes, education, etc. There are three traditionally recognized types of corpus planning; graphitization, standardization, and modernization (Hornberger, 2006). Corpus planning is often related to the standardization of a language that includes preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary as a guide for writers and speakers in a language community. Language purification and the elimination of foreign vocabulary (loan words) in a language are also included in corpus planning, pronunciation updates, and introduction to the newest writing systems. For a language that previously did not have written language, the first thing that must be taken in the corpus planning is a development of the writing system (Cooper, 1989).

Hornberger (2006) argues that whatever the purposes of the LPP, the best practices are when several dimensions are developed simultaneously. She recommends that status and corpus planning work most effectively together (Fishman, 1979; Hornberger, 2006). For instance, an effort to standardize the corpus of a language may succeed if the language has an official recognition and an educational system to teach and learn the language. Likewise, to use the language in official matters, it needs to have a comprehensive and complete vocabulary to support the purposes. In Indonesia, when the government introduced orthography reform in 1972 by replacing the Republican Spelling System with the Enhanced Spelling System (*Ejaan yang disempurnakan*), they had to update all written signs, official documents and regulations, Educational written documents, textbooks, etc., Further, each ethnic groups such as Gorontalese must attend the school to learn Standard Bahasa Indonesia.

Different Levels of Language Planning

Language Planning can exist at local, regional, national, and international levels, and agents of LP may influence language practices and attitudes at different levels (Kennedy, 2011) These actors could be groups or individuals acting within local, regional, national and international contexts. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) categorize LP work in different societal levels: macro, meso and micro. Liddicoat (2020) states that these levels of LPP are considered "useful for understanding the field when studying language maintenance, as they bring to light the complex, interacting, and often conflicting policy positions that occur at different social levels as they are enacted by different actors" (p. 338).

Generally, the macro level relates to the national government and government institutions, the meso level relates to provinces and agencies, and the micro level relates to local practices by individuals, families or community groups. These levels are also relevant for

understanding how policy about language(s) is developed and its influence on the current status

of the Gorontalo language and the future of other Indigenous languages in Indonesia.

Macro language planning. The macro language planning involves state or government

planning to influence the way language is used in social and cultural practices at the macro level.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) explain the macro-level of LP as most characteristically the work of

government and government agencies. This work has been the traditional focus of the LP study

(Liddicoat, 2020). Liddicoat further asserts that the level of government differs according to the

ways that administrations are designed. Lately, there has been greater recognition that other

levels are important since language planning is operated not only by governments but also by

different groups, institutions, and individuals (Kennedy, 2011, Liddicoat, 2020). At the macro

level, Spolsky (2017) argues that overall language policy can be found in the Constitution or in

related laws dealing with language. Therefore, to assess macro language planning in this study,

the first action is to look at Constitutional language planning nationally**.**

Meso language planning. There is no unified definition of language planning that

occurs at the meso level. Since this level has not been conceptualized sufficiently in research

(Liddicoat, 2020), researchers have viewed this level differently. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997),

who emphasize language planning on the targets, describe this level as language planning for a

sector of society or a particular group of individuals. In another publication, Baldauf (2006)

states that language planning at the micro level may also take place at the meso level. Yet, there

is no specific information regarding the agency that plays the planner's role at the meso level.

The national government is always viewed as the macro-level agent, while micro-level agents are

working in local contexts such as family and community, but less is written about the meso-level

representatives. To solve this problem, Miranda et al. (2016) describe the meso level as a

flexible notion represented by actors who are outside those at the macro and micro levels. In this study, the meso level refers to the level of regional government that consists of the provincial government, the city, and regencies.

Micro-level language planning. The micro-level is recognized as a new direction in LPP (Chua & Baldauf, 2011; Liddicoat, 2020). Researchers argue that for language planning to be successful and to understand how those effects work, it is necessary to assess activities at a micro-level. Micro level planning is required to properly understand how local phenomena are implicated by language change. These infra–micro examples of individual and family choices indicate the critical role local phenomena play in language planning. In the context of Indonesia, Nababan (1991) claims that micro-level language planning is seen as less important and often has been ignored in Indigenous language development in Indonesia. As part of its investigation of micro-level language planning, this study will briefly discuss Family Language Planning (FLP) in the Gorontalo community in the last chapter of this dissertation.

Research has suggested that the most crucial elements for prolonged language planning rest with the family (Cooper,1989; Spolsky, 2004; 2009; Schwartz, 2010) and with the individual (Piller, 2001; Spolsky, 2009) at the micro level. Chua and Baldauf (2011) suggest "for language planning to be effective, (it requires) activities at a local or micro-level" (p. 936). Fundamentally, "the challenge of language revival efforts lies in the need for micro-planning: language planning which involves individual learners, small groups and small organizations" (Liddicoat & Bryant, 2001, p. 137). Likewise, language planning has a higher rate of success if the home and community are proactive and use the language actively, encouraging individuals to use that language actively (Aitchison & Carter, 2001). Since language revitalization can only be

accomplished by the speakers themselves, micro level language planning needs to focus on family language planning and factors that influence it.

As previously stated, micro-level factors, such as the choices of individuals, play a significant role in language preservation. Since FLP is defined as a "deliberate attempt at practicing a particular language use pattern and particular literacy practices within home domains and among family members," (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, p. 352) investigations of the home domain through an analysis of language beliefs or ideologies, language practices and language management is necessary. Spolsky (2004; 2009) classified the above as the three fundamental components of his original language policy model. Language beliefs that entail beliefs about and attitudes towards language and language use, language practices mean language used in daily interactions and employed strategies, and language management efforts which intend to shape the language use and learning outcomes (King, et al., 2008; Spolsky, 2004).

Inspired by Spolsky's (2004, 2009) theory, Curdt-Christiansen (2014) depicts the interdisciplinary nature of FLP as can be seen in the following figure.

Figure 3

Family language planning
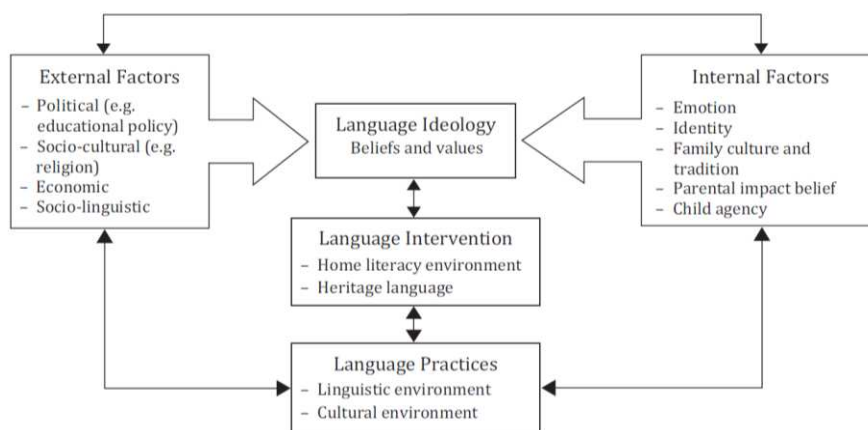
Note. Dynamic model of family language policy. Reprinted from "Factors Influencing Family Language Policy," by X. L. Curdt-Christiansen and J. Huang, 2020.

Curdt-Christiansen (2009) suggests the dynamic model of FLP adopts Spolsky's generic language policy theory into the specific domain of FLP. According to Curdt-Christiansen (2009, 2014, 2020) FLP depicts a complex relationship between ideology, practice and language management within the family sphere. She argues that language ideology is contextual and interrelated with the broader political, economic, socio-cultural and sociolinguistics environment as well as the specific parental educational experiences and expectations. Families as social groups shape FLP and extend beyond home parenting in various ways, impacting education, religion, identity, cultural and political commitments (Piller, 2002; Pavlenko, 2004; King, et al., 2008).

Summary

A review of literature serves to share with readers the findings of previous research in the area of study, gaps that might have emerged, and the possible contribution of the study. In this chapter, I have described the theoretical foundations for language attitudes, language use, and ethnolinguistic vitality. I have documented the characteristics of an endangered language, language shift and maintenance as well as the concept of multilingualism and linguistic diversity. Primary literature reviews for this study focused on Fishman (1991), UNESCO (2003), Lewis and Simon (2010), along with several socio-cultural theories that are used to interpret the findings. The next chapter will discuss the historical and sociolinguistic situation of Indonesia and Gorontalo tribe to provide background context of the study.

Chapter III

The Historical and Sociolinguistic Situation of Indonesia and the Gorontalo Tribe

"O you the daughter of Holondalangi. Have you found your dream yet?

Your tongue must have been numb. Does it still dance as it should be?"

(Kadir, 2021, p.83)

Introduction

As a Gorontalese, writing the above poem inspired me to keep moving forward and remember my roots wherever I am. To help readers understand the context in which the study takes place, this chapter presents a brief historical overview of the language situation in Indonesia. It underlines some of the significant improvements in the political and sociolinguistic context and describes the nature of Indonesia's linguistic complexity, ethnic diversity, and its language planning. The first part of this chapter begins with the geographical context and highlights significant events in the history and politics of Indonesia. The sociolinguistic landscape is also explored, providing insight into Indonesia's linguistic and ethnic diversity, and the language use and literacy rates of its population. A description of Indigenous language use under the conditions of language shift across the nation is followed by an overview of the language planning and policy in Indonesia at the macro, meso, and micro levels. Finally in the last part of this chapter, the sociolinguistic aspects of the Gorontalo tribe and its language, Gorontalo, are presented.

Geographical Situation

Indonesia is a country close to the coast of mainland Southeast Asia between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. As the largest country in Southeast Asia, it extends from east to

west for 3,200 miles and from north to south for 1,100 miles (Adam et al., 2020). The official

number of islands is 13,677 that includes five major islands: Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan

(Indonesian Borneo), Sulawesi (Celebes) and Papua (the western part of New Guinea) (Turner,

1996). In the 21st century, Indonesia is the most populous country in Southeast Asia and has the

fourth largest population in the world. The 2020 population census revealed that there are

currently 270,203,917 people (Statistics Indonesia, 2021). The country is divided into 34

provinces, eight of these provinces were created after the collapse of Suharto's regime (1967-

1998). Namely, North Maluku, West Papua, Banten, Bangka-Belitung Islands, Gorontalo, Riau

Island, West Sulawesi, and North Kalimantan. The vast majority of Indonesians in the western

part of the islands are related to the peoples of eastern Asia. On the east islands, people are of

Melanesian origin, although, over the centuries, there has been considerable mixed with Arabs,

Indians, and Europeans (Adam et al., 2020).

The country's national motto, "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" which means "Unity in

Diversity", refers to the diversity of the population in terms of the people, religion, language, and

culture. Most of the major world religions, such as Hinduism, Confucianism, Buddhism,

Christianity, and Islam, as well as a wide range of Indigenous beliefs, are practiced.

Nevertheless, despite these diversities, most of the people are of Malay ancestry, speak Bahasa

Indonesia language, and practice Islam.

Indonesia's Historical and Political Overview

Indonesia has a long history of colonization by European countries. At the beginning of

the 16th century, it was comprised of independently self-governed kingdoms with their own

governing systems headed by the kings. The first invaders were the Portuguese who arrived in

Malacca in the 1500s seeking to monopolize the spice trade. The Dutch established the Dutch

East India Company (VOC) and ultimately became the dominant European power by 1610. The

Dutch dominated the European colonial presence in Indonesia, except for short French and

British interludes from 1806–1815, when Holland was distracted by the Napoleonic wars. The

Dutch empire in Indonesia continued until World War II. With their war strategy, known as

Devide et impera (i.e., divide and rule), beginning in the 15th century, they succeeded in

weakening the small kingdoms as well as the big empires. The war strategy was widely practiced

by the colonial nations to divide the neighboring kingdoms, to break a sovereign kingdom into

several small kingdoms and to divide groups who were competing for power.

Because of Indonesia's geography, with thousands of islands, there were often multiple

European colonizers present at the same time, although they stayed on different islands. The

Portuguese, for example, lost their overall dominance to the Dutch around 1575, but they

remained in East Timor until 1975. During World War II, the Japanese invaded Indonesia, and

the Dutch lost control. After a brief period of occupation by the Japanese from 1942–1945,

Indonesian leaders led a revolution to gain independence. Its struggle for independence

continued even after the declaration because the Dutch wanted to maintain their power in

Indonesia. Finally, in 1949, the Dutch officially recognized Indonesian sovereignty.

As a unitary nation, the Indonesian government administration was divided into five

layers of government: Nation, province, city, regency, subdistricts, and urban / rural village. In

2015 the government was composed of 34 provinces, 98 municipalities, 416 regencies and 7,246

subdistricts, and 83,931 urban and rural villages, which have obtained autonomy under the new

2014 Village Law (Statistics Indonesia, 2018). The following figure illustrates five layers of

government administration in Indonesia.

Figure 4

Five Levels of Indonesia's Government

National
Led by the President

↓

Provincial
Led by a governor

Cities (*kota*)
Led by a mayor

Regencies (*kabupaten*)
Led by a regency chief (*bupati*)

Sub-districts (*kecamatan*)
Led by a sub-district head (*camat*)

Urban suburbs (*kelurahan*)
Led by a suburb head (*lurah*)

Rural villages (*desa*)
Led by a village head (*kepala desa*)
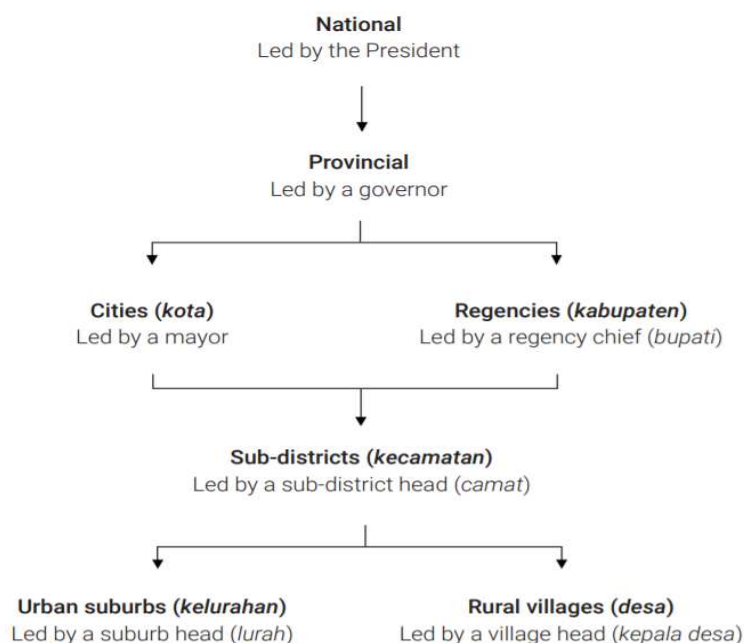
Note: Reprinted from "Briefing note: The Five Levels of Government in Indonesia", by K. Evans, 2020. The Australia-Indonesia Center.

An elected president heads the administration at the national level. Since decentralization, following the fall of Soeharto's regime in 1998, power and authority have shifted from the central to the provincial and regional governments. This power shift involves a substantial transfer of resources, responsibility, and management that brought regional governments to the "forefront of politics" (Falleti, 2005, p. 327). The national government maintains exclusive control in four areas: foreign policy, defense, monetary and fiscal policy, and religious affairs. Authority is divided for the other sectors, such as education, transportation, and health, etc., (Evans, 2020). In education, the national government is responsible for the tertiary level, provincial governments for secondary schools, while city and regency governments oversee education for primary schools.

Each province elects a governor as the second layer of the country's administration. The current Law on Regional Administration (Law No 23/2014) grants provinces the power to manage authority within their boundaries, over cities (kota) and regencies (kabupaten) that are led by an elected mayor (walikota) or an elected regency chief (bupati). The city and regency form the third layer of administration. At this time, there are 34 provinces, 98 cities and 416 regencies in Indonesia. The fourth level of administration is the sub-district, known as *kecamatan,* that is part of the city and regency administration. The head of the kecamatan is called *camat,* and is a career civil servant, appointed by the mayor or regency chief. There are a total of 7,246 subdistricts in all regions. The fifth level of administration is the village of which there are two kinds. In rural areas villages, known as *desa*, are partially autonomous from the *kecamatan* in which they are located. Each village head (*kepala desa*) is elected by the residents. The second type of village is in urban areas and is known as a *kelurahan* headed by a career civil servant. Decentralization has provided the provincial, city and regency governments more ability and autonomy to manage regional affairs, including their development. However, implementation of decentralization is spread unevenly. Researchers argue that there is insufficient proof of its success in advancing regional development. Regional disparities are apparent in income and poverty rates between the Western and Eastern parts of Indonesia (Kadir, 2022; Talitha, et al., 2020).

Language in Indonesia and the Sociolinguistic Dimensions

This section provides an overview of the language situation in Indonesia. Topics discussed are the background on language and ethnicity, the nature of language use and language behavior, and the sociolinguistic profile of the official languages, Indigenous languages, and international languages.

Language Situation and Ethnic Diversity

As a country with linguistic and cultural diversity, researchers have different opinions about the actual number of languages in Indonesia. In 1964, the Library of Congress listed more than 100 ethnolinguistic groups (see Appendix B) and *Ethnologue* registered the number of languages as 722 (Eberhard et al., 2020). The Bahasa and Peta Bahasa book stated that the number of regional languages was 652, excluding language dialects and sub-dialects (Sugono et al., 2017). According to Sugono, Sasangka, and Rivay (2017), the number of languages reached 733, although some languages in the eastern part of Indonesia have not all been identified. These results were obtained from the validation of data from 1991 to 2017 in 2,452 observation areas throughout Indonesia (Sugono et al., 2017). The 2010 Population Census counted the number of languages is close to 2,500, or almost double the number of 1,340 ethnic groups (Statistics Indonesia, 2010). It seems that dialects and sub-dialects are included in this count. Among the hundreds of languages, only ten languages have over one million speakers, as noted in Table 11.

Table 11

Regional Languages with Over 1 Million Speakers, Excluding Bahasa Indonesia

Language	Province	Speaker Population (in million)	EGIDS
Javanese	Central Java and East Java	84.3	2 Provincial
Sundanese	West Java	34	5 Developing
Madurese	Madura, East Java	6.7	5 Developing
Batak	North Sumatra	5.5	5/6a Vigorous
Buginese	South Sulawesi	5	3 Wider communication
Acehnese	Aceh	3.5	5 Developing
Balinese	Bali	3.3	5 Developing
Makassarese	South Sulawesi	3.3	6b Threatened
Sasak	Lombok	2.1	5 Developing
Gorontalo	Gorontalo	1	6b Threatened

Note. Reprinted from "Assessing Endangerment: Expanding Fishman's GIDS," by Lewis, M. P., & Simons, G. F, 2010, Revue Roumaine de Linguistique, LV(2), p.103–120.

Classifications of language use and evaluation of speakers' different languages often have been based on the ethnic populations, with the assumption of a one-to-one relation between ethnicity and language (Leung et al., 1997; Nakayiza, 1987). Because of language endangerment, shifting situations, and the realities of language and identity relations, this estimation does not seem accurate, although it might be acceptable in certain circumstances. For example, it is normally challenging to identify the precise number of languages in the country. Many of the Indigenous languages have different dialects; therefore, because of difficulty in determining language and dialect distinctions, some languages were classified together as part of a dialect cluster. Further, dialects could become languages at any time if they are associated with power, values, and money (Tochon, 2009). Another reason is the politics of language behind the decisions. Since some groups want to obtain political autonomy and recognition, they claim differences in language, especially if the group is classified as a major language dialect. Therefore, obtaining full status of a group's language would secure a degree of autonomy (Kloss, 1969; Tochon, 2009).

The people of Indonesia are often recognized as Indonesians at the international level instead of by their original ethnicity. In their home country, they are always identified by their ethnicity or as residents of one of the thousand islands. Along with the formal ethnic categories, there are prevailing beliefs of cultural traits and norms (*adat dan budaya*) distinct to each group (Utomo, 2019). Some examples of different cultural characteristics include food and diet, language, the dominant religion, and customs. There are also popularized ethnic stereotypes connected with temperaments, habits, and work ethics (Utomo, 2019). As many people are proud of their home island or ethnicity, the differences in food and architecture are often magnified and pronounced. Rice is the staple food of most Indonesians. However, people in Eastern Indonesia

eat mostly sago and starchy tubers such as yams, sweet potatoes, potatoes, taro, and cassava while their cuisine tends to be spicy. Despite their differences, Indonesians are united in many ways, notably in terms of citizenship and religion. Generally, the individual's home island, ethnicity, and language define membership. During my Indonesian battleship voyage, I attempted to communicate with students from the same island, which was a strong indication that a home island and language are important factors to consider.

Figure 5

Maps of Ethnic Groups in Indonesia

Note. Reprinted from "Indonesia Ethnic Groups Map", by G. Kartapranata, G. (n.d.). In *Wikipedia Ensiklopedia Bebas.* Retrieved July 26, 2020, from https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berkas:Indonesia_Ethnic_Groups_Map_id.svg.

Language Use and Literacy

Language use in Indonesia displays patterns of bilingualism and multilingualism with different languages being used to perform different tasks in different domains of society. Formal domains such as those in school, administration, and other formal areas often use different languages than those spoken in social and traditional contexts. Standard Bahasa Indonesia is the primary language in the formal sectors, including schools, public and government communications, media, commerce, and the judiciary system. However, the colloquial Bahasa Indonesia is used in daily conversations and informal events (Martin-Anatias, 2018). The regional/local dialect is mainly used for everyday social interactions and in interpersonal communications, while the mother tongue is mostly limited to the conversation at home and for specific cultural/traditional functions. Because of the nature of language use, multilingualism contributes to the identity of citizens, where several individuals may have up to four languages in their language repertoire.

The language use in Indonesia can be classified into three categories: (1) the national language, Bahasa Indonesia; (2) local or regional languages, also called Indigenous languages; and (3) foreign languages (Nababan, 1985; 1991; Zein, 2020). Bahasa Indonesia is divided into two sub-categories: standard Indonesian language or the "good and proper" Bahasa Indonesia, and colloquial Indonesian language (Abtahian et al., 2016; Martin-Anatias, 2018), which is the result of combining aspects of Indigenous languages with Bahasa Indonesia such as Gorontalo Malay.

The Use of Bahasa Indonesia. Bahasa Indonesia is a variety of Malay, an Austronesian language that has been used as a lingua franca for hundreds of years in the Indonesian archipelago. It is the symbol of national identity and the language that has united this multilingual and multicultural nation. The status of Bahasa Indonesia as a national language was stated in the 1945 Constitution, Chapter XV Article 36. According to the Constitution, Bahasa Indonesia is the only official language which unites the diverse members of Indonesian people by a declaration that is known as the Youth Pledge made on 28 October 1928 (Errington, 2000; Paauw, 2009). The Youth Pledge was proclaimed by young Indonesian nationalists who came from different Islands, backgrounds, ethnicities, and religions in which they declared three ideas: one motherland, one nation, and one language. The text of the pledge is in the following:

We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, declare that we belong to one nation, Indonesia;	*Kami putra dan putri Indonesia mengaku bertumpah darah yang satu, tanah tumpah darah Indonesia.*
We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, declare that we belong to one people, the Indonesian people;	*Kami putra dan putri Indonesia mengaku berbangsa yang satu, bangsa Indonesia.*
We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, vow to uphold the nation's language of unity, Bahasa Indonesia.	*Kami putra dan putri Indonesia menjunjung tinggi bahasa persatuan, Bahasa Indonesia.*

The country has been successful in the adoption of Bahasa Indonesia as the national language, as confirmed by the large numbers of people who now use Bahasa Indonesia for daily communication (Lauder, 2008). As the official language, it serves crucial functions in education, employment, legislation, and administration. The language has a special status as the Medium of Instruction (MOI) in all levels of education throughout the country. Martin-Anatias (2018) points out the standard Bahasa Indonesia fits its role as the language of formalities and written documents and the colloquial Bahasa Indonesia is a spoken language for relaxed, conversational, and informal events.

The Use of Indigenous Languages. Researchers have use different terms to represent a language that is native to a region in Indonesia including heritage language (Suwarno, 2014; 2020), vernacular language (Nababan, 1991), regional language (Moeliono, 1986), mother tongue (Sugiharto, 2014b), local language (Tamtomo, 2019) and Indigenous language (Zein, 2020). The Indigenous language acts as a symbol of socio-cultural values that reflect and are bound to the culture that lives in the community using it. Indigenous languages are considered as cultural treasures, which can be utilized not only for developing and standardizing the national language but also for fostering and maintaining the Indigenous language itself as stated in the act No. 24 2009 (see Chapter II for details). Indigenous languages are also protected as mandated by the 1945 Constitution Chapter XIII, Article 32, "the state shall respect and preserve Indigenous languages as national cultural treasures" (Asian Human Right Commission, 2003). The country grants opportunity and freedom to the Indonesian community to maintain and develop its language as part of its respective culture. This might indicate that basic protection towards the Indigenous languages have existed at the macro level.

Sugiyono (n.d.), the staff of Language Development and the Fostering Agency of the Ministry of Education and Culture, explains that the freedom given by the 1945 Constitution does not mean freedom without restrictions because the development and use of regional languages will inevitably clash with policies and desires of other provisions. Therefore, he concludes, for the sake of the nation, the freedom to use the regional language should not conflict with the use of the national language. Looking at this government statement, the government has ensured that, for the purposes of social interaction, the freedom to use one Indigenous language must respect the use of the official language.

The Use of Foreign Languages. Foreign languages are mainly used for international communication such as diplomatic and business contacts, and cultural exchanges. These languages act as "library languages" or a means for acquiring knowledge from foreign countries (Nababan, 1983, p. 16). Nababan adds that most of the books and scientific materials in the libraries are in foreign languages, mainly in English.

Foreign languages are taught in secondary schools to prepare students for the globalization era and their possible use in universities and the workplace. Before Independence in 1945, Indonesians were already familiar with Dutch from the colonial period when Dutch was taught exclusively to important local officials and noble families. Dutch secondary schools taught three foreign languages, German, French, and English (Nababan, 1983; Paauw, 2009). After Independence in 1945, the Ministry of Education included only English as a compulsory subject in junior and senior secondary schools. This decision created the situation in which English became the "first foreign language" and has been treated as a separate subject in the curriculum (Lauder, 2008; Nababan, 1991). English was first taught in 1914 when junior high schools were established (Lauder, 2008). Though English serves as a foreign language, the opportunities for using English as a medium of instruction (MOI) in education has significantly improved. Nowadays, in many private schools and universities English is used as a MOI in classroom activities such as discussions, presentations, and examinations.

English is used in education with other foreign languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, German, Japanese, and Mandarin. Arabic has long been taught in connection with the Islamic faith, primarily for Quran recitation and prayers. Although it is now more popular, it is not learned for social interaction except in Islamic based schools and dormitories. Despite representing the language of the invader, Dutch is only learned by students intending to study in

the Netherlands and for people in business relations with the Dutch. The Chinese language and culture that were prohibited during the Soeharto years (1967-1998) is of growing interest these days. Driven by China's growing economy, increase in trade and business between the two countries, and cultural and ethnic ties among the Chinese descendants in Indonesia, Chinese has become more prevalent in Indonesia (Lauder, 2008).

Literacy Rate in Indonesia

The literacy rate in Indonesia has increased significantly over the years. The latest data from Statistics Indonesia (BPS) in 2018 shows that the literacy rate of the population aged 15 years and over increased yearly. In a 2009-2015 National Socio-Economic Survey (SUSENAS), the percentage of literate population exceeded 90%. Similarly, the UNESCO 2016 survey reported that the literacy rate had increased to 99.67% for youth and 95.22% for adults.

However, despite Indonesia's high literacy rate, students' reading comprehension is considered to be very low in ASEAN (OECD, 2019). Reading habits are not well-developed among Indonesians, although the reported literacy rate is high. According to a 2016 study carried out by Central Connecticut State University that measured literate behaviors and supporting resources, Indonesia was placed as the second lowest literate country out of 61 nations worldwide (Miller & McKenna, 2016). In 2013 UNESCO documented that only one in 1,000 Indonesians read books regularly or for leisure. Moreover, National Library data in 2015 showed only 10% over the age of ten had an interest in reading (Kurniasih, 2017).

The government attempted to improve its literacy standard through the 2013 character-based curriculum and the school literacy movement (Suryawati et al., 2018). However, some challenges remain, including unequal access and quality of resources for different languages,

increasing popularity of English and, more importantly, the language in education policy, which is officially only Bahasa Indonesia.

Endangered Indigenous Languages of Indonesia

The languages of the world are in various stages of vitality. Some have successfully spread across the globe and have monopolized many areas of public communication. Many other languages struggle to maintain their existence even in their own community. Many languages are extinct or almost extinct because few or no speakers are left. According to the Foundation for Endangered Languages (FEL Manifesto, 2020), there are approximately 6,000 to 7,000 living languages. Of these, ten major languages constitute the native tongue of almost half of the world's population. Even though not all of the remaining languages can be considered endangered, over half of them are (Crystal, 2000). Moseley (2010) stated in the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger that at least 43% of the estimated living languages spoken in the world are endangered. This number may increase when language revitalization and language maintenance in the community do not exist.

Anderson (2010a) estimates that a quarter of the world's languages have fewer than a thousand speakers. The linguists generally agree that the language death within the next century of at least 3,000 of the 6,809 languages listed by the *Ethnologue*, is virtually guaranteed under present circumstances. The threat of extinction thus affects a vastly more significant proportion of the world's languages.

Figure 6

World Map Data Visualization of Extinct and Endangered Language
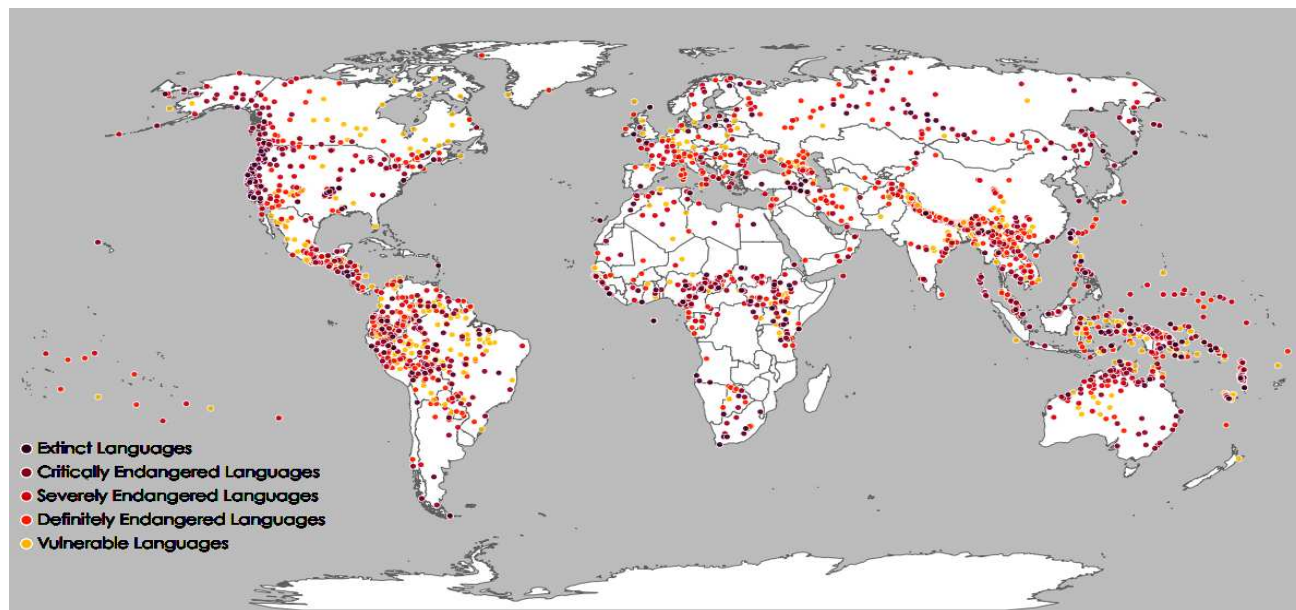
Note. Reprinted from "Data Visualization for Extinct and Endangered Language" by X.M, Cheng and C. Uswachoke, (2017, March 9), https://towardsdatascience.com/data-visualization-for-extinct-and-language-9cd75fe41da

One of the conditions that shows the symptoms of language extinction is a drastic decrease in the number of active speakers (Fishman, 1991; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013). The decline happens because the speakers neglect their languages, particularly young speakers (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013). As a general description, nowadays, the younger generations are no longer able to use their native languages. Most of them master the language only passively, meaning that they can understand it but do not speak it fluently. Skutnabb-Kangas (2013) argues that if conditions like this continue, more and more regional languages eventually lose their speakers.

Basically, a language becomes endangered when its speech community stops using it in different language domains and shifts to another language that is more politically and economically powerful (Mac Donnacha, 2000; Romaine, 2017). The community also ceases to

pass it onto the next generation. Therefore, there are no new speakers of the language, either

adults or children (Fishman, 1991; 2001). In 2003, the UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group also

claimed that language endangerment may be the result of external factors such as military

pressure, economic benefits, and religious, cultural, or educational suppression (Brenzinger et

al., 2003) or internal forces, such as a community's negative attitude towards its language

(Baker, 1992; Mac Donnacha, 2000). Both factors are linked to one another. For instance, many

Indigenous peoples and cultures experience a disadvantaged social position, therefore, they

believe their languages are not worthy. To overcome discrimination, to gain economic

advantages, and to assimilate with the dominant culture, they choose to shift to another language.

Often, since their language does not have enough documentation, such as a standardized

orthography, dictionaries, or grammar books, therefore, it can become extinct and never be

revitalized.

Despite the current world linguistic diversity, the number of languages is steadily

declining because the Indigenous languages continuously die before the advance of the major

languages. of the world (Phillipson, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2013). With more than 700

languages in Indonesia (see Appendix B), the numbers also continue to decrease. Indigenous

languages must overcome many challenges to survive. Many are predominantly oral with no

standard orthography or written materials. Language endangerment in Indonesia may happen due

to several possible internal and external factors, such as "low" status and stigma toward a

language that is considered "ancient". They are also often not documented, have limited domains

of use, and are not used in government, school, or the media (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014;

Moseley, 2010; Riza, 2008). Migration from one place to another because of financial and social

development eventually demands people to use Bahasa Indonesia and even English. Threats to

language extinction not only applies to Indigenous languages with a smaller number of speakers; Indigenous majority languages, such as Javanese and Balinese, with over a million speakers are also threatened (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014; Errington, 1986).

According to the 2010 UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, more than a quarter of the Indigenous languages are considered endangered (Moseley, 2010). This status makes Indonesia the fourth most vulnerable country in the world in the preservation of regional languages after India, the United States, and Brazil (Putri, 2019).

In the eastern regions of Indonesia, it is estimated that about 145 of the languages with less than one million people continue to decline. In fact, about 30 out of 58 languages of West Papua have become extinct over the last 20 years. Only two speakers were recorded in Tandia and currently there is no longer a Tandia language speaker known to the tribe. The inherited Tandia language was hindered by the growing myths among their own tribe such as a belief that if the tribe member uses the language of Tandia when one's parents are alive, the daughter/son will be wretched. It is also taboo to use this language between parents and children.

Similarly, in Gorontalo province, besides its dominant Indigenous language, Gorontalo language, and the other two languages - Suwawa and Atinggola - are also facing imminent extinction. Eberhard, et al. (2020) state that the number of Suwawa language speakers were not more than 5,000 in 2012 and the EGIDS status of this language is categorized as shifting. This category is one level higher than the condition of Gorontalo language, which is labeled as threatened with over one million speakers. The Atinggola language, which is also spoken in Gorontalo province, is threatened with only 23,000 speakers recorded in 1986 (Eberhard et al., 2020). Although there have not been more recent studies conducted on language vitality in this

region, it is unlikely that the situations have improved as there has been no action on government policies and community movement.

Facing language loss, Anderson (2010b) states, "When a language dies, a world dies with it" (p. 14) meaning that a community's connection with its past, traditions, and knowledge are lost because the vehicle linking people to that knowledge is neglected. As Fishman (2001) says, "specific languages are related to specific cultures and to their attendant cultural identities at the level of doing, at the level of knowing and at the level of being" (p.3). Skutnabb-Kangas (2013) further reminds us that linguistic and cultural diversity are essential for the existence of our planet's biodiversity. Language extinction leads not only to a loss of linguistic and cultural diversity but also the world biodiversity that lives in it. Language is not limited as a communication tool but contributes to constructing the way in which a person builds thoughts and feelings about how they see the world. More importantly, the loss of a language means the loss of a perspective on seeing the world.

Language Shift in Indonesia

In Indonesia, language endangerment is related to language shift (Himmelmann, 2009; Moseley, 2010). Language shift has been taking place in the multilingual Indonesian contexts for decades, even in its major Indigenous languages with speakers of over one million (Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014). Since the legalization of Bahasa Indonesia as the national language in 1945, this language has spread throughout Indonesia's provinces. The number of people who use it as either their L1 or L2 has continuously increased over the years (Musgrave, 2014). The language shift in Indonesia has taken place not only from Indigenous language to the national language, but from smaller languages to larger languages, which is happening in the west and east part of Indonesia (Musgrave, 2014).

The shift of regional languages in Indonesia can generally be analyzed through the change of language use in family or home domains. The reason is that the Indonesian community model is that of a diglossic or even triglossic society, which means two or three languages have different functions and uses. For example, the government mandates standard Bahasa Indonesia to be used in official and state domains such as education and government. Colloquial Bahasa is used for informal and conversational activities, and the Indigenous language for the family domain, kinship, and traditional ceremonies. Because of the government's policy on Bahasa Indonesia, as the official and national language, it does not permit the Indigenous languages to be used as a medium of instruction. Therefore, the range of use of Indigenous languages is limited to only specific domains such as the family, close-knit organizations, and religious or ritual functions. However, the fact is that certain activities that are supposed to use regional languages as the main languages are now being replaced by Bahasa Indonesia or other major languages.

In Indonesia, studies on language shift have mostly been implemented in Java Island, for the Javanese language (Kurniasih, 2006; Smith-Hefner, 2009) and several areas in Indonesia. In the island of Java, Javanese is spoken by an estimated 84 million speakers. However, it is now undergoing a rapid language shift and a lack of intergenerational transmission (Kurniasih, 2006; Smith-Hefner, 2009). Further it has been found that middle-class females are leading the language shift in Javanese families. The different speech level systems of Javanese, low Javanese (Ngoko), Mid Javanese (Madya), High Javanese (Krama) as well as a set of honorific and humble vocabulary, contributed to the shift (Errington, 1986). In another study, Errington (1998) finds a pattern of language shift in the Javanese community has taken place from high level of Javanese (Krama) to low Javanese (Ngoko).

In the eastern part of Indonesia, Made Amin and Darwis's (2015) study on the Buginese language, in different regions of South Sulawesi province, revealed that language shift was significantly higher in urban areas as compared to language use in the rural areas. Musgrave and Ewing's (2006) study in Central Maluku showed that a language shift had taken place in both Muslim and Christian villages. Although the earlier study found that most Christian villages had shifted from their Indigenous language to Ambon Malay language, even before the Indonesian independence. Nowadays, Muslim villages are also following the same route. The Muslim villages used to maintain their Indigenous languages for many years, but now have shifted to Ambon Malay and Bahasa Indonesia (Musgrave & Ewing, 2006).

Language Policy and Planning in Indonesia

This section provides an overview of language planning in Indonesia, as viewed from the perspective of various agencies playing a role in the process. This provides a clear understanding of how Indonesia's language planning policy influences aspects of language use, language attitudes, and language proficiency of the Gorontalo language.

Language planning in Indonesia was initiated before Indonesia was officially declared a country in 1945. A long history of oppression under many European nations including Dutch imperialism and Japanese occupation, make nationalism the most critical value for Indonesia (Paauw, 2009). Driven by the ideals of independence and a search for a national identity, a youth congress was held in 1928. The congress identified the need for a national language and selected Bahasa Indonesia, as it was deemed the unifying language in the new nation and should be used instead of Indigenous languages, or Dutch, for formal and national communications.

As suggested by Arka (2013), language "can" and "should" be managed as part of a national language policy framework in Indonesia (p. 75). Language planning in Indonesia

is politically rooted in the national motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity). It is also the foundation of *Pancasila* (the five principles of the national ideology) namely, religion, humanitarianism, nationalism, democracy, and socialism. Arka (2013) contends that understanding the concept of nationalism, promoted by the government, has triggered pressure on and threatened the Indigenous languages.

To understand language planning in Indonesia, it is necessary to understand the different layers of government agencies that are involved in language planning. As described in the previous section the government administration consists of five layers: national, provincial, city/regency, subdistrict, and urban/rural village (See Figure 4).

Research suggests three levels of investigation are needed for language-related decisions to be investigated and understood in reframing the focus of language policy and planning namely macro, meso and micro planning levels (Baldauf, 2005, 2006; Chua & Baldauf, 2011; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Different levels of language planning in the country will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

Macro-Level Language Planning in Indonesia

Macro-level language planning is represented by specific documents, such as the Constitution, laws, and policy documents, and it may also be found in existing ideologies and cultural beliefs (Liddicoat, 2020; Schiffman 1996). It is necessary to look at the Constitution and legislation to examine macro-level language planning. In Indonesia, legislation exists in different forms. The following summarizes the legislation hierarchy and types of legislation as stipulated in Law number 12/2011, Article 7, Paragraph 1 and 2:

1. a. The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia,

    b. Decree of People Consultative Assembly,

   c. Law/Government Regulation in Lieu of Law,

   d. Government Regulation,

   e. Presidential Regulation,

   f. Provincial Regulation, and

   g. Regency and/or City Regulation.

  2. The legal power of the legislation follows the hierarchy as referred to in paragraph 1.

   The 1945 Constitution became the basis of all legislation and the highest regulations in the national legislation. In this section, the current macro status of language-related planning refers to the state Constitution 1945 (second amendment) and current national language policy documents:

1. Law No. 24/2009 on the Flag, Language, Symbol of the State and the National Anthem,

2. Law No.20/2003, on National Education,

3. Government Regulation No. 57/2014 on the Development, Cultivation and Maintenance of Language and Literature and the Increased Function of Bahasa Indonesia, and

4. Home Affairs Ministry Regulation No. 40/2007 on the Guidelines for the Regional Heads in the Conservation and Cultivation of the State Language and Indigenous Languages.

   Given the national language policy and the structure of the macro system in Indonesia, and the fact that Indonesia signed the United Nations Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 2007, a legal structure to protect Gorontalo and other Indigenous languages is in place and could be better applied and even fortified. However, since the concept of Indigenous peoples is not applicable to the country, the government is rejecting calls for them to consider the needs of groups that identify as Indigenous (Anshori, n.d). A report by the United Nation Committee on Racial Discrimination has expressed concern that Indonesia does not

comply with the principle of Indigenous self-identification (UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 2021).

  Status Planning in the Constitution. Status Planning is a purposeful effort to define the roles and functions of languages and literacies in a community or national territory (Cooper, 1989; Hornberger, 2006). The levels of government will vary according to the ways that regulations are structured. Since Indonesia has five levels of government, the status planning will analyze the Constitution and related national laws and regulations. The Republic of Indonesia Constitution provides a general guideline on language-related issues. Based on Chapter XIII of the 1945 Constitution on Education and Culture, language use of the country has been stated in the following articles:

Article 32 (2) The state shall respect and preserve the languages in the regions as national cultural treasures.

Article 36 The state language shall be the Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia).

Article 36 C Further provisions regarding the Flag, Language, and Coat of Arms of the state, as well as to the national anthem, are to be regulated by laws.

  Article 36 of the Constitution proclaims Bahasa Indonesia as the official language and recognizes Indonesia's language diversity. In this article, the choice of Bahasa Indonesia, as the state's official language, is clearly stated. This selection is supported by the third stanza of the 1928 Youth Pledge (see Chapter 2 for details) which stated:

We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, *Kami putra dan putri Indonesia*

vow to uphold the nation's language of *menjunjung tinggi bahasa persatuan,*

unity, Bahasa Indonesia. *Bahasa Indonesia.*

The second paragraph of Article 32 of the Constitution acknowledges Indigenous languages as a resource to develop and support the national language. Although the Constitution does not expressly state the domain of use for Indigenous languages, Article 36 C explains that these regulations can be found in the National language-related laws under the Constitution. For the province of Gorontalo, the laws are governed by the regional regulations (which includes provincial, city, and regency regulations). These regional laws will be discussed further in the section on the meso level of language planning.

It appears that there is a commitment to protect and preserve Indigenous languages as valuable national treasures. Although Article 32 does not identify domains of language use for Indigenous languages, it suggests an intent to maintain the country's multilingualism. This agrees with Suwarno, (2020) who previously argues that the domain of use for Indigenous Language in Indonesia is not explicitly stated in the Constitution. According to Asshiddiqie (2008), this implies two substantial meanings; first, a recognition that each Indigenous language as a source of national culture and national language, and secondly, the state and all national components are being committed to respecting and conserving the Indigenous languages. Thus, Asshiddiqie (2008) emphasizes that these principles may be achieved through "policies that do not marginalize Indigenous languages". However, since a language is marginalized when it is not being used in the public domain (Crystal, 2000; Fishman, 2001). Therefore, it could be assumed that to prevent the marginalization of Indigenous languages, the Constitution must grant public domains for them, at least in their own regions. Further investigation is needed to determine if lower legislation has such policies.

The Constitution does not regulate the use of foreign languages. However, they will be regulated in other national and regional regulations. Overall, the Constitution aims to maintain

the country's multilingualism by preserving the country's Indigenous languages. At the same time, it acknowledges monolingualism as since it recognizes only the one official language under the Constitution. This aligns with Cohn and Ravindranath's (2014) statement, that although the Constitution protects the Indigenous languages, the country does not have official national multilingualism.

Status Planning in National Legislation. In addition to the constitutional mandate on language use and protection, language planning can be identified through national legislation and related laws. The following regulations have implied language-related policy and planning:

Law No 24/2009 on the Flag, Language, Symbol of the State, and the National Anthem emphasizes that Bahasa Indonesia is the national and official language, as it states:

Article 1   (2) […] Bahasa Indonesia is the official national language that is used

throughout the territory of the unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

Article 25   (3) Bahasa Indonesia is the country's official language […] functions as the

official language of the country, medium of education, national-level

communication, business transaction and communication.

Article 1 declares Bahasa Indonesia as the official language in all Indonesia's regions. Article 25 states that Bahasa Indonesia is the language of official communication in the government and private sector. The second part of Law No. 24 focuses on the use of Bahasa Indonesia, articulated in Articles 26 to 39, which state that these laws cover the mandatory use of Bahasa Indonesia in the country's regulations and legislation (Article 26), state official correspondence (Article 27), official language communication of the president and vice president delivered nationally and internationally (Article 28), education (Article 29), public administration (Article 30), official agreements (Article 31), national and international forum in

Indonesia and abroad (Article 32), official communication in government and the private sector (Article 33), official reports (Article 34), research publications (Article 35), geographical names and signs (Article 36), product information (Article 37), signposts, public facilities, banners, etc. (Article 38), and mass media (Article 39). This law also regulates the development and protection of Bahasa Indonesia as mandated by the Constitution.

Law No. 24/2009 mandates the government's role in facilitating and improving citizen competence in foreign languages as stated in Article 43 below:

Article 43   (1) The government can facilitate Indonesian citizens who want to have foreign language competence to increase the nation's competitiveness.

(2) Further provisions regarding facilitation for improving foreign language competence, as mentioned in paragraph (1), are provided in the Government Regulations.

Article 43 indicates the intention of the government to support the use of foreign languages, however, it does not name a domain for their use or provide any assistance or mediated support. Therefore, a government regulation is needed to support the use of foreign languages.

Law No. 24/2009 does not cover the status or use of Indigenous languages, but only regulates their development and protection. However, it directs all Indigenous language activity to be conducted by the regional government, as indicated in Article 42 below:

Article 42   (1) Local government is required to develop, foster, and protect local languages and literature to fulfill its position and function in society according to time development and Indonesia' s remaining cultural wealth.

(2) Development and protection, as referred to in paragraph (1), shall be carried out gradually, systematically, and sustainably by the regional government, with coordination by linguistic institutions.

The second national-level language regulation is Regulation No. 57/2014 on the Development, Cultivation, and Maintenance of Language and Literature and the Increased Function of Bahasa Indonesia. This regulation is derived from Law No.24/2009 that regulates the government's intention to develop, cultivate, and maintain the function of Bahasa Indonesia. The following excerpt, from Articles 4 and 5 of Regulation No. 57/2014, relates to the position and function of Bahasa Indonesia.

Article 4   (1) Bahasa Indonesia has the status as the national language and official language of the state.

Article 5   (1) Bahasa Indonesia, as a national language, functions as: a. National identity, b. National pride, c. Unifying means of various ethnic groups, and d. Means of communication between regions and intercultural regions.

(2) Functions of Bahasa Indonesia, as the official language of the state:

a. Official language of state affairs, b. Medium of instruction in education, c. Tool for national-level communication, d. Tool for developing national culture, e. Means of commercial transactions and documentation, f. Development of science and technology, and g. Language of the mass media.

These articles emphasize the position of Bahasa Indonesia as the national and official language of the country. As the national language, it represents the national identity and a language that unites and connects multiethnic groups. It is also the official language in all public communication in the country.

Current policy documents also acknowledge the status of Indigenous languages and define the function of Indigenous languages as follows:

Article 6   (1) Function of Indigenous languages: a. Molder of ethnic personality, b. Affirmation of regional identity, and c. Means of disclosure and development of regional literature and culture in the Indonesian frame.

(2) In addition to functions as referred to in paragraph (1), Indigenous languages may function as: a. Means of communication in family and regional communities, b. A regional Mass Media language, c. A support to the Indonesian language, and d. A source of Indonesian language development.

This government regulation defines the function of Indigenous languages as a cultural glue that binds the community, a part of ethnic identity, and support for Indonesian cultural heritage development in a united nation. It also mandates the use of Indigenous languages within the family, the regional community, and for regional media publications. Thus, the national government has limited the chance for an Indigenous language to be used outside the home domain, although it still permits its use in the community and regional media.

Government Regulation No. 57/2014 regulates the status and function of international language as described in Article 7 below:

Article 7   a. Means of supporting international communication, b. Means of supporting the mastery of knowledge, technology, and art, and c. Resource for Indonesian language development.

The function of a foreign language is described as enabling international communication, facilitating the use of technology, and supporting the development of the Indonesian language.

Regulation No. 57/2014 was written to strengthen the position of Bahasa Indonesia. It does not mention the status of Indigenous and foreign languages, although both have similar functions to support Indonesian language development. Foreign languages have a specific purpose of supporting the understanding of knowledge, technology, and the arts. It appears that the Indigenous languages cannot have a similar status and fulfill the same roles as Bahasa Indonesia, which unifies the country, and the function of foreign languages, which provide understanding of technology and knowledge.

The third national regulation related to language is the Home Ministry Regulation No. 40/2007 on the Guidelines for the Regional Heads in the Conservation and Cultivation of the State Language and Indigenous Languages. The regional role is stipulated as follows:

Article 2   Preserving and prioritizing the use of the state language in the regions:

a. Preserving and prioritizing the use of the state language [Bahasa Indonesia],

b. Preservation and development of regional [Indigenous] languages as elements of cultural wealth, and as the main source of forming Bahasa Indonesia's vocabulary, and c. Socialization of the state language as the language of instruction in education, the official language for national and regional government meetings, official correspondence, activities in the private sector, and local community organizations.

This Home Ministry Regulation mandates regional heads the responsibility to preserve and prioritize the use of Bahasa Indonesia in their regions and to use it in its official communication. It also highlights the use of specific terms such as *preservation, prioritization,* and *socialization* of Bahasa Indonesia as the official state language. In this regulation, the existence of Indigenous languages is recognized as a part of cultural heritage, and again, its main

objective is to develop the Bahasa Indonesia vocabulary. In all three national regulations, the use of Indigenous languages in official meetings and communications, is prohibited at the national and regional levels.

Language in Education Policy. Language in education is known as acquisition planning and is one of the most important sites in macro-level language planning. Scholars affirm that acquisition planning concentrates on increasing language speakers and how the speaker community has access and motivation to learn the language (Hornberger, 2006; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). In this sense, education institutions are responsible for the formal transmission of languages and promotion of culture (Liddicoat & Leech, 2014; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Like status planning, acquisition planning includes promoting and expanding language variations in several domains, mainly in public domains. One of Fishman's (1991; 2001) language domains targeted language education programs and language teaching. Following his Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), he places language used in education in level 1, meaning the language is safe. Ultimately, the choice of language in the educational system bestows power and prestige through its use in formal institutions. This power and prestige brought symbolic and conceptual meaning because it addresses the mutual principles and worldview conveyed through that language (UNESCO, 2003).

At the Constitutional level, acquisition planning is primarily based on Article 32 (paragraph 2) and Article 36 which mandate protection for Indigenous languages and focuses on the status of Bahasa Indonesia. Although the Constitution does not cover language use in education, Law No 20/2003, in the national education system and Article 33, Chapter VII about Medium of Instruction, specifies the following:

Article 33   (1) Bahasa Indonesia, as the language of the nation, shall be the medium of

instruction in national education.

(2) Local language can be used as a medium of instruction in the early stage of

education, if needed in the delivery of particular knowledge and/or skills.

Explanation for Paragraph (2) The early stage in elementary education includes

first and second years.

(3) A foreign language can be used as a medium of instruction to support the

competency of the learners.

This law specifies that the national education system must use Bahasa Indonesia as the

medium of instruction. Further, Indigenous languages may be used in the early years of

education if the students require it, but it is not mandatory. Teachers may use the language if

they see the lower grade students struggle to understand the lesson. Although the government

values the Indigenous languages, and the Constitution protects them, the use of these languages

in the national education system is limited to the initial stage of education (first and second

years) as a complement to the use of Bahasa Indonesia. The Revised Curriculum 2013, that

applied nationally and currently in use, has allocated most instructional hours for the

development of Bahasa Indonesia as compared to other subjects, including English and

Indigenous languages. Indigenous language is taught under the local content curriculum. Under

the authority of the regional government, Indigenous languages are allotted a maximum of two

instructional hours per week, as illustrated in the following table:

Table 12

Language Subjects in the Revised Curriculum 2013

Schooling		Language Subject		
		Bahasa Indonesia	English	Local content subject (Mulok) in Gorontalo province
Level of education	Grades	Hours*	Hours*	Hours*
Elementary School (SD and	1	8	0	2
*Madrasah Ibtidaiyah***)**	2	8	0	2
	3	10	0	2
	4	10	0	2
	5	10	0	2
	6	10	0	2
Junior Secondary School (SMP	7	6	4	0
and *Madrasah Tsanawiyah***)**	8	6	4	0
	9	6	4	0
Senior Secondary School (SMA,	10	4	2-4	0
SMK and *Madrasah 'Aliyah***)**	11	4	2-4	0
	12	4	2-4	0

Note: in primary school, a one-hour lesson is 35 minutes in duration; in junior secondary, it is 40 minutes, and in senior secondary it is 45 minutes. Adapted from *Language policy in superdiverse Indonesia* by Zein, S, 2020, Routledge.

The curriculum for Bahasa Indonesia and English is constructed inversely, which means that the higher the grade, the fewer hours are granted. In Gorontalo province, Indigenous languages as a subject are offered for two hours (70 minutes) a week under the provincial government regulation. while Bahasa Indonesia is taught from eight to ten hours in elementary school, six hours in junior high and four hours in senior high. English is not taught in elementary school but is taught for six hours in junior high and varies in from two to four hours of instruction in senior high, depending on the academic stream (languages, natural science, or social science). Indigenous language instruction will be discussed further in the section on the meso level.

The fact that significant hours of instruction are given to Bahasa Indonesia in primary school indicates the intent to expose children to this language from an early age. As their literacy in this language develops, they can understand the instruction and complete assignments in other

subjects in the later grades (Zein, 2020). In Gorontalo province, Indigenous language is covered under the local content subject in elementary school for 70 minutes per week, but it is not mandatory. Other provinces, such as East Java and West Java, offer Indigenous language subjects up to high school. Although an Indigenous language can be used as a medium of instruction in the first two years of elementary school and taught as a subject, there is very little chance for it to be maintained if it is not used in the family domain. With the language of instruction in Bahasa Indonesia, supported by the extended hours of instruction in the last four years of primary school (grade 3 to 6). Children are expected to become competent in the official language and the use of an Indigenous language in schools becomes restricted.

Since Indigenous languages were utilized to support instruction in Bahasa Indonesia for lower grade students, as Garcia (2009) describes:

> The use of two languages concurrently subordinates one language to the other. The teacher's intent is always to develop a language of power, or to make content in the majority language understood. Thus, when the minority language is used, its only purpose is to support instruction in the majority language (pp. 623–624).

The implementation of this practice can be categorized as linguistic genocide (Skutnab-Kangas, 2013) and linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992). Further, it is against the UNESCO (1953; 2003) recommendation that children have a right to be educated in the language they speak and have their language and cultural diversity maintained through language-in-education policies. Hornberger (1989) makes an important argument that "a stronger mother tongue leads to a stronger second language" (p. 287), implying that the children's mother tongue should be retained until it is fully established, simultaneously or successively. Cummins (2000) endorses this position through the "interdependence hypothesis", which declares that literacy development

in both the first and second language is important as it "increases cognitive, linguistic, and academic growth" (pp. 37-38).

The teaching of Indigenous languages is regulated by Law No. 23/2014 on Regional Government and Regulation of the Minister of Education and Culture No. 79 of 2014 on the local content curriculum (known as *Mulok*). This law states that the local content curriculum for secondary and special education is determined by the authority of the provincial government. Meanwhile, regency and city governments are given the authority to establish a local content curriculum for primary education, early childhood education, and non-formal education.

Based on regulation No. 79/2014, Local Content is a subject in education units and covers content and learning processes about local potential and uniqueness. Article 4 explains that local content may include teaching an Indigenous language, among other possible subjects, as stated in the following:

Article 4   Local content may include, among others: a. Art and culture, b. Crafts, c. Sports, physical education, and health, d. Language, and e. Technology, so that students form their understanding of excellence and wisdom in the area where they live.

Law No 20/2003, Article 33, Paragraph 3 permits a foreign language to be used, as a language of instruction, in order to encourage learners' competency. A foreign language education is a compulsory subject alongside Bahasa Indonesia. English is one of the foreign languages which has been adopted and used in Indonesian education. This regulation was the legal foundation for introducing the *Rintisan Sekolah Berstandar Internasional* (International Pilot Project State-run Schools) and then *Sekolah Berstandard Internasional* (International State-run School) known as RSBI and SBI, respectively, in 2009. In the RSBI schools, some subjects, such as science and math, were taught in special classes that used English as the language of

instruction at the junior and senior secondary levels. Although it was widely promoted, many scholars argue that the policy promotes and encourages linguistic imperialism (Sugiharto, 2015; Zentz, 2016). Moreover, it is not aligned with the Constitution that ensures that the state should provide education for all without discrimination. In fact, only rich children can study in RSBI, which is an elite state school. Those who cannot afford tuition in an RSBI can only be accepted in regular public schools. Therefore, in 2013 the Constitutional Court declared that RSBI and SBI schools were against the Constitution and abolished their practice throughout the country. Despite the cost, for some people, sending their children to private schools that provide English as a medium of instruction is still in high demand. English has become a new high variety of language in Indonesia's multilingual culture (Zein, 2020). Linguistic imperialism, associated with Bahasa Indonesia and English, has increased the problem of language shift in many Indigenous communities.

Arabic has long been taught in Islamic schools and after school programs for religious purposes, such as for Qur'an recitation and prayers. Islamic schools, called *pesantren,* existed before independence in 1945. In Islamic boarding schools, it is mandatory to use Arabic for communication and as the medium of instruction. In Indonesia, Arabic enjoys significant status as it is used in religious activities. Since the majority of Indonesians are Muslim, learning Arabic is mandatory for worship. Recently, there is growing interest in sending children to the Integrated Islamic School (Rasyadi, 2021) because the religious curriculum is integrated with the national curriculum and implemented in a full day school.   Arabic could also be seen as a threat to the survival of Indigenous languages because its use has been slowly integrated into daily conversation. Moreover, it contributes to Bahasa Indonesia's development, as many words in Bahasa Indonesia are derived from Arabic.

Corpus Planning. Corpus planning is defined as an attempt to develop and modify the structure of languages, such as spelling, grammar, and vocabulary, to elevate them to become a modern means of communication (Hornberger, 2016; Zein, 2020). Since corpus planning at the macro level deals with Bahasa Indonesia, this section will focus on the corpus planning of Bahasa Indonesia at the macro level. Corpus planning for the Gorontalo language will be presented at the regional (meso) level.

As previously stated, language planning in Indonesia began when the national leaders chose Bahasa Indonesia as the national language. Malay was perceived as neutral, because it was not the mother tongue of any ethnic group in Indonesia. Zentz (2008) believed that by choosing Bahasa Indonesia, all ethnic groups would have similar opportunities to learn, and no group would have the advantage of having its language as the official language. Over the years, Bahasa Indonesia has undergone many iterations of a standardization process.

There are two benchmark meetings that support the Indonesian language policy, which give the framework for language standardization (see appendix D). First, the Language Seminar in 1972 developed a reference for the Perfected Orthography, or *Ejaan yang Disempurnakan* (Errington, 2000; Paauw, 2009; Simandjuntak, 1972) which simplified the use of Bahasa Indonesia in writing. The second was the Fifth Language Congress in 1988, which completed the Extensive Indonesian Dictionary, known as *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*. This was considered a big step in language development, as new vocabularies resembled those adopted from regional and foreign languages, (Simandjuntak, 1972).

One of the most spectacular successes of language planning in Asia is Bahasa Indonesia (Lauder, 2008; Paauw, 2009). It has been a successful unifying element that binds the multicultural Indonesian nation together and serves as an effective tool for use in all official

domains and education. Although Bahasa Indonesia does not automatically displace the use of other mother tongues in more informal areas of communication, it limits their use in the educational field (Sugiharto, 2014b). It also created a language variant that is derived from the Indigenous language and Bahasa Indonesia, for example Gorontalo Malay.

Meso Level Language Policy and Planning at the Regional Level

As previously stated, in this study the meso level refers to the regional government that consists of the provincial government, the city, and regencies. At this level, regulations from all levels of government are examined. With the help of the Provincial Language Agency in Gorontalo, I discovered that the following regulations related to language are currently in practice:

1. Provincial regulation No.23/2021 on Prioritizing the Use of Bahasa Indonesia,

2. Provincial Regulation No. 7/2017 on Protection and Preservation of Gorontalo Traditional Culture and Expression,

3. Provincial Regulation No.7/2015 on Local Content Curriculum,

4. Provincial Regulation No. 2/2009, amendment of Provincial Regulation No. 8/2005 on Gorontalo Language and Literature and its Spelling,

5. Regulation of Mayor (Municipality) No. 3/10/1/2017 on Determination of Local Content Curriculum Regional Culture and Local Potential for Elementary School in Gorontalo City.

From the above regulations, the newest is Provincial Regulation No.23/2021 on prioritizing the use of Bahasa Indonesia, as stipulated in Article 7, Paragraph 1 below:

Article 7 (1) Bahasa Indonesia must be used in: a. Statutory regulations in the region, b. Official regional documents, c. Official speech of regional officials, d. The

language of instruction in the administration of education in the regions, e. Public administration services in regional government agencies, f. Memorandum of understanding or agreement, g. Official communication within the local government and private work environment, h. Reports of each institution or individual to the local government, i. Writing scientific papers and publishing scientific papers in the regions, j. Geographic naming of buildings, roads, apartments or settlements, offices, trade complexes, trademarks, business institutions, educational institutions, and organizations established or owned by the public or legal entities, k. Information about goods or services, l. Mass media information, and m. Public signs, road signs, public facilities, banners, and other information tools.

(2) The use of Bahasa Indonesia, as referred to in Paragraph (1), may be accompanied by an Indigenous and/or a foreign language by prioritizing the use of Bahasa Indonesia.

(3) In the case of buildings, apartments or settlements, offices, and trade complexes that have historical, cultural, customary, and/or religious values, the use of Bahasa Indonesia may be accompanied by an Indigenous or foreign language.

Article 12 (1) The community participates in prioritizing the use of the Indonesian language.

(2) Community participation, as referred to in paragraph (1), may be in the form of: a. Providing input and advice to local governments in education, development, coaching, documentation, and publication of Bahasa Indonesia, b. Implementing regional government policies in the fields of education, development, coaching,

documentation, and publication of Bahasa Indonesia, and c. Prioritizing Bahasa

Indonesia in every activity in the community according to the realm of its use.

Article 13   (1) Regional governments provide awards to: a. Public, b. Community

organizations, c. Regional apparatus, d. Community groups, and e. Business

entities who are meritorious and/or successful in prioritizing Bahasa Indonesia.

This Provincial Regulation on prioritizing the use of Bahasa Indonesia, is derived from

the macro language planning in the 1945 Constitution and the national regulations Law No.

24/2009, the Government Regulation No. 57/2014, and the Home Affairs Ministry Regulation

No. 40/2007. With the above Provincial Regulation, the use of Bahasa Indonesia is strictly

regulated at the regional level for official documents and public speech, administration, the

language of instruction, street and building signs, and media, etc. In this regulation, the use of

Indigenous and foreign languages is permitted to accompany Bahasa Indonesia, if the official

language is prioritized. The statement in Article 7 Paragraph (2) … *may be accompanied by an*

Indigenous language or foreign language by prioritizing Bahasa Indonesia, appears to be

ambiguous. The term *prioritizing* requires further clarification on how the Indigenous and

foreign languages can still be used in the official documents. For example, an Indigenous

language may be used in the opening or closing paragraph of official communication in the

regions. As for the building and road signs, it should be regulated so that the use of an

Indigenous language to accompany Bahasa Indonesia is mandatory. This would increase the

exposure of Indigenous languages in public spheres.

The current regulation encourages the Gorontalo community to focus on the use of

Bahasa Indonesia, although it is not clear whether this includes its use in the home domains.

However, to motivate the community in supporting Bahasa Indonesia, the regional government

offers a reward to the individuals and groups who take part in succeeding and prioritizing the use of Bahasa Indonesia as stipulated in Article 13 above. Yet again this regulation does not include people who maintain and preserve the Indigenous languages in the province.

As mandated by the National Regulations, the regional heads also hold a responsibility to preserve, protect, and develop Indigenous languages in their jurisdictions as part of cultural wealth and as the source of forming Bahasa Indonesia's vocabulary. This task was included in the Provincial Regulation No.8/2005 on Gorontalo Language and Literature and Spelling that explains the function of the Gorontalo language in literature and spelling as outlined in Article 5 as follow:

Article 5   a. As a symbol of pride and regional identity,

b. As a means of communication and expression of family and society,

c. As a medium of Gorontalo regional culture,

d. As a language that can enrich the vocabulary of Indonesian words, and

e. As one of the local content teaching materials chosen by formal and non-formal educational institutions, both public and private.

The Regional Government acknowledges that the Gorontalo language represents Gorontalo's ethnic identity and is used as a language of communication in the family and community. It is also a source of Bahasa Indonesia vocabulary and is taught as a local content subject in formal or non-formal organizations. This regulation specifies that use of the Gorontalo language is only permitted within the family and community.

The provincial government also legalizes Provincial Regulation No. 7/2017 on Protection and Preservation of Gorontalo Traditional Culture and Expression which protects traditional expressions of Gorontalo, as explained in Article 3:

Article 3   Forms of traditional cultural expression consist of: a. Verbal text, both oral and

written form of prose as well as poetry, in various themes and content of the

message, which can be in the form of literary works or informative narratives, b.

Music, including vocal, instrumental, or a combination thereof, c. Movement,

including dance, d. Theatre, including puppets, shows, and plays with people, e.

Fine art, both 2-dimensional and 3-dimensional, made of various materials such

as leather, wood, bamboo, metal, stone, ceramic, paper, textile, etc., or a

combination thereof, f. Traditional ceremonies, and g. Traditional knowledge.

This regulation clarifies that language alone does not constitute cultural expression.

Therefore, the protection is mainly related to cultural-related activities such as rituals and

ceremonies, oral/ aural poetry, music, dance, etc.   I have tried to locate other provincial, city, or

regency regulations that offer acknowledgement and honor for those who play a role in

preserving and promoting Gorontalo language in everyday life, to no avail. Perhaps it is under

discussion.

Given the language condition of the Gorontalo language, it requires a specific regulation

for its protection and maintenance. Cultural and traditional activities in the Gorontalo language

are not sufficient to reverse the language shift that has occurred, especially where the language is

no longer learned at home. Presenting the Gorontalo culture through various local and national

competitions to maintain the culture and identity markers of Gorontalo, that are prevalent lately,

is highly commendable, but should also recognize that language is an inherent part of culture and

as such should also be a component of these competitions. Such activities could include local

competition of Gorontalo language poems, narrative writing, oral stories, or even vocabulary

games. Providing tools for Gorontalo language learning should be considered since culture cannot stand independently without its language.

In terms of acquisition planning, the teaching of the Gorontalo language falls under the Local Content Curriculum, which is the responsibility of the regional government. The Provincial Regulation No.8/2005 Article 5 (e) on Gorontalo Language and Literature and Spelling stated that the function of the Gorontalo language, as one of the local content teaching materials chosen by formal and non-formal educational institutions, is both public and private.

Consequently, the provincial government issued Regional Regulation No.7/2015 on Local Content Curriculum. This Curriculum consists of Indigenous language and literature, arts, environment, traditional cultures, food, clothes, etc., as explained in Article 6.

Article 6   (1) Local Content Curriculum in the regions covers the fields of: a. Indigenous language and literature, b. Indigenous arts, c. Natural environment, ecosystem, d. Regional customs, e. Regional skills and crafts, f. Manipulation, g. Local history, h. Traditional cuisine, i. Traditional dress, and/or j. Local cultural values in a global perspective.

(2) Provisions regarding development and preparation of Local Content Curriculum as referred to in Paragraph (1) are regulated by Government Regulation.

Article 11   (3) […] The educational institution can increase the allocation of learning Local Content to a maximum 2 (two) hours per week.

The above regulation clarifies that the local content curriculum includes the teaching of the Gorontalo language but could also include the teaching of local arts and culture in Bahasa Indonesia in public or private schools. This local content should be taught for a maximum of two

hours weekly. Article 5 No.7/2015 gives the provincial government the authority and responsibility to determine the Local Content Curriculum in high school and special needs education in the region. The city/regency government has the same responsibility in elementary and junior high school, early childhood education and non-formal education in the region. To this time, the local content curriculum has been administered through the teaching of the Gorontalo language as a subject in elementary school in its five regencies and one city. The regencies and city have authority for middle school, but the Gorontalo language has not been taught there, nor is it taught under the provincial government jurisdiction in senior high school.

The teaching of the Gorontalo language in the city of Gorontalo was strengthened with the Mayor Regulation No. 3/10/I/2017 on Local Content Curriculum Regional Culture and Local Potency for Elementary School in Gorontalo City which directed the Local Content Curriculum to include regional culture (cultural arts and regional languages) and regional potency (crafts, plant breeding, processing, and engineering). The city government also required all elementary schools to apply the local content subject.

The regulation for Gorontalo language teaching in the regencies is currently based on the Regional Regulation No.7/2015 on Local Content Curriculum. I attempted to locate the chief regency regulations related to the local content subject, but it appears that they are still in the discussion stage. The Regional Regulation provides for Gorontalese children to learn the Gorontalo language in elementary school for 2-hour lessons (70 minutes) in a week.

The national government mandated that Indigenous language teaching shall be regulated by the regional government (See Law No. 23/2014 on Regional Government). Therefore, it is the responsibility of the regional government to maintain the Gorontalo language as the shift to another language is evident. The government could follow other provinces in Indonesia, such as

Jogjakarta, West Java and East Java, that teach their Indigenous languages as a compulsory subject from primary through senior high school inclusively.

Although it is understandable that with a lack of textbooks, teaching materials, and educators who speak the language, efforts to maintain the Gorontalo language or prevent its loss are near futile. There are some private elementary schools that do not teach the language although it is a compulsory subject, because the law does not state any consequences for a school that does not follow the regulation. Some private elementary schools in Gorontalo do not adhere to this regulation. Often the school uses the hours allocated for the local content subject matter to teach Arabic and additional Islamic subjects. Some schools even choose to teach English rather than the Gorontalo language, while others begin teaching the Gorontalo language in later grades for example,4, 5 and 6 for 70 minutes a week.

The regulation to teach the Gorontalo language in elementary school does not come with quality textbooks and competent teachers. Azhar (2016) reveals that many teachers struggle to find textbook guidelines for teaching the Gorontalo language. Until now, schools are using the first book of Gorontalo Language authored by the late Gorontalo linguist Prof. Mansoer Pateda in 2002. However, it needs to be revised and rewritten because much of the content is no longer suitable for current issues (Azhar, 2016).

The lack of competence in the language has led many children to seek assistance from older adults to complete their Gorontalo language homework because they lack sufficient knowledge of the language. In fact, during my stay in Gorontalo, the Teacher Working Groups (*Kelompok Kerja Guru*) for Gorontalo language subjects have not been formed and teachers in each district have never attended training or workshops or allocated time to discuss Gorontalo

language education. This suggests that the regional government does not consider the Gorontalo language as an essential subject, like Bahasa Indonesia, math, etc.,

Regarding the students' achievement in the language, commonly a year-end report is written to document students' progress in all subjects, including the Gorontalo language. Despite having studied the Gorontalo language from grades 1 to 6, most of the students have a hard time completing the test. Yet, in my experience as an elementary teacher, teachers tend to give a pass to students if they have shown efforts in learning and participating in class.

For corpus level planning, the regional government has shown its concern about the well-being of the Gorontalo language. In 2005, the regional government released Regional Regulation No.8/2005 on Gorontalo Language and Literature and Spelling. This regulation defines the function and standardization of letters (alphabets, vocal and consonant), numbers, suffixes, base words, punctuation, etc. It was later modified through Regional Regulation No. 2/2009 based on the International Congress on Gorontalo Language and Culture that was held at the Gorontalo State University, the biggest public university in the province. As a result, in addition to language, literature, and spelling, the 2009 regulations included Gorontalo culture as a part of regional cultural heritage.

Micro-Level Language Planning

Micro-level language planning consists of the family and individuals' linguistic choices and their language behaviors and beliefs toward different languages in their repertoire.

To understand factors influencing family language planning in the Gorontalo community, it is crucial to consider the external and internal factors that may play a significant role. Although family language planning occurs at the micro level, nevertheless, it is strongly

influenced by the macro and meso level policies, including social, historical, economic and cultural values that occur in the external layer of FLP. Curdt-Christiansen (2009; 2018) states that FLP is context-specific, as it is intertwined with the economic, political, historical and socio-cultural environment where the family is located. Further discussion on FLP can be found in Chapter VII (the last chapter of this dissertation).

The Sociolinguistic Context of The Gorontalo Tribe

Classification of the Gorontalo Language

The Gorontalo Language is part of a larger linguistic group which is called the Gorontalic family, including Bintauna, Bolango, Buol, Kaidipang, Lolak, and Suwawa languages (Eberhard et al., 2020). Gorontalic is part of Greater Central Philippines, a branch that reaches from Tagalog in the north to Gorontalo and Mongondow in the south (Blust, 2013). Bintauna, Buol, Kaidipang, and Lolak languages are spoken in the province of Central Sulawesi. In Gorontalo province, there are three different languages, namely Gorontalo language, Suwawa language, and Bolango/Atinggola language. Gorontalo language, with about one million speakers, is the largest Indigenous language in the province, compared to Suwawa language and Bolango language with less than five thousand speakers each (Eberhard et al., 2020). Linguists have claimed that there are several dialects of Gorontalo language: Gorontalo city, Limboto, Tilamuta, Sumalata, and Kwandang (Eberhard et al., 2020). See Figure 7 below.

Figure 7

The Gorontalo-Mongondow language family
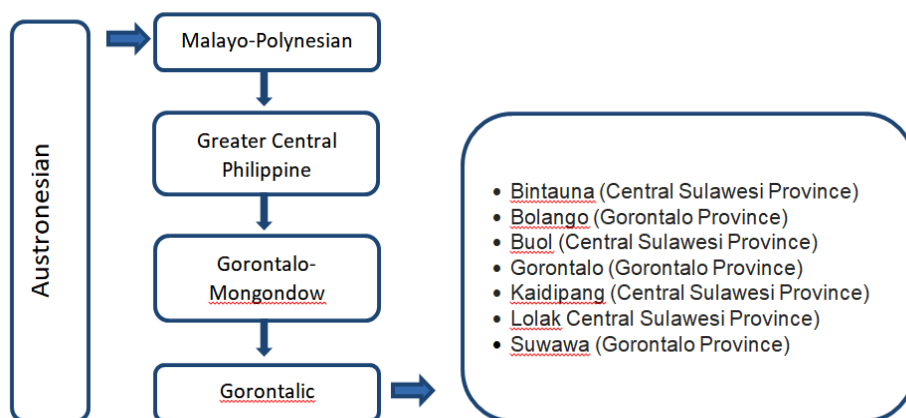
Note. Adapted from "Ethnologue, Languages of the World" (23rd Edition), by D.M, Eberhard, G, F, Simon, C, D, Fennig, 2020. Published by SIL International.

Number of Speakers and Geographical Condition

The population of Gorontalo province, according to the 2020 census, was 1,171,681 people (Statistics Gorontalo Province, 2021). However, there is insufficient data to clarify the actual number of speakers of the Gorontalo language. *Ethnologue* lists the number of Gorontalo language speakers as about 1,000,000 (Eberhard et al., 2020). These figures are estimated, based on the census in 2010 and may have significantly changed over the years because of the rapid shift towards Bahasa Indonesia and other languages. Moreover, the number of speakers is very similar to the total populations in Gorontalo province. It is difficult to determine the difference between the number of speakers and the population.

Although the Gorontalo language is spoken by over a million people, this language is facing the same endangerment issues as other languages such as Javanese and Sundanese. The case of Gorontalo language is similar to that described by Adelaar (2010) about other languages in Indonesia: "in spite of their large speech communities, the Javanese, Sundanese, and

Madurese languages are losing some of their domains of usage to Bahasa Indonesia and are not always passed on to the next generation" (p. 25).

The speakers of Gorontalo are widespread along the northern coasts of North Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, and northeast of Gorontalo city with the majority of the speakers in Gorontalo province, which is the land of origin of this tribe. Gorontalo province is located on the Gorontalo Peninsula on Sulawesi (Celebes) Island (see Figure 1 in Chapter 1). The island of Sulawesi is one of the five big islands in Indonesia and is home to 114 Indigenous languages (see Appendix C for the language list), which spread in six provinces, namely, Gorontalo, North Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, West Sulawesi, and Southeast Sulawesi.

Gorontalo province was formed as the 32nd province on December 5, 2000. In the early years of Indonesia's independence, Gorontalo and North Sulawesi formed one large province of Sulawesi. At the beginning of the 1950s, the North-Central Sulawesi Province was formed, and in 1964, it was split into two provinces, North Sulawesi and Central Sulawesi. When North Sulawesi was established, the Gorontalo region became part of North Sulawesi Province, known as the Gorontalo Regency, with the Bolaang-Mongondow Regency, the Minahasa Regency, the Sangihe-Talaud Regency, Manado City, and Bitung City.

Under the spirit of Regional Autonomy after the reformation era (the collapse of the Soeharto regime), in 2000, the Gorontalese were granted their own province and separated from the North Sulawesi province based on Law No. 38 year 2000 (Pemerintah Provinsi Gorontalo, 2020). This separation occurred for several reasons. There was discrimination in terms of power sharing agreements, and the capital city, Manado granted much more power to the Minahasans or the Manado people (Kimura, 2007). Although Gorontalo had the largest land area and biggest ethnic population, many important government positions were occupied by the Minahasans.

Kimura (2007) explains that during the Soeharto regime, the central government favored the Minahasans over other tribes in the North Sulawesi (such as Gorontalo, Bolaang-Mongondow, or Sangir). Therefore, the Gorontalese were often marginalized in accessing financial resources and infrastructure development projects, recruiting within the bureaucracy, and for military personnel (as compared to the Minahasans). Ultimately, these conditions resulted in the Gorontalo regions being underdeveloped, and many Gorontalese having little or no access to public services such as education, health care, and transportation; they were living in poverty. These reasons might explain the feeling of inferiority that I felt as a Gorontalese during my childhood until my university years.

In terms of language, the majority of Gorontalese speak the Gorontalo language while people in North Sulawesi use Manado Malay and several other Indigenous languages. There are also ethnic and cultural differences. The Gorontalo tribe is one of the largest ethnic groups in Sulawesi Island, where the people are distinctly different from the Minahasa, Sangir, and Bolaang-Mongondow tribes who reside in North Sulawesi. Physically, the Gorontalese are darker skinned, and the majority are Muslim while the rest of North Sulawesi is predominantly Christian. Historically, the Gorontalo region once had its own Muslim King called Sultan Amai. (Pemerintah Provinsi Gorontalo, 2020). In 2000, a new province called Gorontalo, with most of the inhabitants being Muslim and ethnically Gorontalo, separated from the North Sulawesi province.

Since its separation, Gorontalo has developed one city (Kota Gorontalo) and five regencies (Kabupaten Gorontalo, Bualemo, Bone Bolango, North Gorontalo, and Pohuwato). The province is home to three languages: the Gorontalo language spoken across the province, Bonda / Suwawa spoken in subdistrict Suwawa (Bone Bolango regency) and Atinggola spoken

in subdistrict Atinggola (North Gorontalo regency). The total area of the province is 12,435 km²,

with a population of 1.171.681 people according to Population Survey 2020 (Statistics Gorontalo

Province, 2021). Distribution of male and female population in Gorontalo does not show a

significant difference, although the total population decreases slightly after the age of 35. See

Table 13.

Table 13

Age and Gender Group Population According to the Population Survey Between Census

(SUPAS) in Gorontalo Province 2020

Age Group	Age and Gender Group Population		
	Male	Female	Total
	2020	2020	2020
0-4	49,090	47,217	96,307
5-9	47,402	45,755	93,157
10-14	53,916	51,281	105,197
15-19	54,595	51,985	106,580
20-24	54,526	52,236	106,762
25-29	52,064	50,108	102,172
30-34	48,081	46,522	94,603
35-39	44,701	43,520	88,221
40-44	42,004	41,191	83,195
45-49	37,407	36,996	74,403
50-54	32,285	32,298	64,583
55-59	26,236	26,653	52,889
60-64	19,287	20,139	39,426
65-69	13,399	14,564	27,963
70-75	8,570	9,826	18,396
75+	7,786	10,041	17,827
Total	591,349	580,332	1,171,681

Note. Adapted from "Sensus Penduduk 2010—Penduduk Menurut Kelompok Umur dan Jenis Kelamin" by Statistics Gorontalo Province, 2021, http://sp2010.bps.go.id/index.php/site/tabel?tid=336&wid=7500000000

After becoming a province, Gorontalo has continuously developed and attracted many people from other provinces. Consequently, the increasing numbers of settlers means that Gorontalo has several different ethnicities with their own Indigenous languages, for example, Javanese, Buginese, Ambonese, etc.

Background Information About the Gorontalese

The people of Gorontalo are also known as Gorontalese or Gorontaloan. The origin of the Gorontalese is still uncertain. However, Parmentier's (1987) theory of Southeast Asian migration may explain the origin of Gorontalese. The first theory mentions that the population of Southeast Asia originally came from the East, and then inhabited Sulawesi Island. At the same time, the second theory suggests that the migration began from Taiwan and arrived in Sulawesi through the Philippines. There is also a popular mythology among the Gorontalese, who believe that their ancestors were descended from *Hulontalangi* (people who came down from heaven) and reside on Mount Tilongkabila. The name *Hulontolangi* then changed to Hulondalo, and finally, Gorontalo. Gorontalese has a family kinship system called *Pohala'a*. This system is composed of the legacy of the five kingdoms that had been previously established in Gorontalo (Niode, 2007). There are five *pohala's,* namely Gorontalo, Limboto, Suwawa, Bualemo, and Atinggola. These kingdoms bound kinship through marriage. The Gorontalo *pohala'a* has become the most notable one among others (Diponegoro, 2007).

Culture and Lifestyle of the Gorontalese

Traditionally, agriculture provides for significant employment in Gorontalo, with corn (maize), rice, coconuts, sugarcane, and coffee as the main field crops. Offshore fisheries also contribute to the local economy with their harvest, mostly skipper, snapper, tuna, and mackerel. Statistics Gorontalo Province (2021) notes that three different sectors dominate employment in

Gorontalo province. The primary sector includes agriculture, forestry, and fisheries comprising 31.08% of employment. Wholesale-retail trade, transportation-warehousing, accommodation-consumption offer jobs to 28.46% of the population and information communication, real estate, and services employ 24.84% of the workforce.

About 90% of the population of Gorontalo province is Muslim and the rest is divided amongst Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Traditional customs of the Gorontalese are influenced by Islamic belief, although some people continue to maintain their Indigenous practices. Religion and customs are framed with a well-known slogan "Aadati hulahula'a to sara'a, sara'a hula-hula'a to kitabullah", which is roughly translated into Bahasa Indonesia as "Adat bersendikan Syara ' and Syara' bersendikan Kitabullah" which means that Gorontalese' customs and traditions are implemented based on regulations, while the regulations must be based on the Islamic book, the holy Quran. The lives of Gorontalese are strongly influenced by Islamic values and practices (Niode, 2007) although, there is also acculturation with Indigenous traditions.

Roots of Gorontalo local wisdom form the customary law known as *huyula* or mutual cooperation culture, which is preserved in the daily lives of the community. *Huyula* in the Gorontalo community has different terms depending on the purposes. *Ambu* is the act of help for the mutual benefit of the community, such as creating new roads, building bridges, etc. *Hileiya* is known as a spontaneous act, although it is considered as an obligation as a member of the community, especially in the event of death or misfortune, where the community gathers to help at the funeral ceremony and stays to entertain the mourners and cook and clean at the mourner's house. *Tiayo (motiayo)* is an activity to help each other to complete someone's work, such as building a house and other activities that relate to agriculture, weddings, and other traditional

ceremonies. When doing *tiayo*, the owner only needs to provide food, but he is obligated to repay the good deed when the people who have helped him need the same help (Domili, 2015).

Many of these lifestyles and traditions have gradually decreased over time. Domili (2015) states that in the urban area, *Motiayo* for building a new house is rarely found, as people tend to hire professional workers who will be paid by cash. The culture of *hileiya* has been eroded due to modernization because everything is calculated in terms of money. The form of *hileiya* has moved from spontaneous activities of assistance into compensation. A study in Gorontalo city on the cultural practices of *ambu. hileiya*, and *tiayo* proved that, although the municipal government is promoting the culture among the people, the participation rate was still low (Yunus, 2014).

Summary

In this chapter, I presented the reader with background about Indonesia as a multilingual and multicultural country, including its geographical location and physical make-up. I discussed the political history of Indonesia, highlighting colonial times and political-administrative conditions. This chapter explored the language situation and sociolinguistic dimensions of Indonesia, providing a brief account of the ethnic composition, language use and literacy (language competence) issues, and language planning in the country. Finally, the sociolinguistic and historical background of the Gorontalo tribe and its language was provided. This discussion provides the context in which data were collected. Chapter IV presents the data collection methods.

Chapter IV

Methodology

"Strangers in our door," she began. Asked us to repeat our words

We said them once, twice, thrice. But they asked for more and more

Till our tongue got bitter and sore. No more.

The Bone River flows in your vein, but you just watch us from faraway"

(Kadir, 2021, p.83)

Introduction

The verse of this poem serves as an alert for me, as a researcher, to be mindful and respectful of the cultural traditions and conditions of the participants in my study. Moreover, as a member of an Indigenous group, I bear a responsibility to maintain my language as well as to advocate to others about language endangerment. This chapter provides an overview of the methodology, starting with a rationale for choosing a mixed-methods design for the research study, and definitions of related concepts. This section is followed by a discussion of the relevant research paradigm and the theoretical perspectives underpinning the study. Key methodological concepts are defined and explained concerning this study. A mixed-methods approach and its explanatory sequential design are also explained. In this chapter, I discuss two methods of collecting data: surveys and interviews. Finally, this chapter closes with descriptions of the processes involved in ensuring the validity and reliability of data and ethical considerations when conducting a mixed-method research study.

This study is designed to learn about the vitality of the Gorontalo language among the speakers who live in the Gorontalo regency (Kabupaten Gorontalo) of Gorontalo province, Indonesia. By focusing on one regency, I plan to extrapolate to the other four regencies and use

the data to give a preliminary picture of language vitality in a broader area. The purpose of using the explanatory sequential mixed-methods design is to gather quantitative data and deepen the understanding of quantitative results with qualitative data.

This research is guided by the following questions:

1. *What is the current language vitality of the Gorontalo Language?*

2. *To what extent do the following variables influence Gorontalo language vitality: age, gender, place of origin, place of growing up, level of education and profession?*

Having provided a comprehensive account of language transmission, language use, language attitudes, and language fluency within the Gorontalo community in Gorontalo province, the results of this study contribute to the body of knowledge regarding the linguistic health of Gorontalo language.

Methodology Description

This research is designed as a mixed-methods study (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). The approach is to collect, analyze, and mix both quantitative and qualitative data at some stages of the research process to understand a research problem thoroughly (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) provide a comprehensive definition of mixed-methods research:

Mixed-methods research is a research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. As a methodology, it involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of the collection, analysis, and mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches in many phases of the research process. As a method, it focuses on collecting, analyzing, and mixing both quantitative and quantitative data in a single study or series of studies (p. 5).

This detailed definition of mixed-methods research describes the approach that consists of multiple meaning-making tools. Based on an extensive review of mixed-methods studies, Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) developed the following main characteristics of mixed-methods research where they view the role of the researcher as the individual who:

- collects and analyzes persuasively and rigorously, both qualitative and quantitative data (based on research questions),

- mixes (or integrates or links) the two forms of data concurrently by combining them, or merging them, sequentially by having one build on the other, or embedding one within the other,

- gives priority to one or both forms of data (in terms of what the research emphasizes),

- uses these procedures in a single study or in multiple phases of a study,

- frames these procedures within philosophical worldviews and theoretical lenses, and

- combines the procedures into specific research designs that direct the plan for conducting the study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, p. 5).

Based on the main features of mixed-methods research, this study consists of gathering and analyzing data from both quantitative and qualitative sources. More information about the characteristics of the mixed-method study and how they are applied are provided later in this chapter.

Philosophical Assumptions

Researchers who undertake a quantitative or qualitative study use certain worldviews[3] or philosophical assumptions, that provide the groundwork for their study. Similarly, researchers

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[3] According to Patton (2015) paradigm is "a worldview" that is a way of a way of thinking about and making sense of the complexities of the real world (p.153)

who choose mixed-methods research are directed by philosophical assumptions that inform how they plan, design, and administer their research. Therefore, an individual's philosophical stance will construct their epistemological beliefs, which will influence their research questions and choice of methods. Patton (2015) believes that it is important for every researcher to recognize her own worldviews, because it permits her to identify her role in the research process, determine the methods of the research project, and distinguish other perspectives.

The process of answering the research questions and creating the study design are underpinned by the philosophical stance known as pragmatism. This particular philosophical stance means that I believe that positivism and social constructivism are not separated, but rather are compatible. Pragmatism recognizes the ongoing debate between positivism versus constructivism but decides to focus on the purpose and consequence of research (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Positivism suggests that knowledge consists of objective information that is separate from the human mind while social constructivism sees knowledge as complex situations that are influenced by human feelings. Knowledge is negotiated and rationalized through social interaction. Positivism tends to use deductive reasoning to interpret quantitative data whereas constructivism tends to use inductive reasoning to interpret qualitative data. I do not encourage the polarity of positivism and constructivism. I believe that combining quantitative and qualitative methods is essential to facilitate and answer the research questions.

This study meets the conditions for a pragmatic worldview since it strives to integrate both quantitative and qualitative research strategies. Pragmatism is typically associated with mixed-methods research (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009). In mixed-methods research, researchers use both quantitative and qualitative methods to focus on the problem and work to obtain the best explanation (Creswell, 2009). Pragmatism supports this

approach and a path to determine what works at the time (Creswell, 2009). Similarly, Patton (2015) observes that pragmatism focuses on what works best as well as what provides the best solution to problems at a specific moment in time under given constraints. Research studies emphasize the research problems and use all approaches and strategies to understand the problem instead of concentrating on methods.

Another assumption of a pragmatic worldview is that it provides an opportunity for the researcher to take the inputs and/or outputs of one type of method and make the most appropriate use of that knowledge in other settings. The results of the language vitality survey were analyzed before the qualitative phase of the study. Participants were selected for the qualitative phase, and interview questions were reviewed based on the results of the quantitative data analysis.

Ontological and Epistemological Framework

Creswell (2009) summarizes four different worldviews that shape and guide a researcher: post-positivism, constructivism, participatory, and pragmatism. These worldviews represent different ontologies (nature of reality), epistemologies (nature of knowledge), axiologies (nature of values), methodologies (technique of inquiry and examining practice), and rhetoric (language of research). This section will provide brief information about the ontological and epistemological framework of this study.

Guba and Lincoln (1994) argue that being aware of ontological and epistemological beliefs is crucial because it influences the researcher and the methodology chosen for the study. They claim that an ontological assumption is what we understand constitutes reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). It relates to beliefs about the nature of reality and the nature of human beings in the world. Therefore, a researcher's ontology determines how she sees the world of languages and society; and guides her choice of what to research for her research project.

Ontologically, positivism sees the nature of reality as a single truth which is waiting to be discovered. Constructivism claims that there is no single valid truth, rather there are multiple realities that are socially constructed. If presented in a continuum, positivism, with only one single reality, would be found at one end of the continuum, and socially constructed constructivism, with the belief of no single truth, would be at the other end. Here, then, a third view suggests that reality is continuously renegotiated, debated, and interpreted accordingly. It is true if it helps the researchers to get the desired results (Kaushik & Walsh, 2019). This third view is somewhere in the middle of the continuum and is called pragmatism. This study is shaped by a pragmatic worldview, and as a result, my ontological assumption is that there can be single or multiple realities that are open to empirical examination. This study will employ mixed methods consisting of the quantitative phase and the qualitative phase.

Epistemology relates to the nature of knowledge and how it can be acquired (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). It concerns the assumptions about knowledge, what constitutes acceptable, valid, and legitimate knowledge, and how we can communicate knowledge to others (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Saldaña (2011) defines epistemology "as a theory of knowledge construction based on the researcher's worldview — how his or her lens on the world and ways of knowing it focus and filter the perception and interpretation of it" (p. 22). It can be said that epistemology is a lens through which a researcher views the world and how she understands the knowledge. The researcher's epistemological assumption provides a philosophical foundation for determining what kinds of knowledge are thinkable, and how she can ensure that this knowledge is acceptable and valid. It offers a theoretical perspective, or a philosophical stance, and it informs methodological decisions.

Researchers employ a specific epistemology to overview the study and interpret the findings. According to Saldana (2011), the researcher's own values, attitudes, and beliefs may inform her epistemology. The researcher's choices about research questions and methods can be seen as a reflection of the researcher's epistemological understanding of the world (Biesta, 2010; Feilzer, 2010; Kaushik & Walsh, 2019; Morgan, 2007). Decisions about the research processes are not made from a neutral stance. An individual's philosophical position will underpin her epistemological beliefs, which will, in turn, influence the research questions and choice of methods (Feilzer, 2010). It makes sense that my own epistemic assumptions fall in line with my own lived experiences and the personal intentions that inspired me to undertake this study. The choice of research questions and methodology are positively influenced by aspects of the sociopolitical location of the researcher, her personal history, and her belief system (Morgan, 2007). In this study, my intention to learn about the language vitality of the Gorontalo tribe is strongly related to my background as a Gorontalese who has experienced a language shift. I have chosen to use a survey and conduct interviews as these instruments will answer my research questions.

Mixed Methods: A Rationale

A mixed-methods approach is chosen for a study when one source of data is not sufficient to answer a specific research problem. The result of combining different research designs will produce a more comprehensive set of data than if either of the approaches is employed alone. There are several reasons why mixed-methods research can be more beneficial than a single approach. Creswell and Piano Clark (2011) argue that "mixed-methods research provides strengths that offset the weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative research" (p. 9).

In quantitative research, researchers rely only on numerical data; therefore, the researcher uses postpositivist claims for developing knowledge, such as a rationale of cause and effect, using specific variables, hypotheses and questions, measurement and observation, and the testing of theories. The researcher separates variables of the study and relates them to determine the degree and frequency of relationships among them. The researcher determines which variables to investigate and chooses instruments that will yield highly reliable and valid scores. Quantitative research has several weaknesses that include a lack of attention to the context or setting of a situation, deficiency in hearing the voices of the participants, and the absence of discussing the bias of the researcher.

In contrast, in a qualitative study, the researcher emphasizes "the socially constructed nature of reality", that is, the relationship between the researcher and the topic of study, and the situational limitations that influence inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 14). Merriam (2009) notes, the researcher can provide detailed and meaningful descriptions of the individual's lived experiences, have meaningful insights into the phenomenon, and increase understanding from the perspectives of those involved. Using qualitative research alone has several disadvantages, such as the researcher's personal bias when interpreting results, and the difficulty in generalizing the results to a larger group. A mixed methods research is often regarded as compensating for the deficits in both research methods. When used in combination, quantitative and qualitative methods complement each other, and allow for a more complete analysis (Greene et al., 1989; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

Creswell and Piano Clark (2011) further declare that mixed-methods research is more comprehensive, answers questions that neither approach could answer individually, encourages multiple worldviews or paradigms rather than the typical views often associated with each

approach, and is practical in the sense that it allows the researcher to incorporate various methods in attempting to solve a research problem (pp. 9-10).

Mixed Methods Design: Explanatory Sequential Design

As a mixed-methods study, this investigation employs the explanatory sequential model as the most suitable mixed-methods design in educational research. Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) state that the explanatory design, which is also called sequential design, is a two-stage mixed-methods design. The first phase begins with data collection and analysis of quantitative data and is followed by data collection and analysis of qualitative data. Creswell and Creswell (2018) explain that the quantitative results typically inform the types of participants to be purposefully selected for the qualitative phase and the question types that will be asked. It directs the researcher to quantitative findings that could benefit from further explanation in the qualitative phase. The intention of a specific research design is "the quantitative data and results provide a general picture of the research problem; more analysis, specifically through qualitative data collection, is needed to refine, extend, or explain the general picture" (Creswell, 2003, p. 560). Having the qualitative data to explain, in more detail, the initial quantitative results, is vital to connecting the quantitative results to the qualitative data collection (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). A common practice may include gathering survey data in the first phase, analyzing it, and then following up with qualitative interviews that may explain survey responses that are confusing and inconsistent.

In the first phase of this study, the first phase quantitative data was collected using a paper-based survey, and the data was inputted into a database and subjected to statistical analysis. In the second phase, qualitative data was collected using semi-structured interviews. The sequential explanatory mixed-methods design is clear and straightforward to implement. It

allows the results to be written, using a two-phase format, that divides the quantitative and

qualitative phases. See Figure 8 below.

Figure 8

Model Sequential Explanatory Mixed Methods Design
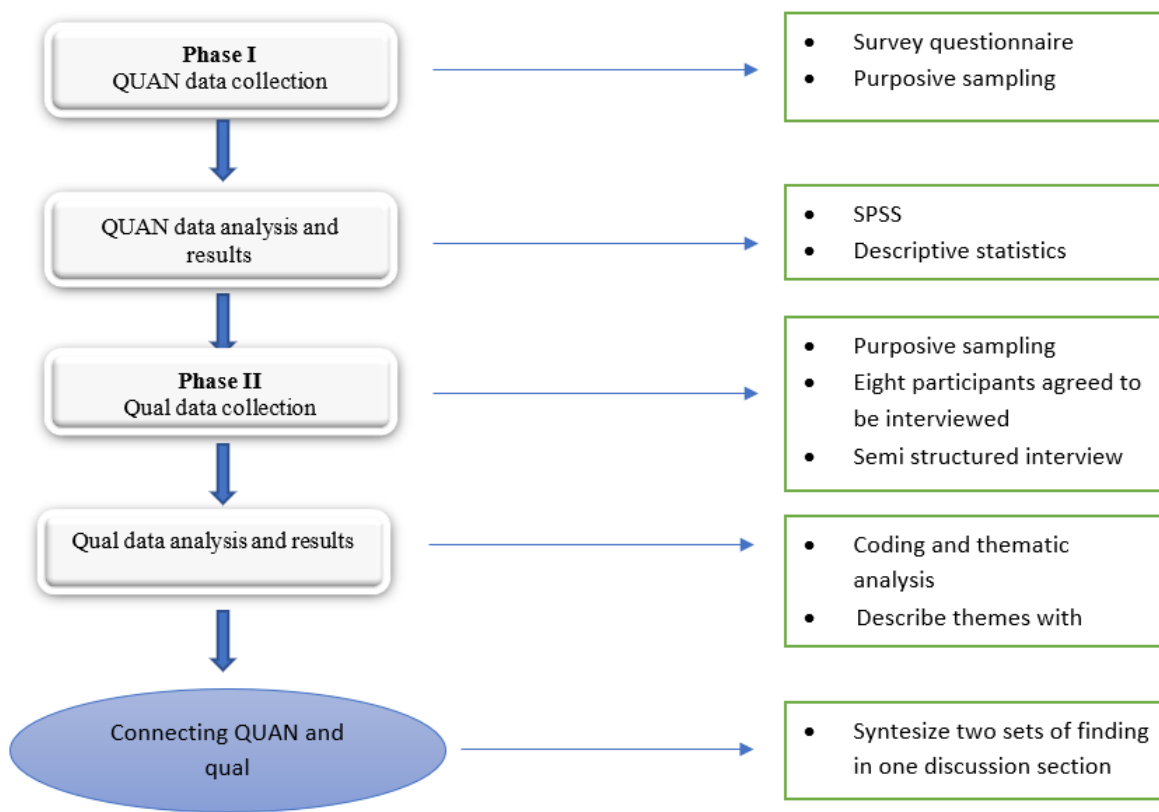
Note. Uppercase letter methods (QUAN) symbolize higher methodological priority over lowercase letter methods (qual). Adapted from "Foundations of Mixed Methods Research: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches in The Social and Behavioral Sciences" by C. Teddlie, and A. Tashakkori, 2009, p. 154, Sage.

Theoretical Framework of Research

The study findings are examined using a framework to determine the vitality of a

language. This aims to inform and assist the community in safeguarding its language, as well as

the policymakers to develop a policy, identify the problems, and conduct necessary actions. I call

this framework a Language Vitality Measurement Scale (LVMS), outlining the elements of linguistic vitality that I address in this study. The purpose of this framework is to demonstrate the priorities of the investigation and inform the design of the questionnaire survey.

The UNESCO's nine Vitality Factors framework is the foundation of this framework, which I have adapted and amalgamated to suit the purpose of this study. Adaptation resulted in the merging, addition, redefinition, and re-ordering of certain factors from the UNESCO factors. The LVMS framework presented here does not intend to replace, nor to offer suggestions for a new model of language vitality assessment tool. The LVMS framework contains 10 factors, which are ranked for study, while the UNESCO framework has nine factors. Table 14 provides the overview of the LVMS and the UNESCO framework below.

Table 14

Overview of the LVMS and UNESCO Factors Side by Side

Factor	LVSM Vitality Factor	Factor	UNESCO Vitality Factors
1	Intergenerational transmission of language of speakers over 18 years old	1	Intergenerational language transmission
2	Language attitudes and desire	2	Absolute number of speakers
3	Shift in domains and function	3	Proportion of speaker within the total population
4	Language knowledge and proficiency	4	Trends in existing language domain
5	Response to media and communication	5	Response to new domains and media
6	Availability of materials for language education and literacy	6	Materials for language education and literacy
7	Official language policy	7	Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use
8	Language opportunity to learn and appreciate the language	8	Community members' attitudes toward their own languages
9	Language documentation	9	Amount and quality of documentation
10	Number of speakers		

Note. Adapted from "The UNESCO Nine Factors of Language Vitality," Brenzinger et al., 2003.

Although LVMS is based on the UNESCO nine factors, it distinguishes itself from the UNESCO model in several ways. It is arranged based on the focus of this study. Because this study focuses on assessing intergenerational transmission, language attitudes, language use, and language knowledge, the first four factors of LVMS are arranged following these priorities:

Factor 1 – Intergenerational transmission of language of speakers over 18 years old. This factor is similar to the first factor of the UNESCO framework, but the LVMS concentrates only on speakers who are over age 18. Focusing on this age group allows the study to focus on intergenerational transmission from parents to children. Simultaneously, I can inquire about the language transmission process experience from parents to children and the signs of language shift among people over 18 years of age.

Factor 2 - Language attitudes and desire. This study equates language desire to the factor of language attitudes. Language desire means the speakers' wish and readiness to learn, use, and teach the language. It is combined with language attitudes because the speaker's desire may be reflected in her attitudes and her emotional reactions to the use of the language. UNESCO lists community attitudes towards language as its eight factors, but LVMS rearranged and redefined it.

Factor 3 - Shift in Domains and Function. This factor determines where, with whom, and for what purpose the Gorontalo language is used. The more constant and persistent the Gorontalo speakers use their language in all domains and functions, the stronger the language.

Factor 4 - Language knowledge and proficiency. This is a new factor that aims to assess speakers' self-reported language knowledge as well as their language proficiency in the Gorontalo language through responding to vocabulary, reading, writing, and translation tasks. The respondents are given four options in each item; cannot do this; can do only half of it; can do

all of it; and can do this but prefer not to. The higher the participant's language knowledge and fluency, the safer the language will be.

 Factor 5 – Response to media and communication. Although this factor can be categorized together with the shift in domains and functions, I decided to retain the media emphasize the use of technology (i.e., TV, radio, cellphone) and the internet for social media and websites.

 Factor 6 - Availability of materials for language education and literacy. This factor is redefined as it is not only about the existence of materials for education and literacy, but also about the community demand for and access to these materials. The language is safe if it has established written orthography, literacy, grammar, dictionaries, and media. Further, it is used in written form in school and official administration and there is a high demand from the community for these materials, and the community has access to them. When no orthography is available and there is no demand from the community or access to what is available, the language is not safe.

 Factor 7 -Official language policy. This factor measures the national/regional government language attitudes and policy for the Gorontalo language. It includes language status and language use for providing services in education and government offices.

 Factor 8 -Language opportunity to learn and appreciate the language. This additional new factor explores the existing institutional government or nongovernment programs that provide support for the teaching, learning, and use of the Gorontalo language.

 Factor 9 - language documentation. There is existing and planned language documentation, revival, and preservation. The language is documented, recorded, transcribed, and translated.

Factor 10 –Number of speakers. Speakers are one combined factor, considering the total population of the language speakers, and the proportion of fluent speakers. The UNESCO framework separated the absolute number of speakers and the proportion of the total population, but I recommend they both be assessed in the same factor.

Table 15

Language Vitality Measurement Scale (LVMS)

Factor	Vitality Factor	Description
1.	Intergenerational transmission of language of speakers over 18 years old	To what degree Gorontalo language is used by the speakers over 18 to their children
2.	Language attitudes and desire	Feelings and perceptions toward language use and endangerment in the community. Desire to learn and teach the language to children
3.	Shift in Domain of language use	Language use in different domains
4.	Language knowledge and proficiency	Self-report proficiency, subjective capacity of the speaker's proficiency, and knowledge in the Gorontalo language, and level of comfortability using the language in different domains
5.	Response to media and communication	Language use in media and technology communication.
6.	Availability of materials for language education and literacy	Products or services available in Gorontalo language such as books, papers, web pages, news broadcasts, software, etc., including the community demand for such language products. Accessibility of written materials in the Gorontalo language. To what degree people are aware of them?
7.	Language policy	National/regional government language attitudes, policy toward Gorontalo language including the language status, and use for providing service.
8.	Language opportunity to learn and appreciate the language	The current institutional government/NGO arrangements or programs that provide support for teaching, learning, and using the Gorontalo language
9.	Language documentation	There is existing and planned language documentation, revival, and preservation. The language is documented, recorded, transcribed, translated etc.
10.	Number of speakers	Contains a number of fluent, semi-fluent, and non-fluent speakers. Proportion of speakers within the total population

Note. LVMS is specifically designed to fit the purpose of this study as well as to guide for creating items in the survey.

Site Description

Figure 9

Map of Gorontalo province with its municipality and regional areas

Note. Black line is the border of Gorontalo province. Currently it has one city with five districts. Adapted from "GeoCurrent map of Indonesia" by GeoCurrents, 2016. Retrieved July 26, 2020, from http://www.geocurrents.info/gc-maps/geocurrents-maps-by-country/geocurrents-maps-of-indonesia

This study is conducted in the Gorontalo regency (region number 2, see Figure 9) of the Gorontalo Province, Indonesia. It is located in the middle of the province and borders directly with the municipality and four other regencies that make the Gorontalo regency a suitable area for this study. Moreover, this regency is home only to the Gorontalo language.

The population of the Gorontalo regency, based on the *Population Survey Between Census* in 2018, was 378, 527 people in 19 subdistricts (191 villages) (Statistics Gorontalo District, 2021). As can be seen from the above statistics, there was no significant difference between male and female populations, but adult populations (20 to equal to or greater than65) numbered 241,101 (See Table 16 for detailed information about the Gorontalo regency population according to gender and age categories). It is important to note that the size of populations does not indicate the actual number of speakers in the regency.

Table 16

Population by Age Group and Gender in Gorontalo Regency, 2019

Age Group	Population by Age Group and Sex in Gorontalo Regency, 2019		
	Male	Female	Total Numbers
0-4	17 678	17 169	34 847
5-9	17 289	16 620	33 909
10-14	17 850	16 863	34 713
15-19	17 366	16 591	33 597
20-24	16 395	16 008	32 403
25-29	15 564	15 797	31 362
30-34	14 071	14 227	28 298
35-39	13 626	13 974	27 600
40-44	13 517	13 812	27 329
45-49	12 489	12 370	24 859
50-54	10 184	10 102	20 286
55-59	8 119	8 283	16 402
60-64	6 071	6 528	12 964
65+	8 963	11 001	19 964
Total	189 182	189 345	378 527

Note. Adapted from Statistics Gorontalo District, 2019, https://gorontalokab.bps.go.id/statictable/2019/10/27/330/jumlah-penduduk-dan-rasio-jenis-kelamin-menurut-kecamatan-di-kabupaten-gorontalo-2018.html

Data Collection

The data collection took place in two phases: a quantitative data collection phase was followed by qualitative data based on interviews.

Phase I Quantitative Method

The purpose of the quantitative phase is to collect demographic data and information about a selected sample of individuals in the Gorontalo province, namely, intergenerational language transmission, the participants' language attitudes, language use, and language

knowledge. The data included descriptive statistics about the background of the participants, their language choice and attitudes, and their current language fluency. These data helped to answer the main question about the vitality of the Gorontalo language. This section describes the survey design, the purpose of surveys, the instrument, the procedure, the population, the sampling strategy, and the procedures of analysis.

Survey Design. The survey (see Appendix D) is designed to collect data for the quantitative phase based on a review of UNESCO's language vitality survey, Kesselman's (2017) Ojibwe language survey and European Language Vitality Barometer Survey. The questionnaire is vital because it provides a direct method of assessing language vitality. Rea and Parker (2014) claim that the survey tool has been widely applied, particularly in democratic cultures, because it is a reflection of the attitudes, preferences, and opinions of people in different levels of society. Therefore, it is a popular data gathering method.

A survey questionnaire is considered to be an excellent tool for assessing attitudes and orientations (Babbie, 1990). He asserts that this is the most appropriate method for collecting main resource of data in describing a large population, as compared to direct observation. The goal of sample survey research is to allow researchers to generalize about a large population by studying a small portion of that population (Rea & Parker, 2014). The objective of this survey is to identify the vitality of Gorontalo language in the Gorontalo province using the Language Vitality Measurement Scale (LVMS).

Target Population and Quantitative Sampling Strategy. A "purposeful selection" or purposive sampling strategy was used to select participants, which is defined by Maxwell (2008) as a "selection strategy in which particular settings, persons or activities are selected deliberately to provide information that cannot be gotten as well from other choices" (p. 88). Selection

criteria includes: (1) a Gorontalese (either one or both parents are Gorontalese) (2) between 18 to 70 years, and (3) was born and now live in the Gorontalo regency.

The research assistant (RA) collected 60 questionnaires from a total of 241, 101 adult populations in the Gorontalo regency (Kabupaten Gorontalo). Although the number is considered small, this number is manageable in terms of time and resources. Patton (2015) states that focusing on a small number of carefully selected participants rather than a large and significant number is better. Patton (2015) explains:

In-depth information from a small number of people can be very valuable, especially if the cases are information-rich. Purposeful samples should be judged based on the purpose and rationale of each study and the sampling strategy used to achieve the study's purpose (pp. 184-185).

Although the sample size is small, it is homogenous. Labov (2006) explains the sample size in linguistic usage is more homogenous than phenomena studied in other surveys; therefore, within sociolinguistics, the sample size can be smaller than would be expected for other types of research. Homogeneity of respondents in that they are from the same ethnicity and was born and live in Gorontalo regency, enhances the validity of the data collected.

Survey Instrument and Procedure. The paper-based survey includes 45 questions divided into six parts:

Part I - Demographic information - This section contains eight questions in multiple-choice format about gender, age, ethnic group, place of origin and domicile, educational background, profession, number of children, and spouse's ethnic group.

Part II - Language background - This section consists of seven items in multiple choices format about the first language learned as a child, where the participants learned the Gorontalo

language, self-report language competency of the participant in different languages, the language that the participant's love the most (closest to their heart), the language the participant speaks most often now, estimated number of people who speak the language, and at which level of education the participant learned the language in school.

Part III Language use questions - This section has eight questions in table form about which generations of the participants speak in the language, language used the most with different people in the home domain, language use by different people with the participant, the participants' language use in different domains, the participants' language use in new domains and media, willingness to try different activities in the language with children, if they have public services and media information provided in the Gorontalo language.

Part IV Language policy and documentation -This section has four questions in multiple choice format about whether they know if legislation about Gorontalo language education exists, if they think the Indonesian law supports the language, if the Indonesian law hinders the use of the Gorontalo language, if they know language documentation exists in the community, and if they think language documentation is needed.

Part V - Language attitudes and desire - In this section, the participants respond to the language attitudes questionnaire, which consists of 13 items. The questions are on the Likert scale from strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, to strongly agree. The questions include whether they feel embarrassed using the Gorontalo language, whether they do not see the benefits of speaking and teaching the language to their children, whether they feel the community is or is not interested in keeping the language strong, whether they see the language as vital for their identity as a Gorontalese, whether they see as useful in gaining employment, wheatear they are satisfied about their ability speaking the Gorontalo language, whether they

want to teach their children to speak the language, whether they see that it is important to improve their language proficiency, whether they see English as vital for international competition, whether they see Arabic as important for their identity as a Muslim, whether they see Bahasa Indonesia as the language that unifies the country, whether they believe the Gorontalo language should be the medium of instruction, and whether they feel satisfied that children are learning Gorontalo as a subject in elementary school.

Part VI Language knowledge and fluency - The sixth component focuses on the participants' language competency and linguistic skills. There are five items of language tests that are sequenced from the easiest to the most difficult. In each item the participants are given four options; I cannot do this, I can do half of it, I can do all of it, I can do this but prefer not to. The items include vocabulary knowledge through labeling parts of the body in the Gorontalo language, answering questions based on a short conversation, translating a sentence from Bahasa Indonesia to Gorontalo language and vice versa, and a self-report on the level of comfortability speaking only the Gorontalo language in different situations, such as at home with family, at school with teachers, in job interview, etc.

The questions in the surveys are composed to address specific factors of the framework, as shown in Table 17. The following table summarizes the distribution of items.

Table 17

Distribution of Vitality Factors by Numbers of Relevant Survey Questions

Factor	Vitality Factor	Items No.
1.	Intergenerational transmission of language of speakers over 18 y.o	16, 21
2.	Language attitudes and desire	12, 28-40
3.	Shift in Domain of language use	17, 18, 19
4.	Language knowledge and proficiency	11, 41-45
5.	Response to new domain and media	20
6.	Availability of materials for language education and literacy	23
7.	Language policy	24, 25
8.	Language opportunity to learn and appreciate the language	22
9.	Language documentation	26, 27

10.	Number of speakers	14

Note. Each factor of LVMS is assessed through items in the questionnaire.

To avoid a monotonous model of the survey format, the questionnaire uses several different formats such as multiple choice, a selection from the list of suggested responses, and five-degree Likert scale, as well as vocabulary and translation tests.

Several questions in this survey are designed and adapted based on the European Language Vitality Barometer survey - ELDIA (2013), and Kesselman's (2017) Ojibwa Community Language Survey and UNESCO. Specifically, items 1, 3, 4 in part I and questions 8, 9, 10, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23 are adapted from the ELDIA *European Language Vitality Barometer Survey* and UNESCO. Questions 11, 24, and 25 are adapted from Kesselman's Ojibwa community language Survey as well as items 42, 43, and 44 in part VI.

The draft of this survey was translated into Bahasa Indonesia and verified by a professional language interpreter. It was then sent to a small target group from the Gorontalo regency from different backgrounds including a teacher, a housewife, a rickshaw driver, and a farmer. The questionnaire was emailed or sent by social media with a request to offer feedback as to whether they understand the questions and whether they can respond to the questions without difficulty. This ensured the survey is clear for the respondents, avoided any mistakes or misunderstandings and developed some of the items in specific areas. As a result, a revision was made to the questionnaire following the feedback.

Due to COVID-19 constraints and international flight restrictions, I could not be present during the data collection. A research assistant (RA) was employed between March and May 2021 to distribute and collect surveys. The RA also assisted some participants with low literacy in completing their questionnaire by reading it aloud. The RA is a Gorontalese in her third year of undergraduate degree, with some knowledge of the Gorontalo language. She has been exposed

to research methodology as part of the university curriculum and completed a short training program with me via Zoom. Before collecting the data, the RA previously traveled to different villages to ask permission from the village leaders to distribute the survey.

The survey was collected through direct methods, meaning the RA was face to face delivering, and collecting the survey. The RA was able to deliver the paper-based survey at the participants' home and approached people in public places because COVID-19 restrictions were not in place in Gorontalo province during the data collection. Therefore, the RA was able to introduce the study with a short presentation on the purpose and benefit of participation and offer them an opportunity to ask questions. The respondents also signed a consent form before filling in the questionnaire and they completed it in her presence. The completion of the questionnaire took between 40 to 60 minutes.

As this survey targeted respondents over 18 years of age, some participants who have children in lower grade elementary schools were offered the chance to participate in the interview section after they completed the questionnaires. There were 10 mothers who agreed to be part of the interview and provided their contact information. However, only eight of them were available at the time of the interview due to some personal reasons.

Analyzing Quantitative Data. Quantitative data from questionnaire surveys was coded and analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS). The analysis was completed in two sections: 1. determining frequency and proportions of responses for each question; and 2. identifying the relationship between independent variables, namely age, gender, place of birth (origin), place of growing up, education, and profession toward the Gorontalo language vitality using multiple regression tests. The use of quantitative analysis is the primary source of information for identifying language vitality.

To answer the first research question about the language vitality of the Gorontalo language descriptive statistics were used to analyze frequency and percentage distribution of the data. This survey data was analyzed to elicit information on the participant's background, language use, language attitudes, proficiency and comfort in using the language. Later on, this data was combined with the interview reports. Both data were used in discussing the Language Vitality Measurement Scales of the Gorontalo language.

To answer the second question, a multiple regression test was employed to measure the correlation between variables. In this case, it determined the strength of the relationship between each of the independent variables (age, gender, place of origin, place of growing up, education, and profession) and the dependent variable, the language vitality.

Phase II Qualitative Data Collection

In the qualitative phase, I collected interviews from participants as well as notes for the interviews and textual/visual analysis of documents and pictures. In the following sections, I describe the qualitative data collection tools: interviews, target population, data collection procedure, and data analysis.

Interviews. After the quantitative data collection and analysis, I began collecting qualitative data and providing analysis. The semi-structured interview method is selected because it is a flexible design in which the researcher develops an interview guide to frame topics, or themes, to be explored during the interview. The interview probes for additional information or a greater understanding of the respondent's perspective and experiences (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

An interview protocol (see Appendix E) was followed. Participants were asked a series of open-ended questions, including demographic topics, as an initial opportunity to build a

relationship between the researcher and the respondent. Since the interview was conducted

through a video call, the RA first contacted the participants who previously agreed to participate

in the interviews. Then she set up a place and time for the interview. Since more than half of the

interview participants did not have the technology needed for the video call, the RA brought her

laptop and internet modem to the participant's house. Once the preparation was completed, the

RA called and left the interview room. Since this was my first contact with the participant, I took

the opportunity to introduce myself and have a brief conversation to ensure that they were

comfortable and relaxed. Then, I explained the study to the participants, answered any questions

they had, and reviewed the ethical factors regarding the interview. Once they agreed and

understood the procedure, I asked them to sign the consent form. The interview was held in

August 2021 and each interview lasted about 50 to 60 minutes. Although some interviews took

longer than 60 minutes because of the connection issues.

Interview notes. As the researcher is a primary instrument in this study, I need to

recognize my own personal investment. Merriam (2009) urges researchers to recognize

themselves as the primary instrument for gathering data and interpreting results. The researcher

must be aware that data are interpreted in accordance with his or her own values, beliefs, and

perspectives (Merriam, 2009). As a method of becoming aware of my bias, I provided the

interviewer's field notes that contained organizational information as well as personal thoughts,

reflections, and feelings regarding the interview process. It also included the participants'

responses, behaviors of the participants, and responses and behaviors of the researcher. These

notes helped me tremendously when analyzing the data.

Documents. Document collection was included as an element of this study in the form

of inventory data. Materials for potential use consisted of the written law for language policy

and planning in Indonesia and Gorontalo regions, the language in education documents/curriculum, language in the newspaper, official regional public statements, and pictures with captions or other visual materials.

Target Population and Qualitative Sampling Strategy. For the second, qualitative phase of the study, purposeful sampling was used. It involves the intentional selection of individuals to learn and understand the central phenomenon (Maxwell, 2008). The idea is to purposefully select participants who are "information-rich" (Patton, 1990, p. 169). As this mixed methods study used a sequential design, participants were selected to participate in the qualitative phase based on their initial quantitative results. The participants also indicated that they wanted to participate in the interview.

The following criteria were used to determine the participants for the interviews. They: (1) were mothers who have lower grade elementary school children, (2) indicated their willingness to participate in the interview section, and (3) have lived in Gorontalo regency of Gorontalo province. Mothers were chosen because, as previously stated, they are the primary transmitters of language to the next generation. The interview explored their language abilities, their language attitudes, and their perspective about Gorontalo language and other related questions that may arise from the quantitative data analysis (see Appendix E for the detailed interview questions). Eight mothers of lower grade elementary school children participated in the interview section of the study.

The interview with each mother inquired about their life stories and language learning experiences and their language practices with their young children and with their parents. Mothers usually spend more time with children because fathers are usually the breadwinners who spend more time outside the home, at least in the Gorontalo's culture. It is important to see

how mothers' intergenerational transmissions take place and their perspectives about languages in Gorontalo and their child's language learning in school.

I used a semi-structured interview process and often followed up with additional questions on the topic or generated an original question not listed in the interview guide. The participants were given the option to be interviewed in the language that they feel most comfortable to use; Bahasa Indonesia, Gorontalo language, Manado Malay, or code-switching between them. The majority of interviewers chose to use Gorontalo Malay.

Interview data was transcribed, and respondents were asked if they would like to review and correct their interview. Merriam (2009) called this procedure member checking, an opportunity for participants to approve or disapprove the interpretation of the data provided in the interview and as transcribed by the researcher. It is a "way of finding out whether the data analysis is congruent with the participants' experiences" (Curtin & Fossey, 2007, p. 92). Only one respondent asked me to send the transcription. After she made some changes, she sent the interview back to me through email.

Method for Analyzing Qualitative Data. Analysis of the qualitative data sources involved coding and thematic analysis. The stages in qualitative data analysis follow Creswell's (2009) recommendations:

1. Preliminary exploration of the data by reading through the transcriptions and documents and making anecdotal notations,

2. Coding the data by segmenting and labeling text,

3. Using codes to develop themes by grouping similar codes,

4. Connecting any interrelating themes, and

5. Constructing a narrative (Creswell, 2009).

Specifically, data from the interviews were transcribed verbatim. The text was analyzed for general themes in the areas of language transmission, language fluency, language attitudes, language choice, and perspectives about the language. Finally, I combined the results from the qualitative phase with the quantitative phase and reported outcomes in the analysis portion of this study.

Credibility in qualitative research is judged in a different way than in quantitative research. The qualitative study uses a process of confirmation rather than traditional validity and reliability measures, as found in the quantitative research. The researcher states central assumptions, biases, and personal values as a method of controlling the amount of interpretative bias that is interwoven into the research design.

This mixed-methods design employed four major forms of validation: (a) triangulation or converging various sources of information through survey, interviews, and field notes (b) member checking, or receiving validation or feedback from the participant regarding the accuracy of the identified category or themes, (c) detailed descriptions of the findings, and (d) external audit, or accessing someone outside of the study to review the study and provide feedback (Creswell, 2009; Creswell & Miller, 2002).

Role of the Researcher

To better understand the role of the researcher, I offer brief scholarly definitions and an optionality of the researcher, including relationship with the chosen topic and research materials. Stake (2010) states, "whether we are looking at the real world through quantitative or qualitative eyes, we reconceive the world in terms of the concepts and relationships of our experience" (p. 30). In defining a researcher's role, he argues that one must be aware of the responsibility related to the place and time of the study as well as research integrity (Stake, 2010). This means

a researcher must design a research approach that allows others to trust and have confidence in the chosen method and findings that result from the project. It permits me to reflect upon the process of the study. Stake (2010) describes the role of the researcher as multidimensional. The researcher may hold responsibilities as an investigator, evaluator, biographer, and interpreter. Based on this interpretation, every researcher purposefully and thoughtfully chooses her/his role in the research, whether she is doing quantitative, qualitative, or a mixed-methods study.

Similarly, Yin (1989) states that the role of the researcher consists of the ability to perform self-assessment and reflection, as well as the ability to ask questions, interpret answers, and maintain openness and a non-biased attitude to others' ideologies, perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes. Yin further adds that a researcher must be knowledgeable on theoretical, pedagogical, and methodological aspects of the problems of the study.

Another role of the researcher is to control the issues and problems that s/he wants to study. Scheurich and Young (1997) notes that researchers' historical and political positions, ethnicity, gender, religion, and environmental points of view relate to and effect, limit, and restrain the knowledge production. In line with this study, Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) argue, "mixed- methods is a realistic approach if the researcher has the requisite skills" (p. 13). Since mixed- method methodologists, working primarily within the pragmatist paradigm, are interested in both narrative and numeric data and their analyses (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009), Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) suggest that the researcher needs to gain experience in qualitative and quantitative studies before embarking on this study. Minimally, a researcher should be familiar with data collection and data analysis in both studies. Although I have experience conducting qualitative studies, I have never conducted a quantitative study. To overcome my lack of experience in quantitative study, I have continuously immersed myself in

studying quantitative research, attended webinars and online workshops, participated in discussions with other colleagues in the department, and used the University of Alberta statistical support and training services.

It is important to note that in a qualitative study, my role as inquirer and my experiences and background shape the interpretations in data analysis. In a quantitative study, my role as an investigator is to remain in the background and be theoretically non-existent, so that the participants act independently, as if I was not there. Therefore, I took action to reduce bias and follow the procedure to minimize the threat to the validity of the study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

Positionality of the Researcher

Creswell (1997) argues that "… researchers approach their studies with a certain worldview that guides their inquiries" (p. 74). As an individual, the researcher brings bias to the study. It is difficult for the researcher to distinguish herself as an individual and herself as a researcher. Consequently, the researcher must control her own bias so that it does not compromise the collected data. In this study, I rely upon my academic and professional experiences and my background as a Gorontalese, who shares the same language experience with the participants, to contribute to a comprehensive view of language vitality and the participants' perception in relation to their language attitudes and use. With an academic graduate degree in language education, and professional training in language documentation and professional experience as a language educator, I have witnessed the language shift taking place in society due to various reasons, such as the value of English and the official language, that has slowly become the tongue of Indigenous people who neglect their mother tongue.

Punch (1998) differentiates the insider perception (emic) and outsider perception (etic) of researchers. In undertaking this study, I acknowledge that my personal experience as a Gorontalo-born woman is my inspiration. Although my status as a Gorontalese, with the same cultural and national identities as my participants, common home languages, and personal experiences, position me as an insider. Yet, my academic and theoretical knowledge about the research topic, concern about language vitality, and informed and differentiated views of endangerment in Indonesian tribal languages after several years of study and research, position me as an outsider. Punch (1998) describes, within the emic perspective, researchers attempt to look at phenomena through the perspective of individuals of the particular cultural context. Researchers should avoid using concepts and measures from their own perspectives or from other cultural thoughts. When filling the survey and interviewing the participants, I did not influence the participants with my own assumptions or perspectives. This was also clearly emphasized to my research assistant during the survey collection. My emic role is beneficial in guiding me to understand the participants' perspectives and experiences and to interpret my qualitative data.

Within the etic perspective, my role is to analyze, evaluate, interview, interpret, observe, question, and to seek the answers. In a mixed-methods study, the researcher uses different approaches and data collection tools to answer the research questions. I triangulate my field notes, interviews, and survey results to bring trustworthiness to the entire research process.

Methods for Addressing Ethical Concerns

The approval of the University of Alberta's Ethics Review Board (Pro00103210) was obtained before my data collection began. This approval ensured that the research followed the

Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Humans and University policy and provincial, federal and other legislation and regulations. It involved minimal risk to participants, and those who participated were advised that they are not obligated to answer every question. They also were able to withdraw from the study within a month after they submitted their survey/interview. I also protected the individual's identities and ensured that the recorded/transcribed data were not traceable or identifiable. I employed and trained a RA to assist in the data collection process. RA signed confidentiality forms, learned how to approach potential respondents, and outlined the general topic of the questionnaire. Moreover, the RA informed participants that their information would be used for research purposes only, requested their signature on the consent form, and administered the questionnaire.

Considering the study was conducted with an Indigenous group in Indonesia, additional ethical procedures in working with Indigenous people was taken into consideration to protect their rights. Although Indonesia has no regulated protocols and procedures in working with Indigenous people, this study followed the guidelines of the University of Alberta research protocols involving Indigenous people of Canada, such as the TCPS2 (Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical conduct for research involving humans) Chapter 9 entitled "Research Involving the First Nations, Inuit and Peoples of Canada" and the principles of OCAP (Ownership, Control, Access and Possession) (First Nation Center, 2007). Research with Aboriginal peoples conducted by the University of Alberta must include community engagement to ensure that Aboriginal peoples have a role in the research that affects them. Therefore, researchers who seek ethics approval for research involving Aboriginal peoples of Canada are required to focus on obtaining consent from Elders of the community, provide information regarding consent, and access, ownership, and the sharing of research data with communities,

and the nature of research agreements. Appropriate protocol must be followed when researchers seek the advice of Elders and when they acknowledge the contributions of Elders to their research (Willows, 2017).

While this study did not completely follow the principle of TCPS2, there were several procedures that I considered when working with the Indigenous Gorontalo community of Indonesia. First, the research process protected and respected Gorontalese individuals and their collective rights, culture, cultural concepts, values, norms, practices, and language. The RA first contacted the village leaders to explain the study, to gain their permission, to invite their feedback and input on the study, and distributed the survey.   Finally, I ensured that the research study could benefit the participants, or community involved, and did not contribute to the attrition of Gorontalo cultural values.

Summary

The research methodology chapter indicates to the reader the steps a study suggests to approach the problem of the study. This chapter identified two main methods of data collection and two approaches in data analysis that form the methodological framework for this investigation: the questionnaire survey and semi-structured interviews supported by the interview notes and related policy documents. These provide quantitative and qualitative data about language use and attitude, as well as language policy and planning.

Chapter V

Quantitative Results and Discussion

Introduction

This chapter presents the quantitative reports from the 60 surveys completed by Gorontalese who currently live in a region (Kabupaten Gorontalo) of Gorontalo province. It provides statistical analysis to assist with answering the research questions, *1. What is the current language vitality of the Gorontalo language? 2. To what extent do the following variables influence the Gorontalo language vitality: age, gender, place of birth and growing up, level of education and profession?* It discusses the survey findings about the participants' language use, language attitudes, perceptions of language policy and self-reported language proficiency.

As described in chapter four, the survey contains 45 items which are divided into six parts. In the first part I collected demographic information from the participants, followed by a report on their language background. The next part of the questionnaire served to elicit the participant's language use at home and in different situations. Their perspectives on language regulations and language documentation efforts were learned in the fourth section, and their attitudes toward the Gorontalo language in the fifth section. The last part was used to assess the participants' Gorontalo language knowledge and their comfort in using it.

Demographic Information

In this section, the participants were required to respond to eight questions (item number 1 to 8) to gather demographic information related to their age, gender, educational background, occupation, ethnicity, place of birth (including where they grew up and current residence), number

of children, and the ethnicity of their spouse. The following table summarizes the information of

the respondents.

Table 18

Distribution of Demographic Background of the Participants

Variable		Frequency	Percent
Age	*18-30 years*	18	30.0
	31-45 years	24	40.0
	45-60 years	14	23.3
	≥ 61 years	4	6.7
Gender	*Male*	26	43.3
	Female	34	56.7
Educational background	*Elementary school*	4	6.7
	Junior high school	6	10.0
	Senior High School	17	28.3
	College Diploma	5	8.3
	Bachelor's degree	26	43.3
	Postgraduate degree	2	3.3
Occupation	*Government workers*	9	15.0
	Private employee	16	26.7
	Entrepreneurs	10	16.7
	Farmers	4	6.7
	Stay at home parent	11	18.3
	Other (list the variations)	10	16.7
Place of Birth	*City*	4	6.7
	Regions	47	78.3
	Outside the province	9	15.0
Place of Growing up	*City*	6	10.0
	Regions	52	86.7
	Outside the province	2	3.3
Place of current residence	*City*	3	5.0
	Regions	57	95.0
	Outside the province	0	0.0
Number of children	*Have no Children*	22	36.7
	1 child	10	16.7
	2-4 children	21	35.0
	≥ 5 children	7	11.7
Ethnicity	*Gorontalo*	52	86.7
	Gorontalo-others	8	13.3
	Non-Gorontalo	0	0
Spouse Ethnicity	*Gorontalo*	37	61.7
	Non-Gorontalo	6	10.0
	No spouse	17	28.3

Based on the above table, participants ranged in age from 18 to over 61 years: 18 people

representing 30% between the age of 18-30; 24 people representing 40% of those 31-45 years of

age; 23.3% or 14 people aged 45-60 years; and 6.7% or 4 people over 61 years old. The participants were distributed almost evenly in terms of gender, with 56.7% or 34 females, and 43.3% or 26 males.

The majority of the respondents are Gorontalese (86.7% representing 52 people) while the rest are mixed Gorontalo and other ethnicities (13.3% representing 8 people). In terms of their place of birth, growing up, and residency, the majority were born, grew up, and reside in the Gorontalo regions. Forty-seven participants, or 78.3%, were born in the regions of Gorontalo province, about 6% in Gorontalo city and 15% were born outside the province. Regarding their place of growing up, 86.7% grew up in regions of Gorontalo province, 10% in the Gorontalo city and 3.3% grew up outside the province. Their current place of residence also suggested that 95% are also living in the regions of Gorontalo province and only 5% live in the city. Given that the surveys were conducted in the region of Kabupaten Gorontalo, the majority are from this region with a small number of respondents being from other regions and the city in Gorontalo province.

The educational backgrounds of the respondents ranged from 7% completing elementary school, 10% junior high school, 23% high school, 5% college, and 28% university. There was a wide variety of occupations among the respondents: private employees or self-employed (26.7%), entrepreneurs (16.7%), government workers (15%), stay-at-home parents (18.3%), farmers (6.7%), and other employment (10%).

Overall, the participants are primarily Gorontalese, ranging in age from 18 to 61+ years of age, with the majority being between 31 and 45 years old, born, raised, and living in the regions, as well as coming from a variety of educational backgrounds and occupations.

Language Backgrounds Information

To gather information about the participants' language background, they were asked to respond to multiple-choice questions regarding language use in their childhood (questionnaire number 9), the language that they speak at home now (number 13), the language that they feel closest to in their heart (number 12), the source of learning the Gorontalo language (number 10), the stages of their education when they learned the language (number 15), their estimate of the number of Gorontalo speakers (number 14), and their proficiency in different languages based on a self-rating scale (number 11).

The results indicated that the dominant language used in the participants' childhood was the Gorontalo language (48.3%), followed by the Gorontalo-Malay dialect at 40%, and Bahasa Indonesia at 10%. There has been a shift in language use since that time with the Gorontalo-Malay dialect predominating in the home (46.7%), followed by the Gorontalo language with 36.7%, and Bahasa Indonesia with 16.7%. This finding revealed that the Gorontalo-Malay language has replaced the Gorontalo language in the home. The following table illustrates this finding:

Table 19

Distribution of Language Use in the Participants' Childhood

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Other languages	1	1.7
	Bahasa Indonesia	6	10.0
	Gorontalo-Malay	24	40.0
	Gorontalo Language	**29**	**48.3**
	Total	60	100.0

Distribution of Language Use at Home in the Present

		Frequency	**Percent**
Valid	Bahasa Indonesia	10	16.7
	Gorontalo-Malay	28	46.7
	Gorontalo Language	**22**	**36.7**
	Total	60	100.0

Despite the shift in language use to the Gorontalo Malay dialect, the majority of the respondents (45%) still consider the Gorontalo language to be the language closest to their heart followed by Gorontalo-Malay (35%). With 18.3%, Bahasa Indonesia ranked third. This result signaled that the Gorontalese still perceived the Gorontalo language as a beloved language. It continues to be very important to them and they are concerned about its well-being. However, as Fishman (1985; 2001) and Garett (2010) suggest, positive feelings do not often relate to language use. Although the participants claimed affection and devotion towards their mother tongue, they still chose to speak other languages in daily interactions. This finding is illustrated in the table below.

Table 20

The Most Loved Language in the Participants' Repertoire

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	English / Arabic	1	1.7
	Bahasa Indonesia	11	18.3
	Gorontalo-Malay	21	35.0
	Gorontalo Language	27	45.0
	Total	60	100.0

The participants were also asked where they learned the Gorontalo language. The results showed that home became the most dominant and useful place for learning the language (63%). As for their language learning in school, many respondents (80%) claimed to have learned the language in primary school. The Gorontalo language has been taught as a Local Content Subject in Gorontalo since 1995, although the guidelines for Local Content Subjects were established by the Indonesian Ministry of Education in 1987 (Pateda, 2011). Table 21 presents information about where and when participants learned the Gorontalo language. About 16% of respondents claimed that they never learned the language in school. These people may be

those who had their elementary school before 1995 or were born and grew up outside the province where the Gorontalo language was not taught in school as a local content subject.

Table 21

Distribution of Where and When Participants Learned Gorontalo Language

The Most Useful Gorontalo Language Learning Source		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never Learned	1	1.7
	Other Places	2	3.3
	In school	3	5.0
	Outside home with friends	16	26.7
	At home from parents and relatives	38	63.3
	Total	60	100.0

Gorontalo Language Learning in Different Educational Stages		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Never learned in school	10	16.7
	Primary school	48	80.0
	Secondary High School	2	3.3
	Total	60	100.0

Since the Gorontalo language is taught for 70 minutes a week under the Local Content curriculum in primary school, the amount of teaching provided by school alone does not seem sufficient to maintain the language. It appears that home became the most common learning center where Gorontalese learn their mother tongue. In accordance with Fishman (2001) home is the most fundamental learning place for minority language speakers to acquire their language. Accordingly, it is crucial to observe intergenerational transmission of the Gorontalo language at home, as described in the section on language use.

With regards to the estimated number of Gorontalo speakers in Gorontalo province (see Table 22), about 41% of the respondents believe that 60-80% of the Gorontalese who reside in the Gorontalo province are fluent speakers of the language. Further, 40% estimated that only 30-50% of Gorontalese can communicate in their native language. 16.7% of the participants thought that

most Gorontalese, or more than 90%, can still speak the Gorontalo language fluently. This number may indicate that Gorontalese are unaware of the changes in language use that have already taken place in their language. Despite the fact that the Gorontalo Malay language has already replaced the Gorontalo language at home as shown in Table 20, they seem to think that many Gorontalese can still speak the language fluently.

Table 22

Estimated Numbers of Gorontalese Speak Gorontalo Language

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	<30%	1	1.7
	30-50%	24	40.0
	60-80%	25	41.7
	≥ 90%	10	16.7
	Total	60	100.0

According to a self-rating scale comparing the proficiency of languages in different language skills - speaking, reading, writing, and listening - participants considered their Gorontalo language fluency to be lower than their Bahasa Indonesia and Gorontalo Malay. Participants claimed to have very good capability in the Gorontalo language in the areas of speaking (31.67%), listening (31.67%), writing (26.67%), and reading (33.33%). This number is lower than that of Bahasa Indonesia and even Gorontalo Malay. As we can see from Table 23 below, 56.67% of respondents rated their ability to speak, 61.67% to listen, 56.67% to write, and 58.33% to read Bahasa Indonesia very good. Fluency in Gorontalo Malay was also higher among the participants at 56.67% in speaking, 48.33% in listening, 50.00% in writing, and 48.33% in reading.

Table 23

Distribution of Speaking, Listening, Writing & Reading Ability in Different Languages

Languages	Skills	Percentage				
		No skill	Bad	Fairly Good	Good	Very Good
Bahasa Indonesia	Speaking	1.67%	1.67%	10.00%	30.00%	56.67%
	Listening	1.67%	1.67%	3.33%	31.67%	61.67%
	Writing	1.67%	1.67%	5.00%	35.00%	56.67%
	Reading	1.67%	1.67%	5.00%	33.33%	58.33%
Gorontalo language	Speaking	6.67%	5.00%	31.67%	25.00%	31.67%
	Listening	0.00%	5.00%	31.67%	31.67%	31.67%
	Writing	10.00%	10.00%	26.67%	26.67%	26.67%
	Reading	3.33%	13.33%	20.00%	30.00%	33.33%
Gorontalo - Malay	Speaking	0.00%	0.00%	6.67%	36.67%	56.67%
	Listening	0.00%	1.67%	10.00%	40.00%	48.33%
	Writing	0.00%	1.67%	11.67%	36.67%	50.00%
	Reading	0.00%	1.67%	13.33%	36.67%	48.33%
English	Speaking	45.00%	30.00%	18.33%	6.67%	0.00%
	Listening	40.00%	30.00%	21.67%	8.33%	0.00%
	Writing	43.33%	18.33%	21.67%	13.33%	3.33%
	Reading	40.00%	21.67%	23.33%	10.00%	5.00%
Arabic	Speaking	68.33%	18.33%	8.33%	3.33%	1.67%
	Listening	63.33%	13.33%	10.00%	8.33%	5.00%
	Writing	33.33%	26.67%	23.33%	11.67%	5.00%
	Reading	33.33%	21.67%	18.33%	18.33%	8.33%

Overall, Table 23 indicates that the participants have high competence in using the official language, Bahasa Indonesia. In speaking, only 31.67% of Gorontalese have high competence in the Gorontalo language, while in Bahasa Indonesia and Gorontalo Malay, the self-assessment was 56,67%. Similarly, in listening skills, only 31.67% rated well in the Gorontalo language, 61.67% in Bahasa Indonesia, and 48.33% in Gorontalo Malay. Their writing skills were also ranked lower than that of Bahasa Indonesia and Gorontalo Malay, with only 26.67% stating that they can write well in Gorontalo in comparison with over 56 % in Bahasa Indonesia and 50% in Gorontalo Malay. Reading results indicated that only 33.33 percent of participants perceived themselves to be proficient in Gorontalo, while Bahasa Indonesia (58.33%) and Gorontalo Malay (48.33%) were

ranked higher than Gorontalo. Therefore, it can be inferred that the Gorontalese perceived Bahasa Indonesia as the most fluent language followed by the Gorontalo-Malay dialect and their native language, the Gorontalo language. English and Arabic, as foreign languages, were self-assessed much lower, but at almost similar degrees of proficiency.

Using Tables 22 and 23, it appears that respondents believed that the estimated number of Gorontalese who can speak the language is approximately 60-80%. However, the fluency in the language is decreasing. The Gorontalo language proficiency in four different skills is considered lower than Gorontalo Malay and Bahasa Indonesia.

Language Use

The third part of the survey uses a multiple-choice technique to elicit language use information. The majority of participants claimed to use the Gorontalo Malay dialect at home. However, since Table 23 reveals that participants report a lower level of Gorontalo language than Gorontalo Malay and Bahasa Indonesia, it is essential to look at with whom they use the language (items number 16, and 17), what language other people use with them (18), and in what activities they use the language (items 19 and 20).

Table 24

Gorontalo Language Use with Different Groups

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I cannot speak	9	15.0
	Older people	20	33.3
	Younger people	2	3.3
	People of the same age as me	17	28.3
	All ages people	12	20.0
	Total	60	100.0

As shown in Table 24, the Gorontalo language is most commonly spoken by older people (33.3%), followed by people of the same age as the participants (28.3%). These data preliminarily

suggest that the use of Gorontalo language is common within the older generation. To obtain a detailed description of the language use, the participants were asked about their language use with different people at home. Table 25 summarizes their responses.

Table 25

Participants' Language Use at Home with Different People

What language do you use the most with these people?	Bahasa Indonesia	Gorontalo Malay Dialect	Gorontalo Language	Other languages
	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)
Spouse / partner	11 (18.3%)	18 (30.0%)	18 (30.0%)	13 (21.7%)
Children	11 (18.3%)	26 (43.3%)	6 (10.0%)	17 (28.3%)
Nieces / nephew	15 (25.0%)	33 (55.0%)	9 (15.0%)	3 (5.0 %)
Father	10 (16.7%)	20 (33.3%)	27 (45%)	3 (5.0%)
Mother	11 (18.3%)	20 (33.3%)	26 (43.3%)	3 (5.0%)
Siblings	17 (28.3%)	28 (46.7%)	13 (21.7%)	2 (3.3%)
Grandfather	11(18.3%)	16 (26.7%)	27 (45.0%)	6 (10.0%)
Grandmother	11(18.3%)	15 (25.0%)	29 (48.3%)	5 (8.3%)
Grandchildren	11 (18.3%)	39 (65.1%)	5 (8.3%)	5 (8.3%)
Friends	16 (26.7%)	31 (51.7%)	12 (20.0%)	1 (1.7%)
Neighbors	12 (20.0 %)	30 (50.0%)	18 (30.0%	-
Relatives	25 (41.7%)	22 (36.7%)	9 (15.0%)	4 (6.7%)

Even though all respondents are Gorontalese who were mostly born and grew up in the same place, there is evidence from the language-use data that the use of the Gorontalo language has shifted in the province's region. Gorontalo Malay, and Bahasa Indonesia, have overtaken the position of the Gorontalo language as the mother tongue at home.

Among the most notable findings is the difference in language use patterns between generations. As shown in Table 25 above, the participants' language use with young people showed a decline in the Gorontalo language with only 8.3% with grandchildren, 10% with children, and 15% with nieces and nephews. Instead of using the mother tongue, the majority of conversations with these young people are conducted in the Gorontalo Malay dialect followed by Bahasa Indonesia. The choice of the language spoken with peers, such as a spouse, friends, and

neighbors, also indicated a shift to Gorontalo Malay and Bahasa Indonesia. Almost half of the respondents still speak the Gorontalo language with the older generations, such as grandparents and parents.

In addition to their language use with other people, the participants were asked about the language choices of others who spoke to the respondent. Table 26 below presents the respondents' perceptions of the language used by different people when conversing with them.

Table 26

Respondents' Perceptions of the Language Used by Different People When Conversing with Them

What language do the following people **use the most** with you?	Bahasa Indonesia	Gorontalo Malay Dialect	Gorontalo Language	Other languages
	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)
Spouse / partner	13 (21.7%)	19 (31.7%)	12 (20.0%)	16 (26.7%)
Children	13 (21.7%)	28 (46.7%)	2 (3.3%)	17 (28.3%)
Nieces / nephew	16 (26.7%)	33 (55%)	6 (10.0%)	5 (8.3%)
Father	13 (21.7%)	17 (28.3%)	27 (45.0%)	3 (5.0%)
Mother	10 (16.7%)	19 (31.7%)	29 (48.3%)	2 (3.3%)
Siblings	14 (23.3%)	28 (46.7%)	16 (26.7%)	2 (3.3%)
Grandfather	7 (11.7%)	7 (11.7%)	35 (58.3%)	11 (18.3%)
Grandmother	6 (10.0%)	10 (16.7%)	35 (58.3%)	9 (15.0%)
Grandchildren	17 (28.3%)	29 (48.3%)	8 (13.4%)	6 (10.0)
Friends	16 (26.7%)	29 (48.3%)	12 (20.0%)	3 (5.0%)
Neighbors	13 (21.7%)	29 (48.3%)	14 (23.3%)	4 (6.7%)
Relatives	20 (33.3%)	24 (40.0%)	9 (15.0%)	7 (11.7%)

Based on Table 26 above, respondents reported that most young people chose Gorontalo Malay when conversing with them, followed by Bahasa Indonesia. The Gorontalo language was used by less than 5% of children, 10% of nieces/nephews, and less than 15% of grandchildren when responding to the participants. The older generation, such as grandfathers, fathers, and mothers, reports that they initiate interaction with the respondents in Gorontalo language about

50% of the time. Meanwhile, the use of the Gorontalo language among the respondents within the same age group, such as partners, friends, and siblings, was in the range of 15-20%.

It can be inferred that there is a similar pattern of language use between the participants and others. It is also noteworthy that the transmission of the language to children, and from children to adults, is now in Gorontalo Malay.

Table 27

Language Used the Most in Different Situations

Domains/ Activities	Bahasa Indonesia	Gorontalo Malay Dialect	Gorontalo Language	Other languages
	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)
Home	16 (26.7%)	33 (55.0%)	10 (16.7%)	1 (1.7%)
School	34 (56.7%)	19 (31.7%)	4 (6.7%)	3 (5.0%)
Workplace	36 (60.0%)	15 (25.0%)	3 (5.0%)	6 (10.0%)
Religious services	37 (61.7%)	17 (28.3%)	3 (5.0%)	3 (5.0%)
Local government services	44 (73.3%)	11 (18.3%)	2 (3.3%)	3 (5.0%)
Traditional market	11 (18.3%)	26 (43.3%)	21 (35.0%)	2 (3.3%)
Mall / supermarket	37 (61.7%)	21 (35.0%)	0 (0.0)	2 (3.3%)
Activities around neighborhood	14 (23.3%)	32 (53.3%)	14 (23.3%)	0 (0.0)

Regarding the use of language in different situations, the Gorontalo-Malay dialect dominates at home. Detailed information on language use in different domains, based on age group, can be found in Appendix I. The use of Gorontalo Malay has also penetrated the traditional market and activities around the neighborhood. The use of Bahasa Indonesia, unsurprisingly, dominates at school, in the workplace, at religious services, with local government services, and in the modern market. Given that the national education system has mandated the use of Bahasa Indonesia, and the national government regulation has promoted the language in the workplace, predictably, this language has prospered in school and government workplaces.

Likewise, home, or the family domain that is the foundation of language acquisition and preservation of Indigenous language (Canagarajah, 2008; Pauwels, 2016; Schwartz, 2008), is

now dominated by Gorontalo Malay. It appears that parents almost no longer transmit the language to their children. Scholars suggest that the family role is considered a vital aspect of language maintenance (Fishman, 2001; Li, 2006a; Igboanusi & Wolf, 2009; Tse, 2001). Since Gorontalo language transmission at home is weak, the Gorontalo language use at home is now being replaced by other languages.

Table 28

The Use of Different Languages in Media and Communication (New Domain)

Domains/ activities	Bahasa Indonesia	Gorontalo Malay Dialect	Gorontalo Language	Other languages
	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)
Calling your spouse/friends	21 (35%)	23 (38.3%)	6 (10%)	10 (16.7%)
Sending an SMS/WhatsApp's to your spouse	20 (33.3%)	21 (35.0%)	2 (3.3%)	17 (28.3%)
Sending an SMS/WhatsApp's to your friends	25 (41.7%)	29 (48.3%)	4 (6.7%)	2 (3.3%)
Sending an SMS/WhatsApp's to your parents	18 (30.0%)	32 (53.3%)	6 (10%)	4 (6.7%)
Updating/commenting status in social media FB, Instagram, etc	30 (50%)	10 (16%)	4 (6.7%)	16 (26.7%)
Reading newspaper/magazine online	50 (83%)	3 (5.0%)	2 (3.3%)	5 (8.3%)
Listening to music	48 (80.0%)	3 (5.0%)	4 (6.7%)	5 (8.3%)
Listening to the radio	44 (73.3%)	5 (8.3%)	5 (8.3%)	6 (10.0%)
Watching TV	49 (81.7%)	4 (6.7%)	2 (3.3%)	5 (8.3%)

When it comes to the use of media and technology information, the use of Bahasa Indonesia tends to dominate in social media, such as Facebook and Instagram, as well as in online newspapers, music, radio, and TV. The use of Bahasa Indonesia in these spheres certainly reflects the language use in national TV channels operated in Indonesia, and further supports Fishman's (2001) observation that "the media can interfere with intergenerational Xish mother tongue transmission more easily and more frequently than they can reinforce it, if only because there is so much more Yish (majority language) media than Xish media" (p. 473). With the majority of national TV channels and media outlets broadcasting and publishing in Bahasa

Indonesia, there is no single media broadcast exclusively in the Gorontalo language. Cormack (2013) shows some assumptions about how the media can help minority languages. The media gives status, it can link and unify different segments of the language community, and it can provide a context for economic development, etc. Although Gorontalo has radio stations operated by the government and local private companies, the announcers mainly use Bahasa Indonesia and there are only limited hours allocated for Gorontalo language in the government owned radio (RRI). In social media, the data also indicates that besides Bahasa Indonesia, Gorontalese also use other languages such as English and Arabic particularly to comment on a post or update their status.

Regarding the opportunity to obtain services in the Gorontalo language in different areas, more than half of the participants claimed that there are almost no health care services or clinics that offer services solely in Gorontalo language. Similarly, Gorontalo language is not used in community services, language learning centers, or in the field of information, newspaper, or magazine publishing. More importantly, about 25% of the respondents declared a desire for these services in Gorontalo. The participants responded that TV, radio, and news programs were available in the language. These programs, however, are limited to about 15 minutes to 30 minutes daily, not during prime time.

Table 29

Services Offered in Gorontalo Language

Services	Exist	Desired	Do not exist
	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)
Health care-hospital and clinic	8 (13.3%)	20 (33.3%)	32 (53.3%)
Community services	12 (20%)	20 (33.3%)	28 (46.7%)
Gorontalo language learning center	9 (15.0%)	14 (23.3%)	37 (61.7%)
Gorontalo Newspaper	10 (16.7%)	15 (25.0%)	35 (58.3%)
TV program	39 (65.0%)	6 (10.0%)	15 (25.0%)

Radio program	47 (78.3%)	5 (8.3%)	8 (13.3%)
News program	37 (61.7%)	8 (13.3%)	15 (25.0%)

Concerning the materials published in the Gorontalo language, more than 50% of the participants perceive that library books, children's storybooks, dictionaries, and video/movies do not exist, and 65% claim that only a minimal amount of Gorontalo traditional music is available. About 48% of respondents mentioned that not many educational materials are available, at least for the public who want to learn the language outside of school. Overall, looking at Table 30 below, the community does not seem to have sufficient materials in the Gorontalo language for them to learn and appreciate the language.

Table 30

Availability of Materials in Gorontalo Language

Materials	Many	Few	None
	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)	Frequency (Percent)
Library Books	2 (3.3%)	18 (30%)	40 (66.7%)
Children story book	4 (6.7%)	16 (26.7%)	40 (66.7%)
Dictionaries	4 (6.7%)	20 (33.3%)	36 (60.0%)
Music	10 (16.7%)	39 (65.0%)	11 (18.3%)
Video/Movies	6 (10.0%)	22 (36.7%)	32 (53. 3%)
Educational Material	7 (11.7%)	29 (48.3%)	24 (40.0%)

The results, in Tables 28, 29, and 30, related to language opportunity to learn the language through different services and learning sources. The data appears to be dominated by Bahasa Indonesia. This aligned with the national regulation that mandated and promoted the use of Bahasa Indonesia. Literacy and oracy in Bahasa Indonesia continue to develop significantly, while the Gorontalo language oracy and literacy is low.

Table 31

The use of Gorontalo language with children

Domains/ activities	I don't have children but I would try.	I don't have children and I do not want to try	I have children but I do not want to try	I have children but haven't tried	I have children and always do this
Talking to them in Gorontalo language as much as possible	15 (25.0%)	10 (16.7%)	13 (21.7%)	8 (13.3%)	14 (23.3%)
Encourage them to talk to you in Gorontalo language	18 (30.0%)	8 (13.3%)	14 (23.3%)	13 (21.7%)	7 (11.7%)
Encourage them to talk to with their grandparents in Gorontalo	15 (25.0%)	9 (15.0%)	12 (20%)	14 (23.3%)	10 (16.7%)
Encourage them to learn Gorontalo language	19 (31.7%)	6 (10.0%)	18 (30.0%)	13 (21.7%)	4 (6.7%)
Story telling about Gorontalo culture	16 (26.7%)	9 (15.0%)	11 (18.3%)	20 (33.3%)	4 (6.7%)

In regard to the intention of parents to introduce and teach the language to their children, it was found that parents with and without children perceived the use of Gorontalo differently. In all activities listed in Table 31 above, only 14 out of 60 participants (23%) with children reported always using the Gorontalo language with their children. Only 16% of them stated that they support the children to talk to their grandparents in the language. Among them, approximately 11% say that they encourage the children to respond in Gorontalo, and 6.7% of the participants with children state that they encourage the children to learn the language and perform storytelling about Gorontalo culture. In contrast, about 21.7% of parents with children report that they do not want to talk in the language with their children, 23.3% do not encourage them to respond in the Gorontalo language, 20% do not support the children to talk with grandparents in the language, and 30% do not want to encourage to learn the language and 18% do not use it for storytelling. However, the average of parents with children (13.6%), claim they have not tried to use the language with their children. Therefore, there is still a chance that in the future, they may become interested in involving and encouraging their children to learn the language.

The parents, without children, showed more positive patterns of language practice. With only 25% being interested in trying to communicate with their children in the language, 30% intending to encourage them to respond back in the language, 25% persuading them to talk with grandparents in the language, 31.7% learning the language and 26.7 % desiring to do storytelling about their culture with their children. Yet, there is a slight decrease in the number of parents without children who does favor the activities with their children. Specifically, 16% does not talk with their children in the language, asking their children to respond to them in the language (13%) encouraging them to use with older generations (15%), learning the language (10%) and telling them stories about their culture (15%). The motivation for parents without children to promote the language in the future seems to be stronger than that of parents with children. On the other hand, the response of parents who are not interested in the activities suggest that they may not speak the language or have enough information about Gorontalo culture.

Language Legislation and Documentation

The fourth part of the questionnaire elicits the respondents' perspectives about the government's regulations on language policy and documentation. Table 32 summarizes these results.

Table 32

Distribution of the Respondents' Perspectives About Language Regulation and Documentation

	Yes	No
Do you think that the government (national and regional) legislation in your country supports the use of the Gorontalo language?	45(75.0%)	15(25%)
Do you think that the legislation (national and regional) in your country prevents the use of the Gorontalo language?	6(10.0%)	54(90%)
Do you know/hear of institutions or people who cultivate (develop, promote and regulate) Gorontalo language in your country?	24(40%)	36(60%)
Do you think that Gorontalo language should be developed (for instance: new words, better spelling or	36(60%)	24(40%)

writing, clearer rules, etc.) so that it could better be used in all kinds of situations?		

On language policy, the majority of participants (75%) believed that the national and government authorities supported the use of the Gorontalo language. Ninety percent of them indicated that there is no policy that prevents them from using the language. However, this statement will be clarified and explained using the other data collection forms in the study, namely, interviews and documentation, to find out if they realize that in certain domains (i.e., education and the workplace) the language cannot be used.

Regarding language documentation efforts in the community, the results show that 60% of participants have never heard of any institutions that promote or develop the Gorontalo language. The last question in this part of the survey asked about language development, and more than half of respondents (60%) agreed that the grammar, vocabulary, and spelling of the language should be developed.

Language Attitudes

In part V of the questionnaire, a set of 13 questions (items number 28 to 40) assess the participants' attitudes toward the Gorontalo language. The following table illustrates their responses.

Table 33

Distribution of the Participants' Language Attitudes Toward the Gorontalo Language

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I feel proud using the Gorontalo language	11(18.3%)	0	15(25%)	17(28.3%)	17(28.3%)
I see the benefits of speaking and teaching the Gorontalo language to my children.	7(11.7%)	2(3.3%)	16(26.7%)	26(43.3%)	9(15%)
I feel that most people in my community are not interested in keeping the Gorontalo language strong.	10(16.7%)	13(21.7%)	17(28.3%)	17(28.3%)	3(5.0%)
Speaking Gorontalo is vital to my identity and existence as a Gorontalese.	2(3.3%)	1(1.7%)	11(18.3%)	18(30.0%)	28(46.7%)

Competence in the Gorontalo language facilitates finding a job and getting a higher salary.	7(11.7%)	11(18.3%)	28(46.7%)	10(16.7%)	4(6.7%)
I am satisfied with how well I can speak the Gorontalo language.	3(5.0%)	8(13.3%)	20(33.3%)	20(33.3%)	9(15.0%)
I want to teach my children to speak Gorontalo.	2(3.3%)	3(5.0%)	16(26.7%)	20(33.3%)	19(31.7)
It is important to improve my Gorontalo language so that I can use it with my children and other people.	1(1.7%)	4(6.7%)	17(28.3%)	16(26.7%)	22(36.7%)
It is important to speak English for international competitions.	2 (3.3%)	1 (1.7%)	10(16.7%)	22(36.7%)	25(41.7%)
It is important to learn Arabic because it is the language of our religion.	3 (5.0%)	3 (5.0%)	13(21.7%)	21 (35.0%)	20(33.3%)
It is important to learn Bahasa Indonesia because it's the language that unifies the country.	3 (5.0%)	1 (1.7%)	2(3.3%)	19 (31.7%)	36(58.3%)
Gorontalo language should be a medium of instruction in elementary school in Gorontalo.	1(1.7%)	1(1.7%)	12(20.0%)	27(45.0%)	19(31.7%)
I am satisfied with how my children learn Gorontalo in elementary school.	4(6.7%)	6(10.0%)	22(36.7%)	18(30.0%)	10(16.7%)

A positive attitude towards minority language has been viewed as a significant factor in preventing language attrition and promoting pride in the use of the language (Baker, 1992; Holmes 2013; Mac Donnacha, 2000). The analysis revealed that more than half of the participants (57%) showed a positive response (agree to strongly agree) to the statement that using the Gorontalo language makes them proud, although 18% felt that using Gorontalo does not make them gratified. To the second statement regarding the benefit of teaching the language to children, the majority of respondents (58%) had a positive attitude, 15% had negative attitudes, and about 27% responded in the neutral. A greater part of the respondents also viewed that most of the Gorontalese are not interested in keeping the language alive, while about 33% believed that they are still interested in keeping their language. Moreover, almost all participants responded positively to the statement that speaking Gorontalo is important to their identity as a Gorontalese. Most of them stated that they also felt satisfied with speaking the language and wanted to teach their language to their children. Most respondents acknowledge that their language proficiency needs to be improved in order to be able to converse with children and other Gorontalese.

As for the statement that competence in Gorontalo facilitates them in securing a job and improving their economy, the respondents' answers varied. There was a negative perception of this among approximately 30% of respondents, while about 22% still displayed positive attitudes toward it. Positive attitudes were observed responding to the statement regarding English as being important for international competition, learning Arabic as the language of Islam, and learning Bahasa Indonesia as a unified language. They have also shown strong positive views about using the Gorontalo language as a medium of instruction in primary school. Lastly, most of the participants felt satisfied with their children learning the Gorontalo language in school. Therefore, it can be assumed that the participants had positive attitudes toward their language, although they also believed that their language could not benefit them economically.

In this initial study, it was confirmed that positive behaviors do not guarantee community language use (Fishman, 1985; Garrett, 2010). The community may still value language as part of their identity although they might not automatically speak the language in daily interaction. At the same time, this also speaks to the attitude towards the heritage language that is often found to be highly positive, even though the use of the language and proficiency in it may be limited or even declining (Edwards, 2012; Kadir, 2020; Slavik, 2001). In this sense, having positive attitudes toward the language is not sufficient to keep a minority language alive. On the other hand, negative attitudes lead to repressing the language (Fishman, 1991).

Language Knowledge

The last section of the survey assesses the participants' language knowledge through a four-item language test (items 41 to 44). The respondents were asked to fill in the test and rate their own responses according to whether or not they could answer it: completely, partially, not at all, or preferred not to give their answer. Table 34 summarizes their answers.

Table 34

Self-rated Gorontalo Language Knowledge

	I cannot do this.	I can do half of it	I can do all of it	I can do this but prefer not to
Label part of body	17(28.3%	9(15%)	28(46.7%)	6(10%)
Short reading passage	11(18.3%)	15(25.0%)	28(46.7%)	6(10%)
Translating from Gorontalo language to Indonesia	9(15.0%)	14(23.3%)	33(55.0%)	4(6.7%)
Translating from Indonesia to Gorontalo	26(27.7%)	6(6.4%)	21(35.0%)	7(11.7%)

The first item in this section required the participants to label parts of the body in Gorontalo; the results showed that less than 50% could answer correctly. Among the respondents, 28% could not do the test at all, and 15% could only do half of it. Similarly, less than 50% of participants could answer questions in the reading passage correctly. About 18% could not do it, and 25% could only complete half of it. In translating a passage from Gorontalo language to Indonesia, 55% of the respondents perceived that they could do it while 15% could not do it, and about 23% could only complete half of it. The last item asked the participants to translate the passage from Indonesia to Gorontalo, and the results showed a decrease in the number of people who could do it completely (35%). About 27% perceived that they could not do it, and 6.6% only completed half of it. This finding might suggest that the Gorontalese are struggling to write in their language. All the self-ratings were cross-checked with their actual answers, and the majority of self-ratings were aligned with their written responses to the test.

Table 35

Distribution of the Participant's Comfort Using the Gorontalo Language

Situations	Very comfortable	Comfortable	Not at all comfortable
At home with family	13(21.7)	35% (58.3)	12 (20%)
Talking with your children	11 (18.3%)	29 (48.3)	20 (33.3%)
Talking with your parents	13 (21.7%)	25 (41.7%)	22 (36.7%)
At school with teachers	1 (1.7%)	30 (50%)	29 (48.3%)
In front of a classroom	2((3.3%)	22 (36.7%)	36 (60.0%)
At a job interview	3 (5.0)	16 (26.7%)	41 (68.3%)
At a business meeting	3 (5.0%)	19 (31.7)	38 (63.3%)
In the traditional market	12 (20%)	36 (60%)	12 (20%)
In a shop or mall	2 (3.3%)	24 (40.0%)	34 (56.7%)
Teaching Gorontalo to someone	13 (21.7%)	32 (53.3%)	15 (25.0%)
Ordering food at a restaurant	3 (5.0%)	19 (31.7%)	38 (63.3%)
Discussion with religious leader	6 (10.0%)	24 (40.0%)	30 (50.0%)
Writing notes	4 (6.7%)	14 (23.3%)	42 (70%)
Reading books	3 (5.0%)	23 (38.3%)	34 (56.7%)
Listening to music	7 (11.7%)	27 (45.0%)	26 (43.3%)

As for their level of comfort using the Gorontalo language in different situations (item number 45), the respondents offered various responses. More than half stated that they felt comfortable using the language at home. Most of them stated that they also felt comfortable using it with their children and parents. However, comfort does not guarantee the use of the Gorontalo language at home, nor its proficiency. The previous data analysis on language use (see Table 24, 25, and 26) revealed that Gorontalo Malay has now replaced the use of the Gorontalo language as the language used mostly at home and that fluency in the language has decreased. In school, participants revealed a greater balance in their answers: 50% tended to feel comfortable, 48.3% did not feel comfortable using the language with the teacher, and 60% did not find it easy to use it in the classroom.

Furthermore, the analysis also revealed that more than half of the respondents did not feel comfortable using the language in formal settings, such as job interviews or meetings. Most of them also did not feel that it was appropriate to use the language with their religious leaders, in the

modern supermarket, in a restaurant, in writing notes, or in reading books or articles. In contrast, more than half of them felt comfortable using the language in the traditional market and enjoyed listening to the music, and even teaching the language to other people.

Statistical Analysis: Multiple Regression Test

This section presents a statistical analysis through the use of a multiple regression test to provide an answer for the second question: 2) *To what extent do the following variables influence the Gorontalo language vitality: age, gender, place of birth, place of growing up, level of education, and profession?* In the social sciences, multiple regression is commonly used to measure the impact of independent variables (or explanatory variables) on dependent variables (Berry, 2005). In other words, it is a statistical technique to analyze the relationship between several independent variables and a single dependent variable. In this study, gender, age, place of birth, place of growing up, and profession were considered independent variables. Moreover, the language vitality that is the average score of language background, language use, perceptions of language regulation and documentation, language attitudes, as well as language knowledge, were the dependent variables (see Appendix J). Before conducting the hypothetical test, the assumption of regression test (classic assumption test) was completed.

Classic Assumption Test

As this study utilizes a multiple regression test, it is necessary to conduct regression assumptions (classical assumption of regression), which include the normality test, multicollinearity, and heteroscedasticity (Basuki & Prawoto, 2017).

Normality Test. Normality tests are conducted to examine whether the regression dependent and independent variables are normally distributed. A good normality test indicates

that residual data are normally distributed. In this study, the normality test is assessed through a *probability plot* and *Kolmogorov Smirnov* test.

In a normal probability plot, residual data are considered normal if they follow a diagonal line. When the plotted points fit the line perfectly, it can be safely assumed that the process data are normally distributed (Santoso, 2012). *The Normal Probability Plot* for the normality test is illustrated in Figure 10.

Figure 10

Normal Probability Plot Test Results

Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual
Dependent Variable: Vitalitas Bahasa Gorontalo
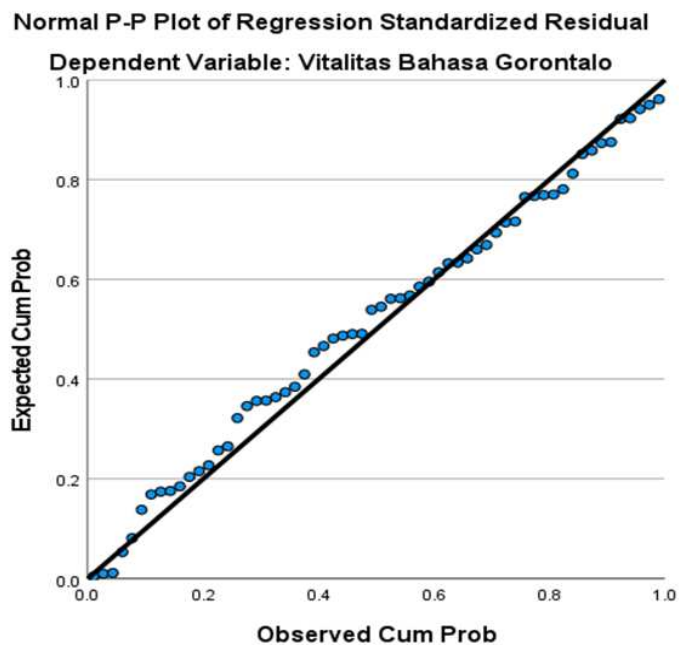
Based on Figure 10, the plotted points are spread out around the diagonal line and follow the direction of the diagonal line. Therefore, it is concluded that the data in this regression model fulfills the assumption of data normality. Since some data distribution points are slightly off the line, it is necessary to carry out the *Kolmogorov Smirnov* test.

Kolmogorov Smirnov. Kolmogorov Smirnov is a normality test carried out on the cumulative test residuals (Santoso, 2012). To determine whether the distribution of variables in this study is normal or not, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov non-parametric statistical test (K-S test) was carried out. If the Kolmogorov-Smirnov significance value is greater than the alpha value (0.05), then the data follow a normal distribution. The results of the One-Sample Kolmogorov Smirnov test can be seen in Table 36.

Table 36

Normality Test Results

One-Sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test		
		Unstandardized Residual
N		60
Normal Parameters[a,b]	Mean	.0000000
	Std. Deviation	34.87702975
Most Extreme Differences	Absolute	**.106**
	Positive	.055
	Negative	-.106
Test Statistic		.106
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)[c]		**.090**

a. Test distribution is Normal.

The results of the data normality test (*Kolmogorov Smirnov*) found that the Kolmogorov-Smirnov (Z value) for the Unstandardized Residual variable was 0.106 with a significance level of 0.090. The significance value of the normality test is greater than the alpha value of 0.05, so it can be concluded that the Unstandardized Residual data follow a normal distribution.

Multicollinearity Test. The multicollinearity test assesses whether the regression model has the correlation between independent variables or is also normally used to determine whether

or not there is a deviation from the classic assumption of multicollinearity, namely the existence of a linear relationship between the independent variables in the regression model (Basuki & Prawoto, 2017). Multicollinearity is measured by the Variant Inflation Factor (VIF). If the VIF value is more than 4.0 or less than 2.0, it can be assumed that there is a multicollinearity (Hair et al., 2010). The VIF value for each variable is obtained as stated in Table 37.

Table 37

Multicollinearity Test Results

Coefficients[a]			
Model		Collinearity Statistics	
		Tolerance	VIF
1	Gender	.960	1.041
	Age	.894	1.118
	Place of birth	.526	1.902
	Place of growing	.561	1.784
	Education	.809	1.236
	Profession	.816	1.225
a. Dependent Variable: Gorontalo language vitality			

As can be seen in Table 37, all independent variables had VIF values below 2.0. Accordingly, it can be concluded that the regression model does not have a multicollinearity problem, or that the data meet the multicollinearity test.

Heteroscedasticity Test. The heteroscedasticity test aims to test whether, in a regression, there is a variance difference from the existing data residuals. A good regression model is supposed to be homoscedasticity or have no heteroscedasticity (Santoso, 2012). To see heteroscedasticity, it is necessary to look for a certain pattern on the scatter plot. If there is no clear pattern and there are dots above and below the 0 on the Y axis, there is no heteroscedasticity. Figure 11 presents the result of data processing (Scatterplot) to test heteroscedasticity.

Figure 11

Heteroscedasticity Test Results

Scatterplot
Dependent Variable: Vitalitas Bahasa Gorontalo
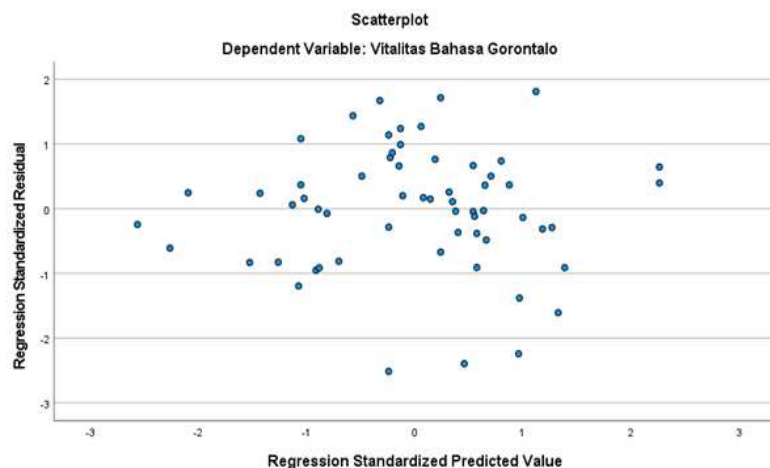
Based on Figure 11, the dots spread randomly and are spread both above and below the zero on the Y-axis. Therefore, it can be assumed that the regression model does not have heteroscedasticity.

After determining that the regression model fulfills all the required assumptions of a normality test, multicollinearity, and heteroscedasticity, the next task is to run the hypothesis test.

Hypothesis Test

Ho-the independent variables do not influence Gorontalo language vitality.

H1-the independent variables influence the Gorontalo language vitality.

To assess the hypothesis in this study, a simultaneous significance test (F statistical test) and a coefficient of determination (R^2) test were conducted.

Simultaneous Significance Test (F Test). The F-test demonstrates that all independent variables in this study have a mutual influence on the dependent variable. If the F significance < 0.05, simultaneously all independent variables significantly affect the dependent variable. On the

other hand, if the F significance > 0.05, all independent variables have no significant influence on the dependent variable.

Table 38

ANOVA Table Indicating a Significant Relationship Between the Variables

ANOVA[a]						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	39766.073	6	6627.679	6.360	.000[b]
	Residual	55228.510	53	1042.047		
	Total	94994.583	59			

The ANOVA showed [$F_{(6, 53)}$ = 6.360, p < 0.05]; since the p value is less than 0.05, the null hypothesis (Ho) should be rejected in favor of the alternative hypothesis. Therefore, simultaneously, all six independent variables of age, gender, place of birth, place of growing up, education, and profession can significantly predict language vitality.

The coefficient of determination. The coefficient of determination (R^2) explains the strength of the linear relationship between independent and dependent variables. The R squared value ranges from 0% to -100%. The amount of the coefficient of determination (R^2) in this study can be seen in Table 39.

Table 39

Coefficient of determination

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.647[a]	.419	.353	32.28076

The amount of influence (the ability of the independent variables to explain the dependent variable) is determined by the R squared value, which is 0.419. This value indicates that 41.9% of the variability of the vitality of the Gorontalo language can be explained by gender, place of birth

and growing up, education, and profession, while the remaining 58.1% can be explained by other variables that are not assessed in this study. After obtaining the regression equation model, the next step is to test the hypothesis. The testing stages that were carried out are shown in Table 39. The results of testing the effect of each independent variable (age, gender, place of birth, place of growing up, education, and profession) on the dependent variable, namely the vitality of the Gorontalo language, are as follows:

Table 40

Regression Test Results

Variable	B Value	r Value	β*r	T-Value	P-Value
Age	0.454	0.509	0.231 (23.1%)	4.103	0.001**
Gender	0.097	0.067	0.0065 (0.65%)	0.909	0.367 [ns]
Place of birth	-0.356	-0.420	0.149 (14.9%)	-2.462	0.017*
Place of growing up	0.110	-0.229	0.025 (2.52%)	0.786	0.436 [ns]
Education	0.084	0.027	0.0022 (0.22%)	0.721	0.474 [ns]
Profession	-0.182	-0.298	0.0542(5.42%)	-1.574	0.122 [ns]

Based on Table 39, the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable can be described. The following section describes the influence of the independent variables, namely age, gender, place of birth and growing up, education, and profession on the Gorontalo language vitality.

Regression Rest

The Effect of Age on the Vitality of the Gorontalo Language. Table 40 suggests that the t-value for the age variable is 4.103 and p-value 0.001. With a t-value at a 5% significance level [T=4.103, $p<0.05$], it can be inferred that age has a significant influence on language

vitality. Consequently, with a 95% confidence level, age has a significant effect on language vitality. The influence of age on the language vitality of the Gorontalo language is 23.1%, meaning the age group significantly influences the vitality of the Gorontalo language. Since age influence on language vitality was significant, an ANOVA test was run to assess the difference among the four age groups. The result revealed that there was a significant difference in language vitality of the age groups $[F_{(3, 56)}= 12.831, p<0.05]$. It was found that the younger age group (18-30) did not use as much Gorontalo as the other age groups. The younger group has the lowest mean of 51.0222 compared to the other age groups.

Table 41

ANOVA Test

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
18-30	18	51.0222	6.95359
31-45	24	61.8833	5.90826
46-60	14	59.8000	5.34070
61+	4	66.7500	9.97914
Total	60	58.4633	8.10051

ANOVA					
Gorontalo Language Vitality					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1577.065	3	525.688	12.831	.000
Within Groups	2294.414	56	40.972		
Total	3871.479	59			

The Effect of Gender on the Vitality of the Gorontalo Language. The analysis results also show that the t-value for the Gender variable is 0.909 and p-value is 0.367. With a t-value at a 5% significance level $[T=0.909, p>0,05]$ it can be assumed that gender does not have a significant effect on language vitality since the p-value is greater than 0.05. Therefore, it is concluded that at the 95% confidence level, gender does not affect the vitality of the Gorontalo

language. The influence of gender on the vitality of the Gorontalo language is 0.65%. Of all the factors that influence language vitality, gender explains only 0.65%. This means that being female or male does not have a significant effect on language vitality. However, note that a t-test (see Appendix K) shows that females use the Gorontalo language slightly more than males, but the difference is not statistically significant. This result may be due to the small sample size. The effect of gender on language vitality needs to be further investigated with a larger sample size.

The Influence of the Place of Birth on the Vitality of The Gorontalo Language. The t-value for the place of birth variable is [T=2.462, p<0.05]. With the p-value 0.017, it can be assumed that place of birth has a significant influence on language vitality as the p-value is less than 0.05. It is concluded that at the level of confidence of 95%, the participant's place of birth has a significant effect on the vitality of the Gorontalo language. The influence of place of birth on language vitality can be explained by 14.9%. This suggests that the place of birth influences language vitality.

The Influence of the Place of Growing Up on the Vitality of The Gorontalo Language. Table 40 indicates that there was no significant difference between participants who grew up in Gorontalo regency, Gorontalo city and outside Gorontalo province on language vitality [T=0.786, p>0.05]. With t-value, 0.0786 and p-value 0.436, it implies that the place of growing up does not have a significant influence on language vitality. Of all the factors that influence language vitality, place of growing up explains only 2.52%. This implies that people who grow up in regency, city and outside the province do not differ in their response.

The Influence of Education on the Vitality of the Gorontalo Language

The result of this analysis also shows that the t-value for the education variable is [T=0.721, p>0.05]. The p-value shows 0.474, which is greater than the alpha level of 0.05. It indicates that the test is not significant. Therefore, it is concluded that, at the level of confidence of 95%, education has a non-significant effect on the vitality of the Gorontalo language. The influence of education on the vitality of the Gorontalo language is 0.22%, meaning that people with low education are more able to maintain the vitality of the Gorontalo language. However, this can only be explained by 0.22%, which is negligible.

The Influence of Occupation on the Vitality of Gorontalo Language. The results of the analysis above show that the t-value for the profession variable is [T=-1.574, p>0.05]. With t-value -1.574 and p-value 0.122, it is concluded that, at the level of confidence of 95%, one's occupation does not have a significant effect on the vitality of the Gorontalo language. The influence of profession on the vitality of the Gorontalo language is only 5.42%, meaning profession does not necessarily influence language vitality.

Although the ANOVA test indicated that all the six variables could predict language vitality, the regression model revealed that only age and place of birth does significantly influence language vitality.

Summary

This chapter presents responses to two research questions: *1. What is the current Language vitality of the Gorontalo Language? 2. To what extent do the following variables influence the Gorontalo language vitality: age, gender, place of birth and growing up, level of education and profession?* Using descriptive statistics and a multiple regression test, it can be

observed that language shift is happening in the community where the use of the Gorontalo Malay dialect outperforms the use of the native language in home situations. It was also found that among the six independent variables of age, gender, place of birth and growing up, education, and profession, there are two variables that have a significant influence on language vitality namely age and place of birth, although all of the independent variables contribute to the Gorontalo language vitality. There is a need to collect secondary data to gather a more in-depth understanding of Gorontalo language vitality. The next chapter (Chapter VI) presents the findings of the qualitative data analysis gathered from the interviews.

Chapter VI

Qualitative Results and Discussion

Introduction

This chapter presents qualitative data findings and a discussion of semi-structured interviews conducted with eight Gorontalese mothers with lower grade elementary school children in the Gorontalo district (Kabupaten Gorontalo). The participants had previously completed the questionnaires and provided consent for the interviews. The results of these qualitative interviews were used to triangulate the results obtained through a questionnaire and at the same time to deepen the understanding of the use of the Gorontalo language. After analyzing the quantitative results, several interview questions were modified to clarify information and deepen the understanding of Gorontalo language use in the study.

The first part of this chapter provides an outline of the participant's personal backgrounds. The second part presents the analysis of the interviews which are divided into several themes: patterns of female language use in different domains, and factors that influence their language choices, including age of the interlocutor, respecting the opposite speaker's language use, level of comfortability, repetition for clarification, media and information, language attitudes, and language proficiency.

Profile of the participants

The interviews were concentrated in several villages in TB subdistrict about 20 KM from the government center of Gorontalo district (Kabupaten Gorontalo). To protect their identity, a pseudonym is used for all the participants' names and the villages where they currently live. Eight mothers participated in the study, each of whom had one to three children and had a variety

of occupations. Three mothers are working in the educational field, while the rest are housewives, food sellers and government workers. Their education varies from the completion of primary school to obtaining a bachelor's degree. Table 42 summarizes the participants' background information.

Table 42

The Participants Profile Information

Participants Name*	Age	Highest Educational level	Name of the Villages*	Occupation	Age of children
Ewing	24	Elementary School	Teratai	Housewife	8 years
Boki	49	Bachelors' degree	Kamboja	Kindergarten teacher	14 years 9 years
Amina	52	Diploma	Mawar	Elementary school teacher	12 years 9 years
Rukaya	34	High school	Anggrek	School Administrator	8 years 3 years
Nurana	27	Elementary school	Boungenfile	Housewife	8 years 3 years
Fatma	32	Elementary school	Melati	Housewife	18 years 10 years 3 years
Fitri	41	High school	Anyelir	Village government officer	9 years 5 years
Saripa	40	High school	Aster	Food merchant	21 years 18 years 9 years

Note. *All the participants' names and villages use pseudonyms.

Ewing. Ewing is a 24-year-old housewife and mother of an 8-year-old girl living in Teratai village. Her parents are both Gorontalese. She completed primary school at the age of 13 but her family could not afford to send her to junior high school. She stayed home to help her parents who were raised in the same village. Ewing and her parents have never traveled or lived in another region of Gorontalo. Her parents were greengrocers in a traditional market. Soon after her marriage she had her first child and has been a stay-at-home parent since. Her husband also

came from the same village, completed junior high school there and is now working as a motor rickshaw (*bentor*) driver.

The language Ewing uses at home varies depending on whom she is conversing with. From childhood until she grew up, she spoke only the Gorontalo language with her parents, which she also uses with her husband, although they both mostly code switch to Gorontalo Malay now. Outside the home, she learned the Indonesian language in primary school. In addition, she acquired Gorontalo Malay from her surroundings, which she used with her friends and continued to speak with her child at home. Ewing reported that her child uses Gorontalo Malay and only understands a few words in Gorontalo. When she speaks in the Gorontalo language, her child will completely reply in Gorontalo Malay. Her parents always spoke in the Gorontalo language with Ewing but often in Gorontalo Malay with their grandchild.

Ewing considers the Gorontalo language very important for children and their parents. It is a symbol of Gorontalese. However, she does not use the Gorontalo language regularly at home, particularly with her child and little brother. She perceived Bahasa Indonesia as a national language and part of her identity as an Indonesian. She wants her child to speak different languages but will never force her to learn any language, including her own language, if she does not want to. Ewing believes that the influence of media, such as TV, contributed to the language shift and now, a lack of desire for learning a new language, prevents its return.

Boki. Boki, age 49, was born and has always lived in Kamboja village. Boki is the mother of a teenage son (14) and a daughter (9). She speaks Bahasa Indonesia, Gorontalo language and Gorontalo Malay fluently. She learned English in school and Arabic in Islamic boarding school. Her parents were farmers and completed elementary school in their village. Boki's husband is also a farmer who was born and raised in another village.

Boki's parents talk with her only in the Gorontalo language. As she grew up, she started to use Gorontalo Malay and alternated between these two languages, although she still uses the Gorontalo language with her parents and sometimes with her husband. Boki and her husband use Gorontalo Malay with their children and sometime alternate it with the Gorontalo language. The children reply in Gorontalo Malay and use this language with each other exclusively. Boki wants her children to use the Gorontalo language, however, she has never used the language with the children in a single conversation.   When she uses the Gorontalo language, the children will ask her to switch to Gorontalo Malay or simply stare at her face. She worried that the children did not understand her.

Boki viewed the use of foreign languages as a global need. However, she also recognized that local language is a part of ethnic identity. Although she has not experienced a language shift, personally, she described how it has happened in her immediate family and admitted that many people nowadays speak Gorontalo Malay. According to her, lack of parental involvement and persistence in teaching the language, as well as language contact have contributed to the shift in language use.

Amina. Amina, 52 years old, her parents and her husband were born and raised in Mawar village. She has a son (12) and a daughter (9). Amina lives with her husband's family in a multigenerational household. She has a diploma in Geography from a teacher college in Gorontalo and works as an elementary school teacher in the village nearby.

Amina is multilingual, speaks Bahasa Indonesia, the Gorontalo language, and variances of Bahasa Indonesia, such as Gorontalo Malay, Manado Malay, and English. She can read and write Arabic which she learned in an Islamic school. Amina speaks different languages at home, with her parents and parents-in-law. She uses the Gorontalo language with her husband, although

sometimes she alternates to different languages. With her children, the majority of conversation is in Gorontalo Malay, because her children are only able to communicate in Gorontalo Malay and Bahasa Indonesia. Amina stated that her children use Gorontalo Malay among themselves, with their parents and grandparents.

Amina believes that the local language is part of her life as a Gorontalese. She is concerned about the decreasing numbers of young people who can speak the language, including in her village. Where she teaches, the students speak Gorontalo Malay all the time. She gives high value to those who can speak foreign languages but still maintain their local language. She also admitted that many parents are losing their fluency in their language. She believed that lack of fluency and globalization, in terms of technology and communication, influence the language.

Rukaya. Rukaya (age 34) has two children, aged 3 and 8. Her family has lived in Anggrek village since she was a child. Rukaya's parents obtained their junior high school certificate, which was a struggle at that time. Rukaya graduated from high school and moved to the Central Sulawesi Province where she worked as a shop assistant in the supermarket for two years. She currently works as a school administrator in an elementary school. Rukaya speaks Bahasa Indonesia, Gorontalo, Gorontalo Malay and Palu Malay (a variant of Bahasa Indonesia spoken in Central Sulawesi province). Currently, her family is living with her parents while her house is being built.

According to her, places, situations, and the language by the other speakers influence the choice of her language. She needed to learn Palu Malay in Central Sulawesi because she was employed there. In her village, she uses the Gorontalo language with older people. She uses Gorontalo Malay with her husband and children; therefore, none of the children can speak the

Gorontalo language. Although her family lives with her parents, who often use the Gorontalo language with her, they will switch to Gorontalo Malay when they talk to their grandchildren.

Rukaya considers people who speak a foreign language as extraordinary people. They can travel abroad and obtain better employment. She repeatedly stated that English was her favorite language and wished that she and her children could speak English fluently someday. She also believes that when children are old enough, they will learn the Gorontalo language. According to her, lack of language exposure and intention to be recognized as an educated and modern individual have led to a language shift in the community.

Nurana. Nurana (age 27) and her husband were born and raised in Boungefile village where he works as a farmer. After finishing elementary school, she helped her parents on their farm. The family does not own land, so the family struggles financially. Nurana has lived with her parents-in-law since the time she got married. She has two daughters, ages 3 and 8. She takes care of her children and helps her mother-in-law at home.

Nurana speaks with her parents, in-laws, and older people in the Gorontalo language. She used Gorontalo Malay with her classmates and same-age neighbors. She learned Bahasa Indonesia in school and from TV and radio although she does not use it in conversation, but she understands the language completely. Sometimes she uses the Gorontalo language with her children, although they respond to her in Gorontalo Malay. Her oldest daughter laughs when she speaks the Gorontalo language with her, and she tells her to speak "normal" since they do not understand it.

She believes that learning the Gorontalo language is beneficial for the children because they are Gorontalese. She viewed learning a foreign language as important because it gives a chance for a better life. Regarding language shift, when she talked with her parents or older

people in the Gorontalo language, she stated that she sometimes forgot some words and switched to Gorontalo Malay or Indonesian. According to her, the reason for the language shift is because children no longer understand the language, even if they know it, they cannot utter words.

Fatma. Fatma (age 32) graduated from elementary school but could not continue her education so decided to help her mother take care of her siblings at home. She got married at a young age. The family lives in Melati village as do her parents and parents-in-law. She is the mother of two sons (18 and 3 years old) and a daughter (9 years old). She comes from a farming family. Her husband's father used to own a paddy field that was just enough for their family's living expenses at that time.

Fatma uses the Gorontalo language at home with older people. However, she also uses Gorontalo Malay with her children, siblings, and young relatives. Her children cannot speak the Gorontalo language, although they partly understand and often confirm in Gorontalo Malay when she talks to them in the Gorontalo Language. She reported that her older son, who just completed high school, can understand more words in the Gorontalo language than the nine- and three-year-old children, but he cannot talk in the Gorontalo language completely.

She believes that Gorontalese children are born to speak the Gorontalo language because they are Gorontalese. Although the children cannot speak the language now, once they get older, they will learn and speak this language. Accordingly, she firmly believes that the Gorontalo language would never lose its speakers and the attitude that speakers often ignore the language is the reason for language shift.

Fitri. Fitri (41) completed elementary and junior high in her district and high school in Gorontalo city. Her father is a fisherman, and her mother is a housewife. She has 2 daughters aged 5 and 9 years old. She works at Anyelir's village government office in TB subdistrict

where her family currently lives. Fitri's husband is also a Gorontalese from another village. He is a high school teacher.

Fitri's language use at home varies by the person with whom she is having the conversation, place where the conversation takes place, and relationships between the speakers. For example, the Gorontalo language is used with her parents and older people, while Gorontalo Malay is used with children, youth, and peers, including sometimes with her husband. In her office, she uses the Indonesian language, particularly during meetings, or on formal occasions. She uses Gorontalo Malay or the Gorontalo language with her friends if another person initiates the conversation in the Gorontalo language. With new people, she uses Indonesian, worrying that they might come from other ethnicities.

Fitri admitted she now hears more people use Gorontalo Malay than the Gorontalo language in and out of her village. She believes the difficulty of the Gorontalo language vocabularies has become the basis for young people not having fluency in the language. Regarding the future of the language, Fitri believes the language should be used at home because learning it at school for only a few hours a week is not enough. She considers the Gorontalese to be a sizable ethnic group with its own province. Accordingly, she believes that this language should prosper if the government takes the initiative to promote it among children and youths.

Saripa. Saripa (40) has two daughters (aged 21 and 18) and a son (9 years old). She was born in the neighbouring village where she worked as a food merchant but moved to Aster village following her husband who works as a merchant. She went to a high school in her district, and her two daughters are now studying in the city. The family has its own house in the village and often travels back and forth to Gorontalo city to get supplies.

Saripa uses Gorontalo Malay with her husband and their children. However, conversing with her parents is sometimes in the Gorontalo language, though she states that she often responds in Gorontalo Malay. As a food merchant, she observed that many of her customers use Gorontalo Malay and she has rarely had a customer who asked for something in the Gorontalo language, except some older people. She also acknowledged that her Gorontalo language is insufficient because she does not know some specific words.

Saripa believes that young people will eventually pick up the Gorontalo language once they grow up and will certainly never forget it. Therefore, she is not worried about her children who do not speak the language at all. She would not force the children, even if they chose not to learn it in the future.

Concluding Summary of the Participants' Information

The following summary depicts the commonalities and differences among the participants. The mothers' profiles reveal that all of those interviewed have young children, as well as some teenagers and young adults. They were born and raised in the same villages. Most of them have never traveled or lived in another province. Moreover, their spouses also come from the same ethnicity. There were, however, several differences between them, including their age, educational background, occupation, and number of children.

Patterns of Female Language Use in Different Domains

This section presents the discussion of the findings from the interview with eight participants. The interviews disclosed that different languages are used in different situations, following Fishman's (1972) domain of language use that consists of five essential domains, namely family, friendship, religion, education, and work. Generally, it can be observed that more than one language is used in daily interactions, informal or non-formal situations. This study

explicitly differentiates language use in the workplace and government since the participants came from different professional backgrounds. Additionally, the government is meant to assess the language used in local government services that the participants receive and the regulations to use or not use this language. Modern supermarkets and traditional supermarkets are also presented separately because the participants strongly indicated different language use in these two domains.

Language Use in Home Domain

Information concerning the most used language in the home domain and language use with different interlocutors in the home situation was derived from the questionnaire and interviews with mothers in the research sites. The data analysis indicated that there is a consistent result regarding their language use. There is also a strong consistency between the participants' responses in the survey and their interviews. As indicated in Table 43 below, the language used in the home domain differs depending on the interlocutor. The participants still use the Gorontalo language with their parents and grandparents. However, the shift to Gorontalo Malay strongly occurs with speakers of the same age such as their spouse, friends, and siblings as well as the younger generation. The following Tables summarize the participants' language use with different people at home.

Table 43

The Interviewed Participants' Self-Reported Dominant Language Use at Home with Different

People

		Self-reported dominant language use at home with different people					
Participant's name	Age	Grand Parents	Parents	Siblings	Husband	Children	Friends
Ewing	24	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Language
Boki	49	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay
Amina	52	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Language
Rukaya	34	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay
Nurana	27	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay
Fatma	32	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay
Fitri	41	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay
Saripa	40	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay

Similar results appeared with different people's language use with the participants. As indicated in the interviewed results below (Table 44), most of the participants claimed that older age groups, such as their parents and grandparents, still maintain the Gorontalo language and use it with the participants. In comparison, people of the same age tend to shift to Gorontalo Malay, although some people still use Gorontalo, despite their smaller vocabulary. Children clearly use only Gorontalo Malay with the participants. The following table illustrates the findings.

Table 44

Self-Reported Dominant Different People Language Use at Home with the Interviewed

Participants

		Dominant Different people language use with the participants					
Participant's name	Age	Grand Parents	Parents	Siblings	Husband	Children	Friends
Ewing	24	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Language
Boki	49	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay
Amina	52	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Language
Rukaya	34	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay
Nurana	27	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay
Fatma	32	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay
Fitri	41	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay
Saripa	40	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Language	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay	Gorontalo Malay

In addition to children, participants with younger siblings also revealed that their siblings only speak Gorontalo Malay. They acknowledged that they often alternate the language between Indonesian, the Gorontalo language, and Gorontalo Malay daily, although it appeared that the majority speak in Gorontalo Malay. One of the participants elaborated about this as follows:

Interviewer: What language do you use at home with different people?

Amina: I am not sure. To be honest, sometimes I mix all the languages. But I think it mostly depends on the other side [another speaker] and where [situations].

Interviewer: How about with your grandparents?

Amina: Oh, my grandparents have long gone since I was a teenager. My grandparents did not speak Malay [Gorontalo Malay] or the Indonesian language, but they understood them. In conversations, they preferred to use the Gorontalo language with everyone. So, I

often used this language when I talked with them or even with my parents. My parents

Sometimes I switch to other languages [Bahasa Indonesia or Gorontalo Malay] if I cannot

find or remember words in Gorontalo language. My children do not speak the language

yet. They are still learning. (Amina, 52).

Similarly, another respondent explained that she alternates languages between the

Gorontalo language and Gorontalo Malay when conversing with their parents and vice versa.

However, the parents mainly converse in Gorontalo language with each other. Fitri (41), for

example, said "my parents use the Gorontalo language with each other, with other aunts and

older people [the speakers who are older than the participants], they mix the language [the

Gorontalo language and Gorontalo Malay] with me, and I do the same to them [alternate

languages]" (Fitri, 41). Obviously, all the participants' conversations are exclusively held in

Gorontalo Malay with the youth and children. As Rukaya (34) clearly stated:

I use Gorontalo Malay with my children, and they also use it with me. I am not that fluent

in the Gorontalo language, if I ask them to do something in the Gorontalo language, they

understand, but they cannot say the words […] if they do not understand, they will ask

what it means in Indonesian (Rukaya, 34).

During the interview, it was also observed that they only used Gorontalo Malay when the

children approached the participants or answered their phones. For example, in the middle of the

interview, Rukaya's (34) children came and asked her to buy some ice cream. She asked

permission to interrupt the interview, and later apologized because she needed to talk to her

daughter. The conversation between mother and daughter was completely held in Gorontalo

Malay. Rukaya is the only participant who had lived and worked in other provinces for some

years. Therefore, this may also have contributed to her not using the Gorontalo language with her

children (due to lack of fluency as appears in her responses to the questionnaire). Among the participants, she was the most easygoing and friendly informant.

Another participant explained that when her children are looking for something, she will immediately respond in Gorontalo Malay. As Nurana stated, "when my children ask me to find their toys or other things, I often answer in Gorontalo Malay […] to make them understand quickly so that they can find them easily. Lastly, Saripa (40) also commented that the Gorontalese youth, including her own children aged 21, 18, and 9, can only use Gorontalo language passively.

> Those young people do not speak the language anymore although they may understand [when parents talk with them in the language]. They are not interested in learning about it. Some [youths] might understand the meaning, but I have not heard them use it between themselves … maybe only those from the remote villages [who can still use the language].

Although the use of Gorontalo language varies across generations, participants tend to speak in the Gorontalo language with older groups and Gorontalo Malay with young people. Results from the quantitative survey presented in the previous chapter also suggest an inclination to use the Gorontalo language only when conversing with parents or grandparents (see Tables 23 and 24 for details).

These quantitative and qualitative results have indicated that language use at home has now shifted. The UNESCO (2003) suggests that since the native language is often used only by older people, a whole generation of children and youth might no longer connect with their grandparents. However, since the older generations of Gorontalese also understand and can use

the other languages, there is strong evidence that they use the language with their children and grandchildren, as Rukaya (34), Fitri (40), and Fatma (32) mentioned below:

My kids use only Gorontalo Malay with their grandparents, so I guess we [my husband and I] follow them [her parents] (Rukaya, 34)

If they [her parents] use the Gorontalo language with children, they will not get it. Because they know it, many older people sometimes just switch [to the language that the children are using] (Fitri, 40)

Because they want to be close to their grandchildren and talk about important things [i.e., teaching morals and values], it should be in the language that the children understand (Fatma, 32)

Based on the information above, it is evident that a shift in language use has taken place at home and between different generations. This seems to have begun with the parents of participants who are over the age of 60 not using the Gorontalo language exclusively with their children (the interviewed participants) and grandchildren. Consequently, the participants, who are now between the ages of 24 and 52 do not speak Gorontalo with their children and have already shifted to another language.

Intergenerational Transmission of Language. Fishman (1991) reasonably places the key to minority-language preservation in the family's intergenerational transmission of the language in the home, in particular the acquisition of languages spoken by the parents and grandparents. He contends that parents and grandparents are the main instruments of intergenerational language transmission. The survey and interview data have spotted a noteworthy cross-generational variation in language use patterns. Many of the mothers reported using the Gorontalo language when speaking to their grandparents, parents, or parents-in-law at

home, except in the work-educational domain, religious and government services, and modern shopping. However, the participants reported using only Gorontalo Malay with their children. They also reported that the children use this language with their grandparents and with each other.

Parents' communication with their children forms the latter's mother tongue. In this sense, success is greater when both parents can transmit their Indigenous language than if only one parent uses it (De Houwer, 2009). However, this study suggests that, even when both parents are Indigenous language speakers, language transmission is not assured if the parents do not use the language with their children. Further, based on the mother's response to questions about the future of the Gorontalo language, awareness is very low about the language shift that has occurred, or about the need for sociocultural use of a language for its transmission.

The younger generation is the most prevailing group of language users who can trigger a language to perish through shifting to another majority language and disregarding the use of the mother tongue. However, they can also strengthen language health by actively using and promoting it in a new domain (e.g., through social media). Grimes (1996) advises that the signs of potential language extinction should receive full attention to prevent language loss and promote the use of the Indigenous language by the younger generation. The extinction of a language will take place if there is an abandonment of the minority language by young speakers, and if the last generation of speakers (e.g., the children) are no longer able to fully use the mother tongue, meaning they only have passive mastery of the language (comprehension but not production). Considering Grimes' observations, the condition of Gorontalo language use is now passively understood by the Gorontalese children.

While the quantitative data have indicated that gender differences do not play a significant role in language vitality, specifically in the case of the Gorontalo language, researchers have agreed the significant role of mothers in transmitting the language and culture (Gal, 1979; Holmes 1993; Winter & Pauwels 2005). Therefore, the qualitative phase of this study focuses on the role of females as the language keepers and transmitters. The choice of Gorontalese mothers' language contributes to the next generation's ability to use its native language. Moreover, the grandparent generations (individuals over 60 years), who are expected to be more conservative in using the language with their grandchildren, have already changed the language they use in order to develop a closer relationship with their grandchildren and assume the important cultural role of transmitting and teaching important morals and values to their grandchildren. The grandparent generations, who look after and often help grandchildren with their schoolwork, value education over the transmission of their heritage Gorontalo language. They recognize the prestige and long-term economic power of education and since the language of instruction is always given in the majority language, in this case, Bahasa Indonesia, they have chosen to support their grandchildren in its acquisition.

Language Use in the School Domain

Language use in education impacts the vitality of a language. Therefore, any language used in education has a greater chance of being a healthy and thriving language in the future (Fishman, 1972; 2001). As stated earlier, in Indonesian public schools, Bahasa Indonesia was mandated to be used as the Medium of Instruction (MOI). Therefore, there is no doubt that this policy has successfully contributed to the fluency and spread of the language (Lauder, 2008). However, in this study, the lack of other data collection methods, such as recording and

observations on how exactly language is used in school situations, has forced the researcher to rely only on the participants' report regarding their language use when interacting with their teachers in their school years, and with their children's teachers. The interviews helped to clarify that language use with friends (often included in a home domain) may also be categorized in this domain. The following interview with Fitri (41) reflects this observation:

> Interviewer: What language did you use when you were in school?
>
> Fitri: That was so long ago. I think I used Gorontalo Malay when I was with my friends [classmates] and Bahasa Indonesia with teachers.
>
> Interviewer: May I know the reasons for using different languages with your friends and teachers?
>
> Fitri: Bahasa Indonesian is a more formal and strict language. And with friends, it was just casual. We can mix any language. There is no need to be as strict as you would in a classroom.

The general patterns of language use with peers in the school, as expressed in the interviews, was that the participants use Gorontalo Malay to communicate with peers. Rydenvald (2018) states that domains interact with one another, such as the domain of social life with same age groups in school situations. It is not something that specifically exists only in a single domain. Instead, it is part of both the school and the home domain. It can also be assumed that conversations with friends and at home also take place in Gorontalo Malay. Likewise, other participants, such as Boki (49) and Rukaya (34), confirmed that they consider this language as being more relaxed and easier to comprehend as compared to Bahasa Indonesia. As for Bahasa Indonesia, it is typically used in formal situations, such as when the participants converse with teachers, or with the head principal, and during teaching and learning contexts.

Language Use in the Workplace

The survey and the interviews have both indicated that Gorontalo Malay is mostly used in the workplace. Given that the participants' background is diverse in terms of their occupation, they indicated that they mostly use or hear people talk in Bahasa Indonesia at government or private workplaces. In other workplaces, such as farming and food stalls, Gorontalo Malay is often used instead of the Gorontalo language. A most interesting comment from Saripa, who works as a food seller, is presented below:

Interviewer: What language do you often use or hear when you are in your stall?

Saripa: A mixed language. Young people do not use our language [the Gorontalo language] anymore. They use Malay [Gorontalo Malay] all the time with me.

Interviewer: How about you? In what language do you greet your customers?

Saripa: I mix. Malay (Gorontalo Malay]. It truly depends on the customers. If they are in a uniform [government workers], I'll use Indonesian, with young people mainly Malay [Gorontalo Malay], for example, "*mo makan apa, uti?"* (What would you like to eat, child?)

Interviewer: Do you think your customers will understand you if you use the Gorontalo language?

Saripa: Only with the older people. I usually greet them in the Gorontalo language. With young people, they won't understand. It's just not common anymore.

Saripa (40), who has a food stall near a high school in her district, revealed that it is no longer common to use the Gorontalo language in her workplace. Given that her food stall is near a public high school in her district, most of her customers are young people and government workers (school employees).

Similarly, in public schools, where two interviewed participants work as elementary and kindergarten teachers, both agree that the students now use Gorontalo Malay. As for teachers, they observed that the Gorontalo language is rarely used in communication; for formal meetings and instruction, Bahasa Indonesia is always used. One teacher in an elementary school mentioned that "with the regulation from the local ministry, every Friday, all teachers and students are required to communicate in the Gorontalo language" (Amina, 52). However, she is unsure if this regulation has been applied in any other primary school. I confirmed it with Rukaya (34), a school administrator in a village near the TB subdistrict. She mentioned that apart from receiving 70 minutes a week, there are no other regulations to use the Gorontalo language for teacher interaction. She also verified that "among the school staff and teachers, Gorontalo Malay is the most used language". However, both participants confirmed that formal gatherings and discussions with principals and students' parents are held in Bahasa Indonesia.

Language Use in Religious Services

About 97% of the population in Gorontalo province are Muslim (Statistics Gorontalo Province, 2018). The Islamic ritual of worship, such as *salat,* is accompanied by a fixed Arabic recitation. However, the survey indicated that 60% of the participants reported using Bahasa Indonesia, and only 5% use Arabic in prayer. The use of Bahasa Indonesia is probably higher since all the Islamic preaching at the mosques are delivered in Bahasa Indonesia. Moreover, the national and local TV and radio stations broadcast Islamic discussions, talk shows, and religious lectures in Bahasa Indonesia.

Based on the interviews with the female participants, Bahasa Indonesia is often used in religious activities. However, they also acknowledged that language use in prayer is in Arabic.

Figure 12

Schedules of Islamic Programs in the National TV channels
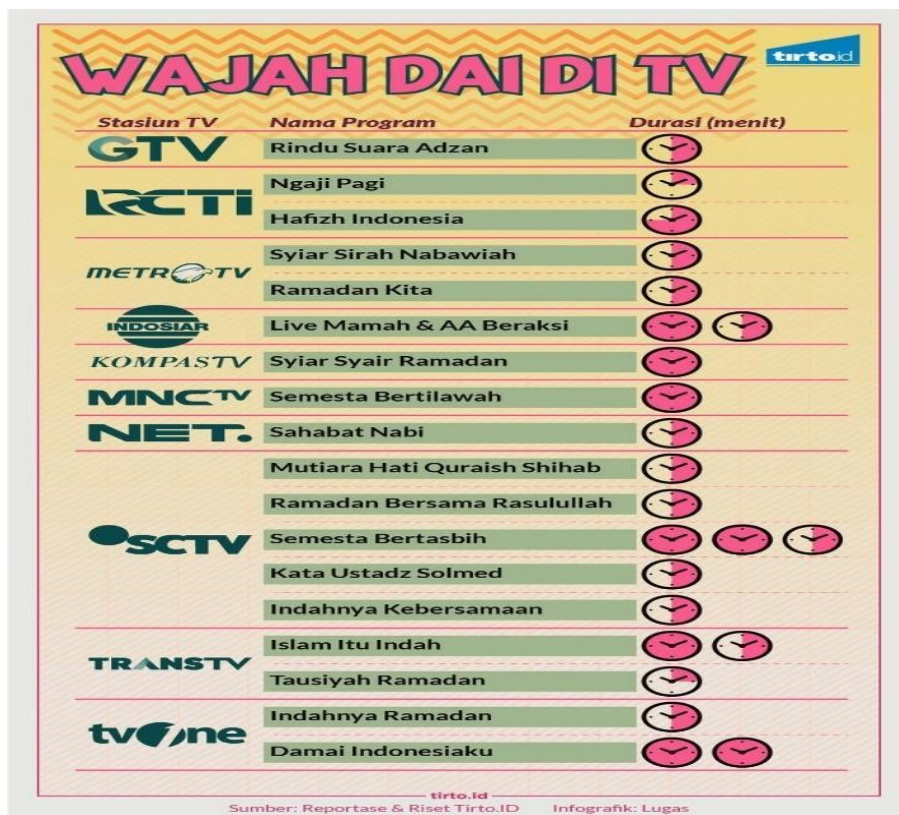
Note. Reprinted from "Wajah acara TV: Ramai-ramai menayangkan konten dakwah Islami," by Tirto, 2018 https://tirto.id/wajah-acara-tv-ramai-ramai-menayangkan-konten-dakwah-islami-cLKs

As we can see in Figure 12, all TV networks in Indonesia allocated from 15 minutes to two and half hours for Islamic programs. These programs are broadcast every day, mainly in the early morning or late afternoon. Fatma (32) said her family usually listens to the Islamic programs on one of the TV stations in the morning when she is preparing breakfast. It appears that Bahasa Indonesia was chosen for the religious preaching, perhaps because Arabic is still seen as a foreign language. Further, to reach diverse viewers, the use of the official language is required.

In the Marketplace and Shopping Center

Language use differs in traditional and modern markets. Every subdistrict, including Gorontalo, has a weekly traditional market where people sell their commodities, mostly through cash exchange. Modern markets are found in shopping centers and supermarkets or convenience stores where a wide variety of food and merchandise is available at a fixed price. The survey and interviews indicated that more than 60% of participants use Bahasa Indonesia in the modern markets, and no participants used the Gorontalo language. Still, in the traditional market, Gorontalo Malay outperforms the use of the Gorontalo language with reports of about 43% and 35% use of these languages, respectively. In contrast, most of the individually interviewed participants reported using the Gorontalo language in the weekly market. When I asked about the reasons for communicating in the Gorontalo language in the traditional market, participants said they wanted to show respect to the elderly sellers who might not understand Indonesian and to establish a closer relationship with sellers.

Many sellers usually come from very remote villages to the traditional market, so I use Gorontalo language to greet them politely if the seller is elderly. However, I think all of the older sellers still speak the language (Boki, 49).

One participant mentioned that using the Gorontalo language with the seller in the traditional market also benefits her. For example:

In the traditional market, if I speak Indonesian, the seller will think I am not Gorontalese or else I am someone who comes from another place [region], I cannot negotiate the price and get better [fresh] produce (Saripa, 40).

Saripa visits the traditional market to purchase some ingredients for her food stall weekly. She agreed that using the Gorontalo language helped her to be closer to the seller, and it

indirectly indicates her identity as a Gorontalese, so that they will offer her more fresh products and lower prices. In this case, the Gorontalo language offers an economic advantage.

In the supermarkets or minimarkets (i.e., *Alphamart*, and *Indomart*), the participants confirmed that they use Bahasa Indonesia because the shop assistant uses this language to greet the customer. It is common in Indonesian supermarkets to have a shop assistant stand in front of the shop and welcome the customers. Nowadays, convenience chain stores that once could only be found in the city have penetrated the villages, including in Gorontalo. During the study, it was confirmed that there were at least two minimarkets in the sub district where participants reside.

Language Use in Government Services

Bahasa Indonesia became the nation's official language based on the National Constitution 1945, Chapter XV Article 36 (see Chapter II for details). Later, the use of Bahasa Indonesia in the Government workplace was strengthened with the Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 63 in 2019. This regulation mandated that all official communication in government and private work environments should be done in Bahasa Indonesia. According to this Presidential Regulation, official communication refers to communication between employees, between institutions, and in public as related to the duties and functions of government and private institutions, which are carried out orally and in writing or using electronic media.

With the status of Bahasa Indonesia, it is evident that all governmental services provided in Indonesia take place in this language. As we can see in Table 27, about 73% of the survey participants revealed that Bahasa Indonesia is used in all government institutions. More than 50% of them indicated that there are no services in health, social services, or education provided in their language. To confirm this finding, the participants were asked if it was trouble

for them to have no government services in their native language. They stated that it was not a problem since most of the Gorontalese can speak Bahasa Indonesia and its variant, Gorontalo Malay. This again indicates that there is a lack of awareness that their language is now shifting because they do not need it to access different facilities. However, some participants still wish that the government would one day provide these services to support their language. With this in mind, there seems to be a disconnection between their expectation and their action. Fitri (41) mentioned during the interview:

> [Although it is] not a problem not having services in the Gorontalo language [now], when my grandfather was alive, he preferred to visit a local nurse who spoke the Gorontalo language, and if he needed to go [to the hospital], he always asked for one of his children or grandchildren to accompany him.

There is a tendency for older people to visit places where the practitioner or staff can communicate with them in their language. Boki (49) believes these older generations are more comfortable talking with professionals who speak their language "in the office, everyone speak Bahasa Indonesia, my grandma does not speak it well, if she needs to go there [government office], she will ask us." Therefore, apart from education, government services must provide staff, nurses and practitioners who can communicate in the local language. In Canada, as reported by the Office of the Languages Commissioner of Nunavut in 2015, language barriers have an adverse influence on access to health facilities, patient privacy, access to mental health care, fulfillment of treatment plans, and the costs of healthcare. It also affects the quality of care and can lead to misdiagnoses, medical errors, and improper medication (Webster, 2018). It is now the local government's task to build up the Gorontalo language learning space starting from

the grass roots. Thus, Gorontalo language proficiency could be stipulated as a requirement for hiring government workers, including health care providers.

Language Use Around the Neighborhood

Regarding the language used in the neighborhood domain, the survey and interviews have shown similar findings with the Gorontalo Malay variant being mostly spoken. The survey indicated that 53% of the neighborhood activities are conducted in Gorontalo Malay, while the Gorontalo language and Bahasa Indonesia each share 23%. The interviews helped to clarify which specific activities in the neighborhood have already been conducted in the language. Some agree that in the ritual of weddings or cultural ceremonies, people converse in Gorontalo Malay except for reciting verses and prayers that need to be in the Gorontalo language.

I asked the participants about their opinion regarding the use of the Gorontalo language in rituals and ceremonies, as many people who conduct the rituals are older. They shared concerns and hopes that the government and community will give more attention to this issue. According to DK Usman, a cultural leader of Gorontalo (Baate Gorontalo) (as cited in Tradisi Sastra Lisan Gorontalo Terancam Punah, 2011), Gorontalo has many traditions and rituals. Oral literature that is used in rituals, or as a teaching medium are now scarce. Many people who lead these rituals are aged, and young Gorontalese are not interested in learning them.

Several Factors that Influence Language Choices in Gorontalese Mothers

After discussing the pattern of language use of mothers in different domains, it is important to explore the reasons for their language choice. The interviews highlighted some factors that motivated the mothers to choose a specific language, such as the age of the interlocutor, respecting the language initiated by the other person in a conversation, level of

comfort and proficiency, context and emotional state, and the need for repetition and clarification, language attitudes, role of media and technology, and language proficiency.

Age of the Interlocutor

The majority of the participants agreed that the age of the interlocutor influences their language choice. Fatma, Rukaya, Amina, and Saripa echoed similar responses about using Gorontalo with those of an older generation: they use it "… with my parents…", "…the older people…". Mouton (2012) states that age is one of the crucial variables of language choice because, from the moment speakers are socialized, they behave in a specific way. The way they speak tends to suit what is expected of a certain age group. Mouton (2012) also claims that the age variable should not be taken in isolation, but rather, connected with other factors such as gender, education, and social economy, etc. She further explains that age does not influence illiterate people in remote areas, in the same way as it does urban speakers who are embedded in a variety of social networks. According to Mouton (2012), the older people of a community tend to be more linguistically conservative, and they are more sensitive to the values and norms. Meanwhile, the younger groups are more responsive to modernization and innovation and accepting of characteristics that identify them as a distinctive group from adults. Accordingly, older members of the community may prefer to use a different language than the younger members. They also may show strong loyalty toward their own language as compared to the choices of young people. In Gal's (1979) study, she also found that young people prefer to use German when conversing with peers, and Hungarian when talking with older members of the community. In this study, it appears that the age of the opposing speaker influences the language choice of the female, with a preference to use the Gorontalo language.

Respecting the Opposite Speaker's Language Use

There is a tendency of the participants to respect another speaker's choice of language, as Ewing (24) explained in the following:

When I talk to my daughter's teacher, I usually follow what language the teacher uses. If she uses the Indonesian language, I just follow it. But I think when she was in grade 1, her teacher used to speak to me in the Gorontalo language, so I also use the same language; I know some teachers do not speak the Gorontalo language (Ewing, 24).

Similarly, to show respect to the elder seller in the traditional market, participants use the Gorontalo language. This finding is supported by Holmes (2013), who stated that the dominant language expresses impersonal messages that create social distance between speakers. On the other hand, choosing a less dominant language is useful to express personal messages because it helps the speakers establish solidarity in interactions. Along the same line, Spolsky (2004) argues that one's language choice displays ethnic identity and loyalty. However, it might not apply to a multilingual society where the speakers tend to use the majority language for practical, economic, and political reasons. In this study, clearly the participants' use of Bahasa Indonesia indicates a hybrid identity with Bahasa Indonesia as a national representation and Gorontalo language as their ethnic identity.

Level of Comfortability and Proficiency

Although all of the participants had a similar voice concerning with whom they speak the language, some participants, such as Fatma, Rukaya, and Ewing, stated that their level of comfort and proficiency also determine their language choice. This phenomenon is similar to Wallwork's (1981) finding that one's proficiency level determines the choice of a particular language. When a multilingual person does not know a word or a phrase in one language and

cannot convey her/his thoughts effectively in that language, s/he may choose to use another language to compromise for this deficiency (Baker, 2001; Crystal, 1987; Grojean, 1982). The inability to communicate fluently in Gorontalo may also contribute to the choice to use other languages with the children.

Cont*ex*t and Emotional Condition of the Female

The interviews revealed evidence that different situations or needs require different choices and uses of language. For example, the participant may code switch between the Gorontalo language and Gorontalo Malay at home; however, when she was in school and visited her children's school, Bahasa Indonesia was used. This situation aligns with Fishman's (1965; 1995) note that language use variation greatly depends on the situation where the speaker uses the language. Likewise, Coulmas (2013) states, "speakers make choices from the variety of expressive means offered in their environment" (p.14). Further, Wolff (2000) explains that language use may occur, either to bridge social gaps, or create social and communicative distance. Thus, the language choice might imply degrees of intimacy, solidarity, respect, taboo, exclusion, discrimination by choice of language and by choice of variables of linguistic forms such as intonation and pronunciation, vocabulary, and formulaic expressions (Wolff, 2000).

The interviews also revealed a tendency for the female speakers to switch to the Gorontalo language to display strong emotions to their children. Despite her lack of proficiency in the language, one mother participant revealed that she often switched to the Gorontalo language when giving commands by raising her voice and losing her patience such as the example given by Rukaya (34): *pigi mandi* [Gorontalo Malay], *aliheo* [Gorontalo language] (take a bath, hurry up). This statement aligns with Zentella's (1997) study with Puerto-Rican mothers in New York City. The mother spoke to the children in Spanish when she was angry,

giving commands or threats. Almost all participants maintain the Gorontalo language pronouns when addressing their children, with *uti* (the Gorontalo language for a boy or younger man) or *nou* (the Gorontalo language for a girl or younger woman). For example, *Nou* [the Gorontalo language], *so makan*? [Gorontalo Malay] (girl, did you eat?), most of the communication is still in Gorontalo Malay. The study of Schecter and Bayley (1997) in Mexican-descent families in Texas, showed bilingual parents favored English as an overall language of family communication, with Spanish reserved for endearments, such as *asmijita* (my daughter). Pavlenko (2004) states that discourse of emotional primacy of the first language views the use of the L1 as "natural" and the preference for the LX (the second language) may appear as "strange" and requires rationalization (p. 201). Thus, the Gorontalese appear to still maintain the use of Gorontalo language for certain functions, such as expressing emotions and feelings.

Repetition for Clarification

In conversation with their children, sometimes, participants explain a topic in the Gorontalo language and then repeat it in Gorontalo Malay to ensure that the children understood the message. For example, when Rukaya (34) explains to her child not to bother her during the interview, *Wulatipo nou* [the Gorontalo language], *tunggu mama lagi ba telpon* [Gorontalo Malay] (wait my girl, wait I am talking). The parent makes the first statement in Gorontalo and then repeats it in Gorontalo Malay. In this sense, the repetition was done to align the meanings in the two different languages (i.e. Gorontalo and Malay), so that the child is clear about the meaning of the word or phrase spoken by the mother during the interaction.

This finding echoes observations of Mattsson and Burenhult (1999), who state that "the repetition in the first language (L1) can be either partial or full and is often expanded with further information, but more frequently, code switching is used as a repetition of the previously uttered

sentences" (p.9). In the same vein, Brice and Brice (2000) and Gumperz (1982) emphasize that one function of repetition in code-switching is to assure understanding. Therefore, parents repeat the sentence, either partial or complete, to ensure that the children understand the message.

In conclusion, it is clear that many factors determine language choice in the multilingual Gorontalo community including age, respecting the other speaker, level of comfort and proficiency, context and emotional condition of the female, and repetition for clarification influence the pattern of language use.

The Role of Media and Information

The media has a potential influence on language vitality, as it increases individuals' exposure to the language and may influence their attitudes toward it. This, in turn, may lead to increasing fluency by constant exposure to the language. The participants were asked about the language used in electronic and print media that they watch, read, and listen to most frequently. The majority watch and read news and listen to radio/music in Bahasa Indonesia. Similarly, the interviewed mothers indicate that all the media information is presented in Bahasa Indonesia, leaving them with no other options.

The lack of media broadcast in the Gorontalo language has contributed to less exposure of the language to its community. Local media in Gorontalo province consists of TV, radios, and newspapers. Currently there are at least 14 local radio stations broadcast in Gorontalo (Regional Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, 2014), five local TV channels, two print and 16 online media (Press Council, 2021). All of this media is broadcast in Bahasa Indonesia. However, the government local radio stations namely Pro 1 and Pro 4 have specific programs in Gorontalo language, namely local news (for 10 to 15 minutes) and a talk show (for up to 60 minutes) daily. Another government local TV station (RRI Gorontalo) also has a Gorontalo language program

for local news called *Gorontalo Sepekan* (Gorontalo in a week) for approximately 50 minutes each week. At the present time, no print or online media have published content in the Gorontalo language. It is worth noting that there are Gorontalo language programs on government television stations. However, these stations are not popular among the young audience / listeners. The announcers for all Gorontalo programs (in radio and TV) are often the same people who are not young anymore. Often, the topics of the talk shows are too heavy and monotonous for young people to participate via phone call or even just to listen to. As a result, all callers who participate are older people who are still capable of using the language.

As a noticeable and broadly used part of modern life, having media in a minority language is seen to have the potential to expand domains of endangered languages, increase awareness of them, and enhance the means and motivation to use these languages (Cutter, 2001; Hale, 2001). The reciprocity of media publicity and endangered languages can positively contribute to language prestige and perceived value and usefulness of the languages (Fishman, 1991; Diatchkova, 2003; Lewis, 2009). The media can also play a significant role in effecting linguistic change by introducing linguistic innovations (Sayers, 2014) and contributing to the maintenance or eradication of an endangered or minoritized language. As Skutnabb-Kangas (2006) argues, mass media and education are "(the most) important direct agents in linguistic and cultural genocide" (p. 277). The media can help to confer prestige on a language, develop and expand its communicative domains, promote mutual understanding of different dialects, and support language learning (Arana et al. 2007; Cormack 2007; Crystal 2000; Fishman, 1991; Kelly-Holmes 2001).

Local language media is often viewed as a source for promoting a sense of belonging and identity among the speakers. At the same time, Pietikäinen (2003; 2008) suggests that media

can become a new domain for cultural and political participation. Media provides one feasible approach to expand the use of local language where it is used to raise awareness of the languages, and at the same time to increase the status and positive attitudes and usage of the minority languages (Pietikäinen, 2008). In this sense, media play a significant role in language maintenance and language shift. At the same time, it may also hinder the processes of language shift (Cormac, 2007). Bahasa Indonesia was perceived as the language of progress, equality, opportunity, the media, and mass entertainment. Therefore, increasing the presence of the Gorontalo language in the media and commerce fields (in which Bahasa Indonesia remains dominant) in its home province should be considered.

Patterns of Female Language Attitudes

In the portrait created from the quantitative survey, the language community's attitudes towards their native language were positive. The mothers in the qualitative interview hold various beliefs regarding their native language. At least three of them (Fitri, Nurana, Saripa) implied that speaking the Gorontalo language will not benefit their children as it will not provide them with a better chance in the workplace. Others denied having negative / positive feelings about the language in the economic realm. Culturally, most participants recognized the language as a part of their identity and stated that it needs to be taught to their children. They also agreed that school should be a better learning place for learning the Gorontalo language and that the government should provide and assist the language development and maintenance efforts.

The mothers also perceived the status of Bahasa Indonesia, the Gorontalo language, and foreign languages differently. In the written questionnaires participants gave more positive responses to Bahasa Indonesia than to the Gorontalo language and Gorontalo Malay. They were asked if they believed that "the Gorontalo language is as good as Bahasa Indonesia?".

Participants often requested clarification on this question, so it was modified to "Do you think that the Gorontalo language is better than Bahasa Indonesia?". Although the participants mostly believed that Bahasa Indonesia is the language of the state and unites the country, a few interviewed participants responded to this question by simply saying "I do not know". Both sets of data showed Bahasa Indonesia to have more prestige. As for foreign languages, all participants regarded English and Arabic as highly related to globalization and religion, respectively.

The results of the quantitative survey suggested that gender does not significantly impact the language vitality of the Gorontalo language in this area. This finding might be attributed to the small number of participants. On the other hand, considering that middle class Javanese females lead language shift in Javanese families (Smith-Hefner, 2009) more research on gender influence on Gorontalo language use is required. In the qualitative interviews of this study, language shift appears to have been driven by the lack of language proficiency and the mothers' lack of language awareness of how language is learned.

In the Chinese community in the USA, Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) found that parents held positive attitudes towards the heritage language, giving priority to the maintenance of family ties and identity. Furthermore, Baker (2014) argues that "children tend to reflect parents' attitudes, behavior, expectations, and beliefs - positive parent attitudes tend to breed a successful child" (p. 30). These findings confirm that a positive parental attitude towards the minority language is crucial for a child to successfully acquire their minority language. However, despite having positive attitudes towards their language, the children's parents in this study do not use their language with their children. In contrast, an earlier study by Zakaria, Lustyantie and

Emir (2019) found that Gorontalo urban youth had a negative attitude towards their native language.

The Pattern of Language Proficiency

Most of the survey and interview participants are highly competent in Bahasa Indonesia in all modalities of writing, reading, speaking, and listening, especially in comparison to their proficiency in the Gorontalo language. Regarding their language competence in Bahasa Indonesia, the interview data suggests that age and educational background impact their language competence. For example, Ewing and Fatma, who only completed elementary school, admitted that although they understand Bahasa Indonesia, they cannot speak it fluently. The interview notes confirm that the interview in the Indonesian language made them feel uncomfortable and unrelaxed. Although they understood the questions, they could not provide detailed answers. When the researcher switched the question to Gorontalo Malay and spoke casually, they were able to give detailed responses to the questions.

Ewing (24) and Fatma (32) only attended elementary school because of their family's financial circumstances. Having attended school in Bahasa Indonesia for a shorter time, strengthened their Gorontalo language. Ewing rated her competence in Bahasa Gorontalo as 9 out of 10, while Fatma rated hers as 8. However, when I compared their self-rating to their written questionnaire in the Gorontalo language on knowledge (vocabulary, reading, and translation), neither of them could complete the answer and respond to "I can only answer half of it". This written knowledge may indicate several considerations: lack of knowledge (proficiency) in the Gorontalo language or lack of writing skills or even survey fatigue.

The rest of the participants rated their Gorontalo language between 7 to 4 points. They argued that there are many Gorontalo language words that they still do not know. Rukaya (34) for example stated: "we usually say *pinthu* (door) in the Gorontalo language, but in the past, they called it "huhebu" (original Gorontalo language). Other participants also commented that the Gorontalo language is too difficult to learn as the vocabulary and pronunciation are no longer common; therefore, they switch to Gorontalo Malay. Other participants such as Amina (52) who rated her Gorontalo language skills as 7, acknowledged that she is able to communicate in the language. Here we can see that the age of the participants influences their fluency, the older they are the more fluent they use the language. This would align with the previous suggestion that language shift began with the generation in their 60s and has taken place over about 20-30 years. On the other hand, while less participation in public education seems to have strengthened Gorontalo language use, it also prevents participants from fuller participation in society.

Summary

Through interview data, I have shown how the language use and language attitudes of mothers influence children's usage of language. Lack of parental guidance and examples in conducting conversations in the Gorontalo language have contributed to children's lack of competence. The language choice of mothers is a conscious process. It is often motivated by the opposite speaker's language use, proficiency and comfort, age, situation and conditions during the conversations, and reiteration. Regarding the female attitudes towards their local languages, it appeared that female Gorontalese have valued their language positively. Further, it is essential to note that gender differences do not seem to influence language choice and language attitudes in Gorontalo villages. The Gorontalese female, as a language keeper and transmitter, must have a certain ability in the language in order to be considered a transmitter. In fact, in the Gorontalo

villages in this study, language shift was secured because they stopped using the language with their children. This shift began when the mothers of participants (who are now over 60 years of age) began to alternate their language use between Bahasa Indonesia and Gorontalo Malay. The influence of schooling, media, and language contact have also contributed to the shift. The findings of this study constitute new knowledge and a contribution to understanding the linguistic health of Gorontalo language. Chapter VII presents the assessment of the Gorontalo language vitality based on Language Vitality Measurement Scales and the interpretation through the sociocultural lenses.

Chapter VII

Language Vitality Assessment of the Gorontalo Language

and Data Interpretation

Introduction

This chapter presents a language vitality assessment of the Gorontalo Language. As such, the assessment explores the possibilities of the language being spoken by the next generations. It also deepens the understanding of the findings by analyzing each factor of language vitality in relation to the literature review and the socio-cultural perspectives. The concept of Vygotsky's (1978) language learning theory, Norton's (2006) language identity and investment, and theories of Language Policy and Planning are deliberated in this chapter to support the findings on language vitality in relation to other significant theories on language maintenance and shift.

Individual questionnaires and interviews with mothers probed the use of the Gorontalo language by future generations. Utilizing the Language Measurement and Vitality Scales (LVMS) and Fishman's (1991) GIDS and Lewis and Simon's (2010) EGIDS, the linguistic health of the Gorontalo language can be predicted. Quantitative and qualitative data pointed out that language shift is occurring in the rural community of Gorontalo province. The previous study conducted with Gorontalese residing within the urban area also indicated that the Gorontalese have shifted to Indonesian and its variants (Gorontalo Malay) (Kadir, 2021).

Data from the current study displayed a lack of intergenerational transmission of language from parents to children. As a result, fluency in Bahasa Indonesia and Gorontalo Malay from the participants and their children outperform the Gorontalo language. With this result in mind and considering other essential related factors, a prediction about the use of the language in the future is not positive.

Assessment of the Gorontalo Language based on the LVMS framework

Results of studies on language background, language use, proficiency, language attitudes, and language policy and documentation are utilized to assess the language vitality of the Gorontalo language speakers through the Language Vitality Measurement Scale framework, a modified scale based on UNESCO's Nine Factors in Language Vitality and Endangerment. Further, for each factor of the UNESCO scale a range from 0 to 5 is also applied to evaluate the vitality and endangerment of the Gorontalo language (see Chapter II for detail). The rating system for each factor of the LVMS for the Gorontalo language is discussed below.

Factor 1 - Intergenerational transmission of language of speakers over 18 years old – Grade 3 - definitively endangered - The language is used mostly by the parental and older generations.

The intergenerational transmission of languages refers to the children acquiring languages from their parents and grandparents. Therefore, intergenerational transmission is the most crucial factor in revitalizing endangered languages (Fishman 1991, 2001). The quantitative survey, conducted with participants aged 18 and above, asked about the use of the Gorontalo language with different groups. The results indicate only a small number of respondents (3.3%) use the language with young generations, and the majority of them use it with older groups (see Table 23). Details of the use of different languages with different people at home pointed out that the use of the Gorontalo language is significantly lower with children, grandchildren, and nieces/nephews than with Bahasa Indonesia and Gorontalo Malay. Only 10% of respondents use the Gorontalo language with children, 8.3% with grandchildren, and 15% with nieces/nephew (see Table 26).

These statistical results align with interview data with participants conducted in several different villages in the TB subdistrict. The interviewed participants appeared to use the

Gorontalo language primarily with their parents and grandparents. While these older generations still maintain the language through using it with their peer group, the interviewed participants reported that most of the time they switch to Gorontalo Malay when speaking with their grandchildren. The same practice occurs with the participants' language use with their children as evidenced by their report that they do not use the language with their children. Likewise, the majority of children's conversations with their parents were observed to be only held in Gorontalo Malay.

Both data sets clearly indicated that there was a lack of intergenerational transmission of language in different generations. As the mothers do not use the language with their children, their children who are between the ages of 3 and 22, are unable to communicate in the language. Vygotsky (1978; 1987) argued that the acquisition of language is foundational to learning and development. Accordingly, mediation is central to the study of collaborative interactions. According to Vygotsky (1981) human actions and mental functioning are mediated and facilitated by tools, cultural practices, and artefacts, and the most extensive tool is a language. With regards to transmission of language, it is clear that language learning is mediated by language use through collaborative interactions between parents and children. As the children's closest support system, parents must play a role as a human mediator of learning the Gorontalo language, as do other adults such as grandparents, neighbours, shopkeepers and peers (Kozulin, 2003). As Seng (1997) discusses, "mediation begins within the family context with parents and significant others passing on cultural norms, values, and modes of thought from one generation to another" (p.1).

In the case of Gorontalo language, language transmission from the older generations, namely, parents, and grandparents to the younger generation does not exist. The youth of

Gorontalo tribe are no longer able to communicate in their native language, leaving the language in a state of endangerment. This condition placed the intergenerational transmission of the Gorontalo language in grade 3 on the scale - definitely endangered, since the Gorontalo language is used only by a majority of the parental generation and above.

Factor 2 - Language attitudes and desire – grade 4 - most members support the language and have positive attitudes toward the language.

As previously mentioned in the literature review (Chapter II), positive attitudes of the community toward their language is one of the significant factors that determine language maintenance. Regarding the community member attitudes, data found that more than 50 % of the respondents indicated a positive opinion toward the Gorontalo language. They admitted that their language is important for their identity as Gorontalese and felt a sense of dignity when using the language. More importantly, about 90% of the participants wanted to teach their children to speak the Gorontalo language. The results of this questionnaire were supported by the interviews with the participants. Those interviewed revealed that at least 6 out of 8 participants have a strong desire for the Gorontalo language to be promoted both inside and outside the community. They want to see the language spoken by all Gorontalese in the province and to have education, health, and community services provided in the language. However, the desire did not seem to be backed up by their own action in transmitting Gorontalo to younger generations.

Positive attitudes toward the language have a tendency to strengthen the language use, while more negative attitudes appear to lessen the language use (Fishman, 1991; 2001; Grenoble, 2013). Fishman (1991) suggests that, while positive attitudes cannot prevent a minority language speaker from shifting to the majority language, negative attitudes can repress it. Accordingly, Fishman (1991) stressed the importance of the home and interactions between family member

retained the use of a minority language as the first line of defense against the intrusion of a majority language that could limit its transmission to other generations.

Considering Fishman (1991) and Grenoble (2013), the data indicated that having community and even parental positive attitudes alone is not enough for the Gorontalo language to be used by young generations. Positive attitudes should be accompanied by the actual action to use the language at least in the private domain. De Houwer (1999) explains parental language attitudes and beliefs "lie at the basis of parents' language behavior toward their children, which in turn is a powerful contributive factor in children's patterns of language use" (p. 76). Further, she mentions that parents' attitudes are important not only related to a particular language (i.e minority language), but also toward the children's bilingualism/multilingualism (De Houwer, 2009, p. 82). Overall, parental attitudes toward an Indigenous language should begin by not only providing crucial input by speaking it with their children. Parents also have to create a supportive home learning environment that nurtures and promotes language acquisition and development. This study suggests that despite the positive behaviors, the interviewed parents spent little to no time educating their children in using the language. At least, they do not use it in daily conversation at home with the children or encourage them to use it at home.

With these results in mind, the LVMS framework places the attitude factor of the Gorontalo speakers in grade 4 meaning that most of the community has a positive attitude toward their language.

Factor 3 - Shift in domain of language use – Grade 3 - Dwindling domains

In this factor, a shift in domain language use focused on a shift in the use of the Gorontalo language in the home domain. Fishman (1972) emphasizes the importance of the family and the home on reversing language shift. He states that "multilingualism often begins in

the family and depends upon it for encouragement if not for protection" (Fishman, 1972, p. 443). Given that family and home were recognized as a pivotal domain by Fishman, understanding family language policy fits in the discussion. The home, after all, is not isolated from others. Language choice at home is eventually influenced by language policy in other domains. It is impacted by regulations regarding status planning, acquisition planning and corpus planning.

The results of the quantitative component of this study indicated that the Gorontalo language is now used exclusively between older generations (grandparents). The majority of the survey participants also acknowledge that they use the language with older generations. Only a very small number of the respondents use the Gorontalo language with their peers or with young groups. Meanwhile, qualitative data revealed that participants tend to alternate between languages when conversing with their parents or elderly people, as they have lost fluency in their language. Consequently, only the grandparents' generation maintains the language by using it with the same age groups, and the respondents no longer use the language with their children. The majority of the interviewed participants revealed that despite often code switching, they mainly report using Gorontalo Malay with their children. Further, they have never once asked their children to speak the Gorontalo language.

With these results in mind, the Gorontalo language use in the home domain is in the grade 3 or dwindling domain. UNESCO's expert team defines a dwindling domain as the "condition where a non-dominant language fails to hold its position at home, as parents start to use the dominant language in their daily interactions with their children" (Brenzinger et al., 2003, p.10). As a result, children have a partial linguistic competence of their own language, known as receptive/passive bilinguals. They further explain that parents and older community

members tend to be actively bilingual in the dominant and minority languages, as they understand and speak both.

This status suggests that the Gorontalese parents do not seem concerned or motivated enough to teach their language to the children although they still use it with their parents. Moreover, there was no awareness of their role in language transmission, nor any ideas expressed about how the community would begin using Gorontalo again. Looking through the perspectives of Norton's (2006) language investment, it appears that parents have more tendency to invest in their children learning the majority language and/ or foreign language such as English and Arabic. The parents' investment toward their children learning the dominant language or s foreign language appears tightly drawn within their desire to let their children learn and practice it even in the home situation. As Norton (2013) argues, investment in the target language occurs with the expectation to "obtain a wider range of symbolic resources (language, education, friendship) and material resources (capital goods, real estate, money), which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital and social power" (p. 6). Considering Norton's concept of investment, the shifting domain of language use at home by the Gorontalese family could be understood as a way to attain better social and economic benefits which will allow their children to be successful in school and work fields. Overall, adequate encouragement, practice and a stimulating environment for language growth, an abundance of exposure and motivation from the parents' side could overturn the lack of motivation that influences the children's production of their minority language.

Factor 4 - Language knowledge and proficiency – 2 - poor

Language knowledge and proficiency is one of the distinctive factors that differs the LVMS from the UNESCO vitality framework. This factor measures the speakers' self-reported

language proficiency as well as their language knowledge in the Gorontalo language through their response to vocabulary, reading, and writing translation tasks. The self-rating proficiency in the survey revealed that only about 30% of the community has excellent ability in the Gorontalo language. In comparison, the results of self-rating proficiency in other languages, such as Gorontalo Malay and Bahasa Indonesia were much higher with participants reporting excellent ability, about 50% and 60%, respectively. The knowledge test (Part VI of the questionnaire) also indicated that approximately 46% could answer the vocabulary and reading passage correctly in Gorontalo, 50% could translate from Gorontalo to the Indonesian language, and only 35% could translate from Indonesian to the Gorontalo language. Overall, the average score of participants who performed very well was around 40%.

The qualitative data from the interviews suggested diverse proficiency in the Gorontalo language. When asked to rate their Gorontalo language proficiency on a scale of 1 to 10, two participants gave themselves a score of 8 points, three participants gave a score of 7 points, and three others gave a score of 5. It appears that there is some consistency between how respondents perceive their own abilities and how those abilities are measured in a slightly more objective way. Both data sets seem to point to the lack of proficiency and knowledge of the Gorontalo language among the community.

Based on the data, the LVMS framework placed language knowledge and proficiency of the Gorontalo language in grade 2 – poor. The poor status indicates that only 31-50 % of the respondents can answer all the language knowledge questions correctly and self-rated themselves to have limited proficiency in the language. This result seems to connect significantly with the previous factors, the lack of intergenerational transmission of language and shift in the domain of language use to the dominant language. In relation to the lack of fluency, mediated language

learning experiences with fluent adults is pivotal (Vygotsky, 1981). In the same vein, Reyhner (1999) also suggests that promoting conversational proficiency is crucial for endangered languages. He further explains that when children achieve conversational proficiency at home, it is easy to expand their proficiency to a higher level so that they can use it outside the home to discuss different topics.

Ideally, minority language speakers should develop strong skills in both forms of language proficiency as identified by Cummins (2000) - the conversational proficiency (BICS) and academic language proficiency (CALP). Conversational language proficiency is required to carry on everyday face to face interactions in which the situation or context provides much of the meaning. On the other hand, academic language proficiency is necessary for the classroom in the various content areas where language is used in analysis and problem solving (Baker, 2006; Bilash, 2011; Cummin, 2000). For minority language speakers, it is not easy to master academic language proficiency. Often the home and community situations in which the minority language is spoken do not naturally provide sufficient context for development of academic language proficiency. What is more important at this stage is to support vocabulary acquisition and daily conversational proficiency. In the case of the Gorontalo language, Bahasa Indonesia is used as the academic language for children beginning at the early age of their education. Constant exposure of language from parents, media, school and environment has led to fluency in the official language and lack of proficiency in their native tongue.

Factor 5 - Response to media and communication – Grade 1 – Minimal

In this study, media and communication networks are considered new domains for the Gorontalo language, as these services were not available in the community before, particularly the use of social media. Most respondents acknowledge that the language used in social media

and technology communication is mainly in Bahasa Indonesia and Gorontalo Malay (see Table 27), with a small minority of respondents using the Gorontalo language for calling (10%), sending text messages and WhatsApp communications (less than 10%), and updating social media status (6.7%). Further, less than 8%of the respondents claimed to use it in the Gorontalo language for media information. It is noteworthy that the use of media such as newspapers, radio and television are dominant in Bahasa Indonesia (over 80%). These results align with the interview data where all of the participants acknowledge that Bahasa Indonesia and its variance are mainly used in media and communication.

Evidently, there are numbers of local newspapers, radio and local TV stations in Gorontalo province. However, they have not published or broadcasted in the Gorontalo language exclusively. At the time of this study, the only local radio station that has broadcasted in the Gorontalo language is *Poliyama 104,2 FM.* The radio has a program called *Bakipas*, that broadcasts a mixture of comedy and talk shows for approximately 30 minutes daily. The provincial state radio network (RRI Gorontalo Pro 1) also plays Gorontalo language songs on many occasions. However, both radio stations have only older announcers who accordingly seem to attract more older generation listeners, while the youth Gorontalese appear to be less interested. Additionally, the programs are not broadcast during prime time.

Within the LVMS framework, response to media and communication placed the Gorontalo language in grade 1- minimal, which signaled that there is a "minimal" use of language. The Gorontalo language is used in a few communications and media of limited interest such as local public radio, indicating alarm over the important role electronic media plays in situations of language shift (Dorian 1991; Fishman, 1991; 2001; Grenoble & Whaley 1998). In the book *Reversing Language Shift,* Fishman (1991) stated that one of the factors influencing the future of

minority language groups is the existence of minority languages in the media although it is considered as a minor factor and is of less importance than the revival of the language in the family and society. Media play a significant role in democratic communities such as Indonesia in informing, transferring, publishing information, for educational, advertising, and political purposes.

In his later publication, Fishman (2001) mentioned that "the media can interfere with intergenerational Xish mother-tongue transmission more easily and more frequently than they can reinforce it, if only because there are ever so much more Yish media than Xish media" (p. 473). Therefore, although the role of media is not as crucial an indicator of language vitality as intergenerational transmission, it is undeniable that the area of mediated communication is a key aspect for minority language learning and development. In this sense, Cormack (2004) responds to some of Fishman's ideas and highlights the importance of minority language media in giving status to a language, connecting and uniting diverse members of a language community, promoting the minority language culture, and providing and contributing to economic and political development. However, media can also be a double edge sword as media broadcasts in dominant languages have been described as contributing to language shift away from minority languages, leading the mission to reestablish the language as a routine medium of everyday interaction more challenging. Considering Fishman (1991), and Cormack (2013), the non-existence of media broadcasts in the Gorontalo language has contributed to the community language shift as there is a lack of exposure to the language aurally and visually.

Moreover, taking into account Vygotsky's concept of mediation, media can play a role as a "symbolic mediator" (Kozulin, 2003; Vygorsky, 1978). Vygotsky (1978) further explained that "casting lots, tying knots, and counting fingers" are symbolic tools that mediate learning. In this

sense, the presence of the Gorontalo language in the media and technology communication, could provide Gorontalese youth with sufficient exposure for language learning or mediation. Further, Vygotsky's concept of ZPD (Zone of Proximal Development) might also explain this process of language learning mediated by technology in order to reach the level of potential development of language learners. Thus, adult guidance or collaboration with more capable peers is required. Similarly, Aljaafreh and Lantolf (1994) explained that the ZPD is "the framework, par excellence, which brings all of the pieces of the learning setting together - the teacher, the learner, their social and cultural history, their goals and motives, as well as the resources available to them, including those that are dialogically constructed together" (p. 468). Therefore, "like words, tools and nonverbal signs provide learners with ways to become more efficient in their adaptive and problem-solving efforts" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 127). Similarly, media and technology are significant in ensuring language maintenance and also serve as a tool to support language learning for minority groups.

Factor 6 - Availability of materials for language education and literacy – Grade - 1

Galla (2017) states that literacy materials refer to any resource that is used by language teachers and learners to facilitate language teaching and learning. The availability of materials for education and literacy contribute to the vitality of a language. Literacy materials have generated different language learning experiences and effects on the students who use the materials both in and outside the school environment. They have also tremendously developed the students' language learning. For Indigenous communities, these material products can be in the form of documentation field notes, newspapers, grammars, dictionaries, textbooks, children's books, audio and video recordings (analog and digital), computer and video games, social media, and so forth. As Reyhner (1999) states, learning materials deal with what things will be available

for teachers and learners to use, including audiotapes, videotapes, storybooks, dictionaries, grammar, textbooks, and computer software. Similar to the use of media and technology, the use of learning materials and literacy are viewed as a "symbolic mediator" of language learning (Vygotsky 1978; Kozulin, 2003). Media provides environmental print for the children to learn a language. The greatest challenge for Gorontalese children is that they live in a country dominated by Bahasa Indonesia environmental print. With lack of environmental print from broadcast and print media in their mother tongue, children have limited exposure to the language. Therefore, providing some exposure to Indigenous language in print is beneficial (Bilash, 2011).

In this study, it was found that over 60% of survey respondents believe that education and literacy materials, such as library books, children's storybooks, and the dictionary do not exist. About 40% also claimed that education materials are not available for public use (see Table 30). The interview data clarified that none of the participants had ever seen books written in the Gorontalo language. However, they confirmed that they have seen their children's Gorontalo language textbook (for elementary students) and have also heard a radio program and songs played in their language. Many of the songs are available on YouTube. Therefore, it can be said that the only material for literacy and education available is the Gorontalo language textbook materials for elementary students and that videos are limited to songs and other cultural verses. Considering the use of literacy materials, Indigenous children and youth especially need to have books available that are representative of themselves and their communities. Based on these data, the LVMS framework placed the Gorontalo language vitality at Grade 1 - minimal use which means that some material is being written for education, and some audio/video recordings are available for the community.

Factor 7 - Language policy – Grade 4 - Differentiate support

Regarding the language policy, it is clear that the Indonesian government language policy seeks to maintain the national language and preserve the local Indonesian language. The 1945 Constitution Chapter XIII, Article 32, stipulates that "the state shall respect and preserve local languages as national cultural treasure". This law guarantees protection for the local Indonesian language. In terms of status planning, the states through the 1945 Constitution, Chapter XV Article 36 (Asian Human Rights Commission, 2003) has chosen Bahasa Indonesia as a national and official language. Further the acquisition planning also indicated the use of Bahasa Indonesia as the medium of instruction. It also allows the Indigenous language to be used in the early stages of education to support delivery of knowledge, if necessary. This regulation is based on the Act of The Republic of Indonesia, Number 20, 2003, on the National Education System, Chapter VII Medium of Instruction, article 33 (see Chapter II for details). Additionally, the Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 63 in 2019, mandated that all official communication in government and private work environments should be done in Bahasa Indonesia. It is obvious that, despite an intention to protect the Indigenous language, there is a domain where it can or cannot be used. Since status planning and acquisition planning guarantee protection and use of Bahasa Indonesia, the corpus planning of this language has significantly developed. On the other hand, the Gorontalo language, although protected by the states, has had limited acquisition planning (only for the lower level e.g., grade 1, 2, and 3 of education), and only if there is an indication that the students require its use. As observed and mentioned by the interviewed participants there have been changes in the language corpus with the presence of great numbers of borrowed grammatical and lexical items from Bahasa Indonesia language and a shift of use away from honorific and referential markers on verbs and nouns.

The data indicated that the majority of survey respondents agree that the national government supports and protects the Gorontalo language. They also believe that government legislation does not prevent them from using their language (see Table 32 for details). Most of the interviewed participants admitted that the country is protecting the Gorontalo language, although they could not explain it in detail in the follow up questions. They acknowledge that as Gorontalese they are free to use their language at any time, at home and in specific situations, such as at the traditional market and in cultural ceremonies.

Based on these findings, the Gorontalo language is situated in grade 4 - Differentiated support. This status means that the government explicitly protects non-dominant languages, but there are obvious differences in the contexts in which the dominant/official language(s) and non-dominant (protected) language(s) are used. The government encourages ethnolinguistic groups to maintain and use their languages, most often in private domains (as the home language), rather than in public domains (e.g., in schools). Some of the domains of non-dominant language use enjoy high prestige (e.g. at ceremonial occasions) (Brenzinger et al., 2003).

Considering Hornberger's (2006) language policy and planning, it appears that status planning, acquisition and corpus planning of the Gorontalo language need to be revisited to guarantee the vitality of the language. Although it seems impossible to change the status and acquisition planning of the language, corpus planning that is standardization of the Gorontalo language in terms of orthography, grammar and lexical are absolutely required.

Factor 8 - Language opportunities to learn and appreciate the language – Grade 1 - A few services are provided in the language to the community.

Similar to language knowledge and the proficiency factor, language opportunity is also a new factor that differentiates it from UNESCO's language vitality. This factor intends to assess the existing institutional governmental or nongovernmental programs and services that provide support for the teaching, learning, and using the Gorontalo language. The quantitative survey indicated that the community does not have sufficient services to learn and appreciate their language. Government facilities, such as hospitals and public community health clinics (*puskesmas*), do not provide services in the language. Moreover, language and cultural learning centers and media, such as local newspapers and local TV networks, are not teaching and using the language in their publications and broadcasts. Only a local radio station that broadcasts a 30-minute program is available in the Gorontalo language. This service was acknowledged by over 78% of the respondents.

The interviews helped to clarify the quantitative data and also revealed that some of the participants are concerned about accompanying their grandparents or parents to the health clinics, because they cannot express themselves well in languages other than the Gorontalo language. They also stated their intention to have their children attend Gorontalo community language learning centers if one day they became available in their villages. As for the radio program in the Gorontalo language, they had listened to it but were not fans, as its contents seemed to appeal more to an older generation. This situation placed the Gorontalo language in grade 1, meaning a few services are provided in the language to the community such as the local radio broadcast.

In relation to language planning, it is clear that public services in hospitals, clinics and learning centers use only Bahasa Indonesia, because the status planning of Bahasa Indonesia is regulated by the Constitution and presidential decree. Establishing a separate language learning center would allow people to learn their language and culture. There must, however, be a community-wide effort to plan, fund and facilitate this learning center.

Factor 9 - Language Documentation – Grade 2 - Fragmentary status

This factor is strongly related to corpus planning (Hornberger, 2009), which, as discussed earlier, relates to the form of language structures, grammars, and the standardization of spelling. The majority of documentation, such as dictionary, morphology, and syntax of the Gorontalo language were written by the late Prof. Mansoer Pateda and were published by the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1977. He was also behind the translation of the Quran (the holy book) into the Gorontalo language and author of the Gorontalo Language textbook for elementary school. The Gorontalo language textbooks written in 2002 are still used in Elementary schools across the province. Up until the time of this study (2021), there have been no new publications regarding the Gorontalo language school textbooks. Further, many of the language documentation efforts are not accessible to the community. As the interviews confirm, none of the participants had ever seen the Gorontalo dictionary though they were aware of the school textbook. In addition, Gorontalo has many oral stories that have not yet been documented. Once a story is written or videotaped it is important to make it accessible for public use. This resource can be a mediated learning resource for youth to learn about their language and culture.

This condition places the Gorontalo language documentation in grade 2 - Fragmentary Status, meaning that there are some grammatical sketches, wordlists, and texts useful for limited

linguistic research, but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation (Brenzinger et al., 2003).

Factor 10 - Number of speakers – Grade 3 - Definitively endangered

UNESCO language vitality factor differentiates absolute number of speakers and Proportion of Speakers within the total population. In this study, the LVMS framework combines the number of speakers as one single factor, and also considers the proportion of fluent speakers among the total population of language speakers.

In quantitative data, the participants estimated that between 60 and 80 percent of Gorontalese still speak the language (see Table 22) although fluency in the language is decreasing. The Gorontalo language proficiency is considered lower than Gorontalo Malay and Bahasa Indonesia in four different skills. The interviewed participants also confirmed that the number of Gorontalo speakers is declining as they no longer hear youth and children using the language for communication, even in the home. This result placed the factor of number of speakers of the Gorontalo language based on the LVMS framework in a "definitively endangered" condition meaning that the language is in an endangered state. Despite the fact that 60-80% of the population can speak the language, particularly among the parents' generation and older, only about 26 to 30% can use it very well and fluency in it is decreasing.

The following table summarizes the status of the Gorontalo language based on Language Vitality and Measurement Scales.

Table 45

Status of The Gorontalo Language on Language Vitality and Measurement Scales

Factor	Vitality Factor	Gorontalo Language Status
1.	Intergenerational transmission of language of speakers over 18 years old	Grade 3 - definitively endangered The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.
2.	Language attitudes and desire	Grade 4 - most members support the language and have positive attitudes toward the language.
3.	Shift in Domain of language use	Grade 2 - Limited or Formal domain The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions.
4.	Language knowledge and proficiency	2 - Poor Some of the community members are able to answer all the language knowledge questions correctly and self-rated themselves to have limited proficiency in the language.
5.	Response to media and communications	Grade 1 - Minimal The language is used only in a radio program for ± 30 minutes a day
6.	Availability of materials for language education and literacy	Grade 1 Some material is being written to be used in education. Some audio/video recordings are available.
7.	Language policy	Grade 4 -Differentiate support Minority languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domains (at home). The use of the language has prestige (e.g. at local ceremonial occasions).
8.	Language opportunity to learn and appreciate the language	Grade 1 A few services are provided in the language to the community.
9.	Language documentation	Grade 2 - Fragmentary There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation.
10.	Number of speakers	Grade 3 - Definitely Endangered A majority speak the language.

Among the ten LVMS Factors, eight suggested a weak language vitality in the

community. Factor 5 response to media and communication, Factor 6 availability of materials for

language education and literacy, and Factor 8 language opportunity, obtained the lowest rating

(grade 1). This result shows that the Gorontalo language is not used for technology and media information, a few materials for literacy and education are available, and no services in terms of health care, education and culture are provided in the language. With this in mind, the chance for Gorontalese, particularly the young generations, to be immersed in the language is limited.

Other significant factors that obtained low points (grade 2) were Factor 3 - shift in domain of language use, Factor 4 - language knowledge and proficiency and Factor 9 – language documentation. This status suggests that the Gorontalo language is still formally used in rituals and ceremonies (*adat*) such as weddings and funeral ceremonies, but the use of it at home is limited to where grandparents and the older age groups live. It also indicated that the availability and accessibility of the Gorontalo language's grammar, vocabulary, and number and variety of texts are limited although audio recordings of songs are available. The language knowledge and proficiency (Factor 4) is another weak factor since only some people in the community could complete the language knowledge test correctly, and they self-rated themselves to have excellent Gorontalo language skills. In short, there is low awareness about Gorontalo language use and loss among the participants of this study.

Moreover, the factor of intergenerational transmission of language (Factor 1) and number of speakers (Factor 10) also signaled the vulnerability of the language. With grade 3 status, only some people in the community are able to speak the language and the transmission of language from parents to children no longer exists. The Gorontalo languages are now mostly spoken by parents and grandparents to the elderly and are no longer spoken with children and among young people.

Despite the flaws, two factors indicated a potency to fortify the language vitality; the community language attitudes and language policy. Gorontalese have indicated a loyalty toward

their language and valued their language as a part of their identity. Furthermore, the national language policy safeguards the local Indonesian language, as mandated by the 1945 Indonesian Constitution article 32, section 2, which guarantees Indigenous people the right to use, develop, and preserve their languages, although, there is no explicit policy on how to enforce this law, particularly at the grassroots level.

The Fishman's GIDS Applied to the Gorontalo Language

Fishman (1991) introduced the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) in his book, Reversing *Language Shift*, which indicates the vitality and endangerment of a language. GIDS consists of eight stages of language vitality of an endangered language that begins from the strongest (level 1) to the least favourable conditions (level 8). Fishman (1991) argues that the status of many Indigenous languages is at Level 6 where the language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language. Fishman recognized intergenerational transmission of the language as the most important factor in language shift and recognized that language revitalization and maintenance efforts should focus on individuals and language use within the family and home domain. To do so also requires the action of institutions outside of the home to support this effort. While an assessment of Levels 7 and 8 indicate intergenerational disruption, Levels 1 to 5 concentrate on institutional development to secure the spread and status of the language.

The following table shows how Fishman's GIDS is applied to the Gorontalo language to evaluate its language vitality.

Table 46

Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale Based on Fishman in 1991

	GIDS
LEVEL	**DESCRIPTION**
1	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the nationwide level.
2	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.
3	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.
4	Literacy in the language is transmitted through education.
5	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form throughout the community.
6	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.
7	***The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children.***
8	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.

Adapted from *"Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages,"* by J.A. Fishman, 1991, Multilingual Matters.

Based on Fishman's (1991) GIDS, it can be seen that the Gorontalo Language is at Stage 7, a critical level where the mothers know it well enough to use it with the elders, but they are not transmitting it to their children. The vitality of a language is considered unsafe. In the case of the Gorontalo language, the children are no longer learning the language at home because parents do not use it. Some Gorontalese children learned to speak their language only at school, as a local content subject. At home, parents do not use it continuously on different occasions. Additionally, Fishman emphasizes that:

> *The goal at this stage* (*as at every stage*) *must be to transcend itself*, i.e. to attain that which is most crucially lacking so that RLS can be achieved and maintained: a variety of youth groups, young people's associations, young parent groups and, finally, residential communities or neighborhoods, all of which utilize (or lead to the utilization of) Xish.

These may be conducted, organized, supported, financed, and ideologically encouraged and reinforced by "old folks" but it is not the "old folks" whose pleasure and facility in Xish is the real goal at this stage but, rather, *their activization on behalf of changing the overt behavioral patterns of the young*. The road to societal death is paved by language activity that is not focused on intergenerational continuity, i.e. that is diverted into efforts that do not involve and influence the socialization behaviors of families of child-bearing age, (p.91)

The Gorontalo language could not be ranked at stages 6 to 1 because it is not used by the young people at home and in the community. The remaining fluent speakers are from the older generations while parental generations are losing their fluency and shifting to the dominant language. Although there are publications in the language, these are limited only for educational purposes such as language structure and grammar, dictionary and school textbooks, and there are no literacy books such as children's books that can be used at home. The language is also not used in the media or in any government service. Therefore, using Fishman's GIDS and Language Vitality and Measurement Scale in Language Vitality and Endangerment, the Gorontalo language is considered critical at present.

As demonstrated by survey and interview results, and observations during my last stay in Gorontalo in 2022, Gorontalo has low points in terms of intergenerational language transmission, although the community language attitudes showed that their language is vital for their identity as a Gorontalese. Having a positive attitude is not sufficient to prevent the language from becoming extinct if intergenerational transmission of the language to the younger generation does not occur.

Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale Applied to the Gorontalo Language

Lewis and Simon (2009; 2010) have designed a 13-level model language vitality assessment called EGIDS to overcome the problems with UNESCO's framework, the GIDS, and the Ethnologue's evaluative categories. According to them, a language can be evaluated by answering 5 key questions regarding its identity - function, vehicularity, state of intergenerational language transmission, literacy acquisition status, and a societal profile of its generational use. They state, "With only minor modification, the EGIDS can also be applied to languages which are being revitalized" (Lewis and Simon (2009, p.2). The formulation of the EGIDS makes the role of institutions (including the home) more explicit (in particular, higher-level institutions outside the home) as a community moves towards the strongest levels of language use on the scale. Table 47 below summarizes the EGIDS levels.

Table 47

The EGIDS Levels as Presented by Lewis and Simons.

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
0	International	The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy.	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the national level.	Safe
2	Provincial	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within major administrative subdivisions of a nation.	Safe
3	Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.	Safe
4	Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.	Safe
5	Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the childbearing generation is transmitting it to their children.	Vulnerable

7	*Shifting*	*The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children.*	*Definitely Endangered*
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation, or older, who have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct

Table 47 above shows 10 levels of EGIDS but the labels feature 13 categories. Levels 6a and 6b correspond to Fishman's (1991) GIDS at Level 6; similarly, 8a and 8b correspond to Level 8 in the GIDS. Levels 0, 9, and 10 are entirely new contributions made by Lewis and Simon (2010) The fourth column is made to correspond to UNESCO's (2003) endangerment or vitality categories.

Based on the 26th edition of Ethnologue in 2023 that measures the language status using the EGIDS, the status of the Gorontalo language was at the 6b level – threatened language. The level is still similar to that of the assessment in 2020 (Eberhard et al., 2020). This means the language is used orally by all generations, but only some of the childbearing generation is transmitting it to their children. This study suggests that the language situation of the Gorontalo language is more critical than the current report from Ethnologue. Using the EGIDS category of language endangerment, the Gorontalo language status is level 7 – shifting. This level shows that a clear pattern of language shift is in progress. Lewis and Simon (2010) explained that since parents are not transmitting the language to their children, language shift is clearly visible, because such has become the norm within the language community. Subsequently, language use in the home domains, where the use of the Gorontalo language is dominant, is declining. They

further described that language revival through reinstating the language transmission at home would still be possible at this stage, since the language was the first language for most of the parents.

It would also be possible to position the Gorontalo language in level 8a (moribund). This level corresponds to stage 8 of Fishman's (1991) GIDS, where only the grandparent generation has any active and frequent speakers of the language, while some in the parent generation could speak it, the parents possibly have less proficiency, and with many examples of contact phenomena, code switching takes place. The effects of language contact on linguistic features of the language are inevitable in the Gorontalo language. In conclusion, as per the GIDS framework, the status of the Gorontalo language is ranked between level 7 and 8, but clearly it is not at level 6 as proposed by Ethnologue since 2020.

The LVMS scale, GIDS and EGIDS assessment might serve as a reminder that the Gorontalo people are losing their language and that there is urgency to develop some methods, materials, and means for teaching young Gorontalese children their ancestral language. A long-term loss can be prevented by teaching it to young children; and a mother, who is the closest person to the child, has a significant role to start the lesson. This is the only way the Gorontalo people can prevent an oncoming linguistic ecological challenge.

The future of Gorontalo Language

Most respondents believe that in 20 to 30 years, Gorontalese children will continue to use the Gorontalo language. The mothers supported their expectation with the following reasons:

- They are Gorontalese, they will speak the language, no matter what.
- It is our language, in our blood and it is supposed to be in our tongue.
- When they grow up, they will learn the language by themselves.

- Of course, they are Gorontalo children.

- I think so, because we have our own province.

- Probably, they are learning it in school and at home, I teach them Gorontalo words [vocabulary]. For example, I ask what is "makan" [Bahasa Indonesia] in the Gorontalo language.

A follow-up question was asked as to how they would feel if their children would not speak the language and the answers varied as follows:

- I am going to be sad. But it won't happen.

- It would be bad, if no one can speak it in their own land [Gorontalo Province]

- Sad. Just sad.

- Sad. Yes. So, we need to teach them now.

- The community and school need to do something about this. It's devastating if it happens.

- The language [the Gorontalo language] carries its meaning as Gorontalese. So, it's important, but I don't know how.

The majority of the participants feel uneasy regarding the fact that their children do not speak the language, yet some participants still believe that the children will learn the language as they grow up, albeit through their bloodline.

Summary

A comprehensive literature review helped to shape the study frame, rationale and added value to the problem under investigation (Creswell, 2014). This chapter has provided an assessment of the language vitality of the Gorontalo language using Language Vitality Measurement Scales (LVMS). The results were then compared with the measurement scales of

Fishman's GIDS and Lewis and Simon's EGIDS. It is concluded that the status of Gorontalo language is no longer in the 6b category of a "threatened" language as suggested by Ethnologue since 2020. This study suggests that the language is now "definitely endangered" because it is only spoken by grandparents and older generations and although the parent age group may understand Gorontalo, they do not speak it to their children. This aligns with the assessment using GIDS that suggest the language is at Stage 7, a critical level where the parents know the language well enough to use it with the elders, but they are not transmitting it to their children. The EGIDS scales indicated that the status is between Levels 7 and 8, meaning that there is a clear process of language shift taking place in the community. The parental generation does not use the language with their children and only the grandparent generation can speak the language fluently; thus, parents have started to lose fluency in the language. These results contribute new knowledge to the scholarly literature regarding the linguistic health of the Gorontalo language.

Chapter VIII

Conclusion

The final chapter of a dissertation aims to present responses to the research questions, identify implications of the findings and propose recommendations, point to areas that might be considered in future research, and confirm the new contribution to knowledge that the dissertation offers. The chapter begins with a summary of the findings and offers recommendations for language policy and practices.

Summary

Gorontalo language is the Indigenous language of Gorontalo, Indonesia, surrounded by the dominant languages of Bahasa Indonesia, the official language, and variant Indonesian languages such as Gorontalo Malay and creole Manado Malay, and foreign languages such as English and Arabic. Many Gorontalese have become multilingual as they also learn neighboring languages through language contact, education and inter-marriage with other Indonesian ethnic groups such as Javanese, Minahasan, etc. Furthermore, the use of the official language in school has penetrated into private domains where Gorontalo used to be spoken, such as in the home, traditional market, and when conversing with family and friends. This study has offered new understandings and knowledge on the language vitality of the Gorontalo language in Gorontalo province by assessing the community language use, language attitudes, language knowledge, as well as its language policy and planning. A sociocultural theory of language learning, language investment, and language planning have been used to provide input about the language shift in the community and how it might be reversed. The study aimed to answer the following research questions:

1. *What is the current language vitality of the Gorontalo language?*

2. *To what extent do the following variables influence the Gorontalo language vitality: age, gender, place of birth and place of growing up, level of education and profession?*

To answer the first research question, the Language Vitality Assessment and Measurement (LVMS) framework suggests that the Gorontalo language is shifting, with eight of 10 factors (intergenerational transmission, shift in the domain language use, language knowledge and proficiency, media and communication, availability of materials for language education, language opportunities, language documentation and number of speakers) suggesting weak vitality. On the other hand, language attitudes and language policy factors are moderately strong indicators on the vitality scale with positive attitudes of the speakers and some macro government regulations on Indigenous language.

Intergeneration Transmission of Language of speakers over 18 years old, which is the first factor, indicates that the language is definitely in endangered status, meaning that the language is used only by the parental generation and those older. The second factor, Language Attitudes and Desire, shows that most people support the language and have positive attitudes, while the third factor, Shift in Domain of Language Use reveals that the language is now used on a limited basis, such as in private domains and cultural practices. The fourth factor, Language Knowledge and Proficiency, points out that some participants can answer questions about language knowledge correctly but with limited proficiency. Within the Media and Communication factor, there is minimal use of the language. Similarly, the Availability of Materials for Language Education suggests that some material is being written and some audio recordings are available. The Language Policy factor indicates that support exists in that the language is protected as the language of private domains, and local ceremonial practices alongside the development of the national language.

Factor 8, Language Opportunities component identifies a few services that are provided in the language to the community but the opportunity to have health, education and social services provided in the language are almost non-existent. Language Documentation, the ninth factor, shows there are some grammar, vocabulary and textbooks available, but most were published over 30 years ago. Finally, Factor 10, the Number of Speakers, shows that the language is definitely endangered because the majority speak the language mainly with the parental generation and with different degrees of proficiency.

In addition to the LVMS adapted from the UNESCO, Fishman's (1991) GIDS and Simon and Lewis's (2010) EGIDS were also applied to the Gorontalo language data and indicated the Gorontalo language is at Stage 7, a critical level where the mothers know the language and use it with the older people but are not transmitting it to their children (Fishman, 1991). Likewise, the EGID's assessment that was performed based on the data analysis suggests the Gorontalo language status is in level 7 – shifting. This level shows a clear pattern of language shift is in progress. This level is considered more critical than the current Ethnologue report that used EGIDS to assess the vitality of the Gorontalo language where it placed Gorontalo language in the 6b level that is threatened.

As for the second research question, *to what extent do the following variables influence the Gorontalo language vitality: age, gender, place of birth and place of growing up, level of education and profession?,* only age and place of birth appear to have a significant impact on language vitality of the Gorontalo language.

With regards to language planning, different levels of language planning were discussed. It appears that neither the national Constitution nor the national macro-level and regional meso-level language related laws provide specific regulations to preserve and promote

Indigenous languages. Despite the Constitution's recognition of Indigenous languages, it is primarily used to support the development of Bahasa Indonesia. Further, at the meso level of government administration, the regional government has also not created any regulations to ensure the protection and development of Gorontalo language. With strong national government support to ensure the success of Bahasa Indonesia in the public domain, the regional government has only released regulations related to language spelling, protection and preservation of Gorontalo traditional culture as well as a Local Content Curriculum. Yet, these regulations do not specify how protection and preservation should take place; they have not initiated a program to protect the language, nor offer incentives to the community or individuals who actively participate in language maintenance efforts.

At the micro level, family language planning appears to be influenced by the language policy at the macro and meso levels of language planning, the prevalent historical, social, economic and socio-cultural values, the local language attitudes and practices, as well as the level of family language awareness.

Recommendations

Based on the findings in this study, I propose several recommendations that could be applied at the macro, meso and micro levels. I also suggest a comprehensive improvement in terms of instruments, data analysis and participants for future research. All the recommendations are established on the data findings and scholarly interpretation. Although this study focused on speakers of Gorontalo who reside in Gorontalo province, the recommendations could be applied to the speakers of all other 700 languages in Indonesia. The following recommendations are suggested.

Macro level

There is a need for explicit language policy for Indigenous languages to be designed and implemented at the national level, to help strengthen the vitality of Indigenous languages and to sustain the vernacular literature of the ethnic groups in Indonesia. Mandating the protection and development of regional language to the regional government body might result in misinterpretation so should be accompanied by clear instructions for their implementation at the regional level. Further, the national government should develop and promote the use of Indigenous languages in the public domain to boost the prestige of the language. Public domains are significant for minority languages, as the number of language users decline when the language loses prestige and utility (Crystal, 2000; Fishman 2001).

To establish the official groundwork, the national Constitution might need another amendment. Human rights that were regulated in the national Constitution of Indonesia in articles 27 to 34 of the 1945 Constitution do not seem enacted and implemented toward the Indigenous languages. Suwarno (2020) also suggests that national legislation, for example, law number 20/2003 and 24/2009, may need some adjustment. More powers must be granted to the regional government to manage and promote Indigenous languages in their region. Additionally, law number 20/2003, on the national education system, needs to be revised. Instructional hours for Mulok (local content), should be extended and focus more on the teaching and learning of Indigenous languages. It should also be available from the primary school through to the end of high school. As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) suggest, instructional hours for Indigenous language need to be extended to provide more opportunity for its use. Furthermore, the use of Indigenous languages that was limited to only the first two years of education, should be extended throughout the primary and secondary years of education. These practices would improve

students' language competences, academic accomplishment, and self-assurance (Cummin, 2003; UNESCO, 2016).

Meso Level

As the second layer of administration, the regional government which includes the provincial, city and regencies should play a significant role preserving their language. Currently, the provincial regulations related to language mostly concern the development of Bahasa Indonesia. There is a call for the Provincial government as the head of regional administration in the province to enact regulations related to the development and protection of the Gorontalo language and other Indigenous languages in Gorontalo province. To this time there is no regulation that specifically regulates and promotes the use of the Gorontalo language at the meso level.

The regional government may provide free language classes, encourage the use of traditional language in the media, and organize cultural events that promote the language. The regional government could have promoted the Gorontalo language, as the language of media communication, and language of instruction alongside Bahasa Indonesia. Although the Gorontalo language subject is compulsory in elementary schools in the province, the provincial government has not monitored that all schools follow this minimal regulation or face consequences such as the withdrawal of funding.

A variety of programs and campaigns could raise the awareness of multilingualism and the loss of Indigenous languages on local radio and TV during prime time. The regional level government might want to develop Indigenous language programs (through curricular or extracurricular activities) and hire qualified, literate teachers to implement them. Building a close relationship between school, and the students' family can help develop students' interests and

increase their involvement in learning Indigenous languages. For example, implementing Indigenous language learning practices that have been proven to be effective elsewhere such as the language nests program in New Zealand, where elderly speakers of the Maori Language are involved in teaching the language to kindergarten students (Glasglow, 2019). The language nests have been found to be effective in generating and cultivating an interest in the Maori language, particularly in young children. Schools and community-based organizations could implement this practice in Indonesia. The interaction between young children and fluent adults can help revive the language.

Additionally, the regional government could begin to include the ability to speak the Gorontalo language as one requirement in recruiting government workers and teachers. Ideally, the government would hire teachers who speak the language fluently to teach local content subjects. These teachers should also be trained to provide students with the knowledge and skills they need to use their language in their daily lives. Additionally, the government should provide incentives or rewards for those who actively participate in maintaining and promoting the language within the community. With support from provincial, city and regency governments, the Gorontalo language curriculum, syllabus and textbooks need to be redesigned and developed to meet the needs of local students. Providing more resources such as materials and textbooks in Indigenous languages could also help to bridge the language gap. Finally, encouraging the use of Indigenous languages in the regional media might also help to raise awareness of the language and its speakers.
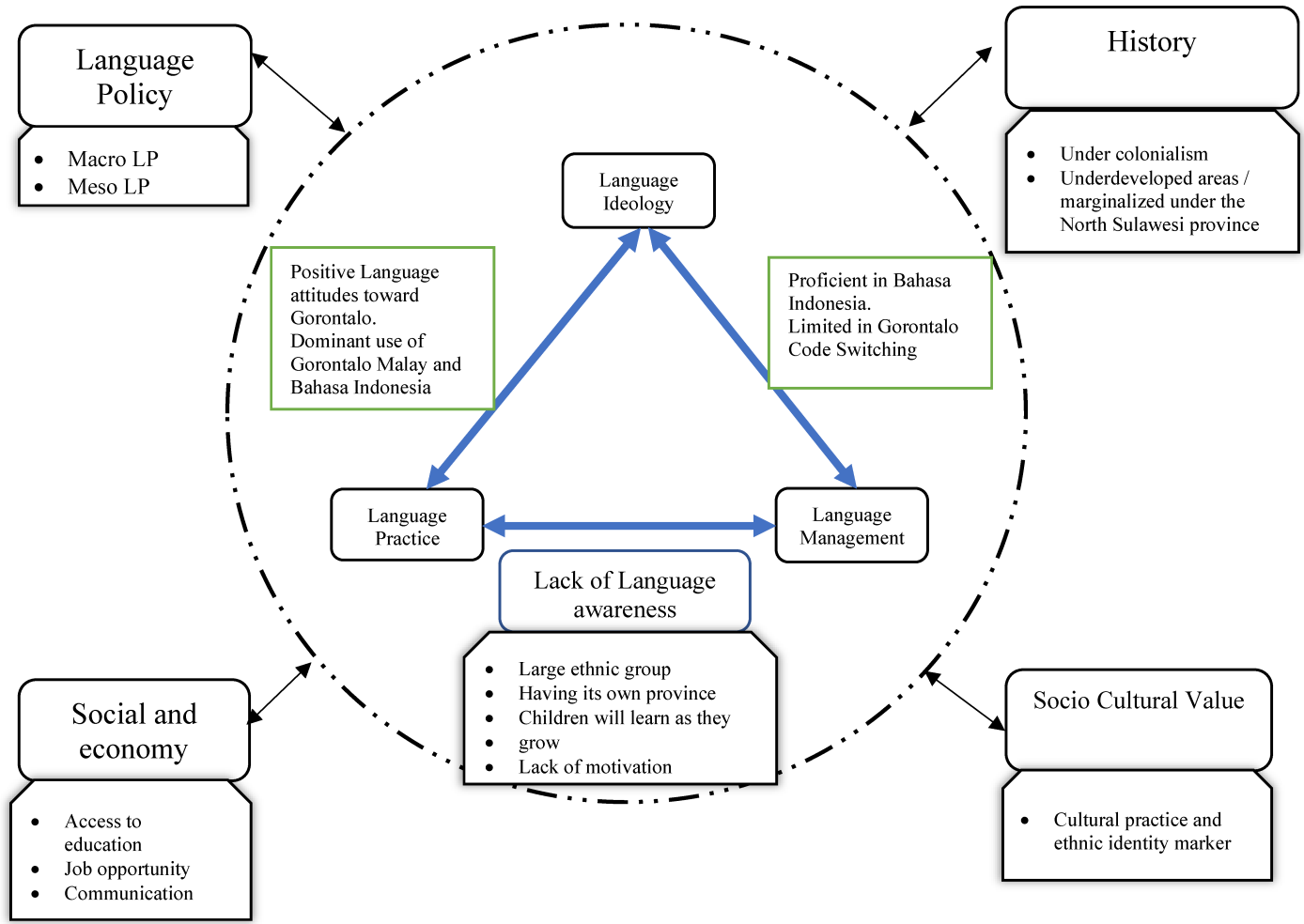
Micro Level

Despite the efforts from the macro level and meso level government, it is the language speakers that hold the key to language maintenance. It is important to note that the mothers and survey participants' views, which constitute the micro perspective for the study, are significant in preventing language endangerment. Thus, the next section focuses on family language planning.

Family Language Planning (FLP)

Family is seen as "the central driving force" that influences language maintenance and language loss, particularly in younger people (Schwartz, 2010, p. 171). Considering factors that may influence family language planning in the Gorontalo community, it is necessary to consider both external and internal factors that may have an important influence. As previously mentioned, although family language planning occurs at the micro level, it is strongly influenced by the macro and meso level policies, including social, historical, economic and cultural values that occur in the external layer of FLP. Curdt-Christiansen (2009; 2018) states that FLP is context-specific, as it is intertwined with the economic, political, historical and socio-cultural environment where the family is located. Spolsky (2009) describes a framework for a three-way model of language policy that concentrates on language ideologies, practices and management in the family that are also significant in determining FLP. Based on Spolsky's theory (2004, 2009) and further expanded by Curdt-Christiansen (2014), I illustrate the interdisciplinary nature of FLP in the context of the Indigenous language of Gorontalo below.

Figure 13

Family Language Policy in Gorontalo Context

Language Policy
- Macro LP
- Meso LP

History
- Under colonialism
- Underdeveloped areas / marginalized under the North Sulawesi province

Language Ideology

Positive Language attitudes toward Gorontalo. Dominant use of Gorontalo Malay and Bahasa Indonesia

Proficient in Bahasa Indonesia. Limited in Gorontalo Code Switching

Language Practice

Language Management

Lack of Language awareness
- Large ethnic group
- Having its own province
- Children will learn as they grow
- Lack of motivation

Social and economy
- Access to education
- Job opportunity
- Communication

Socio Cultural Value
- Cultural practice and ethnic identity marker

Note. The outer layer of the diagram represents external factors of FLP while the inside layer refers to the internal elements that influence FLP within the community.

External Factors That Influence Family Language Planning

Language Policy. Language policy that occurs in the national macro and regional meso levels are considered the strongest factors that influence family language planning. The requirement to use Bahasa Indonesia, as a long-held policy to unify the diverse nation and use it as the sole official and national language in all public areas, has significantly impacted language practice in the family. As documents at the national level have shown, the National Youth Congress, on October 28, 1928, agreed to use Bahasa Indonesia as the national language, thinking that it would be the common language which people from all Indigenous groups, with their own local languages, could use to communicate. Further, Bahasa Indonesia, as the national and official language, is set in the Indonesian Constitution and clarified in Law No 24/2009, articles 25 to 45. One of the applications of this regulation is that all levels of schooling, from primary school to higher education, must use Bahasa Indonesia as the language of instruction and include it as a "mandatory" subject. It is also used in media and all public activities.

Although the Constitution guarantees people the freedom to maintain and develop their culture and preserve Indigenous languages, its application is not well executed, since the decision to preserve and teach the local language is given to the regional government at the meso level. Still, language use in public domains at the meso level is also mandated to be Bahasa Indonesia. The teaching of an Indigenous language in school is given the least amount of time. In Gorontalo province, although the provincial government is responsible and authorized to manage high school and special needs education, teaching the Gorontalo language has not been part of the curriculum. As for the city/regency that is responsible for primary and junior high school, elementary school has Gorontalo language for 2 hours (70 minutes) a week while Bahasa Indonesia is taught for 8 hours a week. This suggests that the Gorontalo language is less valued

compared to Bahasa Indonesia. The Indigenous languages do not enjoy the same privileges offered to Bahasa Indonesia. Indigenous languages are recognized for their benefits to the national language - to support Bahasa Indonesia's improvement and enrich its vocabulary - and not for the development and preservation of the Indigenous language (Darmayanti, 2019; Suwanto, 2020).

Since the national government granted the regional authority to manage Indigenous languages, the promotion of the daily use of the Gorontalo language is limited at the meso level of regional government. There are only three provincial regulations related to Gorontalo language: the Regulation on Protection of Gorontalo Traditional Culture and Expression, the Regulation on Local Content Curriculum and the Regulation on Gorontalo Language and Literature and its Spelling. None of these regulations endorse the use of the Gorontalo language in daily activities or offer incentives to people to promote and protect it. The threat of Indigenous language loss seems to relate to the absence of an Indigenous language policy at the macro and meso levels.

These descriptions suggest the influence of the National (macro) and regional (meso) policies to promote the use of Bahasa Indonesia have indirectly impacted the family's decision regarding language use. Each level of government at the macro and meso levels has supported Bahasa Indonesia and prevented Indigenous language use in public and education domains. This situation confirms Curdt-Christiensen's (2009) argument on how the structure of national language policy may affect the family language policy at home. The interview participants understand that to succeed in school, their children must be able to speak Bahasa Indonesia, as it is one of the required subjects to be taken in the national exam in primary, junior and senior high school. This supports Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020)'s claim that FLP is often motivated

by parents' concern about their children's education in the societal/mainstream language. When parents see their home language as an educational barrier or problem, preventing them from accessing educational information, and their children from succeeding in education, then the chance of maintaining this home language is very small.

Social and Economy Benefits. Knowledge in a language can be a source of social and economic advantage (Grin, 2003). The majority of the survey participants agreed that speaking Bahasa Indonesia is important to gain education and employment and to communicate effectively. This means the participants recognize without Bahasa Indonesia, it would be impossible to communicate with people from different ethnic groups. Similarly, the interview participants also acknowledge the importance of Bahasa Indonesia particularly in education, economy and society as indicated below:

- If you go somewhere [outside the province] and meet others, you need it to talk to others. (Rukaya)

- Not everyone uses Gorontalo language. (Fitri)

- […] to study [in school] children need to understand the language. (Ewing)

- They need Bahasa Indonesia, so they understand the book and teachers (Boki)

- For a job […] must be interviewed in Bahasa Indonesia. (Amina)

Although the quantitative regression analysis indicates that there is no significant correlation between the respondent's profession and language vitality, 30% of the respondents believe that the Gorontalo language does not help them to secure a good job with a higher salary and 46.7% have a neutral perception. This resonates-with Christiansen and Huang (2020), Romaine (2013), and Fishman (2014) who state that language decisions on whether to continue developing a home language are related to the economic benefits that the language can provide.

Cultural Value. Cultural value refers to the symbolic notion that motivates language practice in the family. As indicated in the quantitative survey, the Gorontalo language is valued as part of the identity of a Gorontalese. Conversely, Bahasa Indonesia unifies all different ethnicities. In both data sets, the predominant reason to learn the Gorontalo language is related to their cultural identity while Bahasa Indonesia relates to their national identity. In the attitude survey response 90% of the respondents agreed with the statement "It is important to learn Bahasa Indonesia because it's the language that unifies the country" while 76% agreed that "Speaking Gorontalo is vital to my identity and existence as a Gorontalese". The mothers were also asked if they were proud to be a Gorontalese. They all indicated that they were proud of their culture and their identity as Gorontalese. When asked about how important it is to be able to speak the Gorontalo language, they offered a variety of answers:

- If you are Gorontalese, you should be able to use the language, at least understand it (Boki)

- Gorontalo language is important, it shows that we are Gorontalese. (Saripa)

- They [Gorontalese] will recognize you from your language [if you travel outside the region] and be able to help you out. (Rukaya)

- Very important, we should use this language. (Fatma)

- It's our language, we cannot connect to our roots and traditions without it. (Saripa)

As we can see from the above responses, language planning is built on the identity, cultural connections and traditions that are rooted in daily life. However, this perspective does not always correlate with the participant's language practice.

The reasons for choosing the Gorontalo language suggest that age led to language choice (see Chapter VI for details). This hints that language planning cannot be separated from the

cultural values that are held by the Gorontalese. Baruadi (2012) suggests that the cultural values of ethnic Gorontalese, that include respect for the rulers, traditional leaders, and older people, continues to be practiced. While they do respect the culture that they are part of, language planning practice is still influenced by the dominant language.

With this in mind, languages are viewed as manifestations of culture. This finding is in consonance with Tse (2001) and Oriyama (2016) who view that mainstream, school and peer culture can be strong forces that compete against or strengthen the home culture.

Historical Factors. When discussing language planning at the micro level, historical factors should be taken into consideration, particularly within the family. As discussed previously, Gorontalo had experienced occupation from Portugal, Holland and Japan. It was the first region in Indonesia to declare independence from Dutch Occupation and declare its loyalty to the government of Indonesia in January 1942, before Soekarno's declaration in Jakarta in August 1945 (Kimura, 2007). Even after the struggle for independence and abdicating the region as a part of Indonesia, Gorontalo could not have its own province. For more details, please see Appendix M.

Internal Factors of Family Language Planning

Family Language Attitudes, Choice and Management

Positive Attitudes and Beliefs. A positive attitude towards Indigenous language is a significant factor that promotes its maintenance. Data from quantitative studies indicate there are positive attitudes towards the teaching and learning activities with children at home or in school (see Table 32 for details). Although three mothers believe that the language will not give their children future advantage in education and in the workplace, due to the economic and geographic

situation, all parents are optimistic that the language is culturally part of their identity as

Gorontalese and consider it crucial to pass the Gorontalo language to their children.

Among the interviewees, the most common reasons to pass on the language included

ethnic and cultural identity. The majority of survey and interview participants identified with the

Gorontalo language and culture, and related language to their ethnicity. Therefore, it is not

surprising that preserving the Gorontalo identity was one of the main reasons for using the

Gorontalo language and wanting to teach it to their children. The parents believed that preserving

the language would help their children safeguard their identity, particularly when they are

outside the province, where other Gorontalese would be able to identify and help them. Fishman

(2001) and Spolsky (2014) indicate that the minority language is a tool for parents to transmit

cultural identity to their children, especially in multilingual contexts, where prestigious

languages such as Bahasa Indonesia and English in this study context, are dominant.

Positive parental minority language attitudes support a stronger minority language

environment at home. Positive attitudes lead to children's greater minority language proficiency

and use (Hollebeke, et al., 2020). Parents' positive attitudes to the Gorontalo language through

increased use will influence children's perception and ultimately, language development and

maintenance. Although language ideologies play a substantial role in establishing the family

language policy, and influencing children's language acquisition, parental language beliefs alone

are not sufficient to ensure heritage language maintenance and children's bilingualism (Kirsch,

2012). Attention must be focused on how ideologies, planning and practices interact and

influence one another (King et al., 2008; Schwartz, 2010).

Language Choice. Spolsky (2014) stated that language choice is controlled by the

speaker. Fishman posed generalizations that Spolsky (2004; 2007) adapted in his domain

analysis, namely, that each domain is "commonly associated with a particular variety or language" (Fishman, 1972, p. 44). He defines them in terms of place, topic and the role-relations of the participants. According to Spolsky (2007), every domain has its own policy, "with some features controlled internally and others under the influence or control of external forces" (p. 2).

Although reported language use and actual language practice do not always align. Romanowski (2021) states that declared language practices vary depending on the preferences and the speakers. In this study, language use of the Gorontalo language at home suggests that Gorontalo Malay and Bahasa Indonesia are dominant in both survey and interview results. Since observation was not conducted, it is difficult to determine whether the reported language practice with different people is actual. The analysis on language choice reveals participants' reasons as the age of the other speaker, respecting the other speaker's language use, their level of comfort and proficiency, context and emotional condition of the mother, and the need for repetition for clarification. Individual choices cannot be perceived as completely "free" because the micro level activity is always related to the macro environment. Moreover, language discourses change over time, partly because individuals move around within these structures, prolonging, resisting and reorganizing how they interact with the world (Canagarajah, 2006; Chua & Baldauf, 2011; Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008). Hence, it can be said that although individual language choice is planned at the micro-level, it influences and is influenced by macro and meso level planning.

When parents no longer use the Gorontalo language at home, ultimately exposure in the form of language practice is minimum. In the case of a vulnerable Indigenous language, ample input and management efforts are needed for children to acquire, use and eventually master it. Increased exposure to the minority language, which in the case of Gorontalo language depends

on the family's use and maintenance. More importantly, increased Indigenous language input does not obstruct dominant language acquisition and proficiency (Cummin, 1976; 1979).

Language Management. Family language management entails efforts to control the language use by family members, particularly in children (Spolsky, 2004; Schwartz, 2010) and this policy usually is not written in an official document. In short, language management is about how parents invest themselves in the intended linguistic practice in the family to influence the children's language development (Curdt-Christiansen (2009). In terms of language management efforts apart from code switching between Bahasa Indonesia and Gorontalo language, the interview reveals that two of eight mothers (25%) spent time with their children teaching them Gorontalo in their spare time or before bedtime, The survey questions regarding parents' activities (with children) revealed that 23.3% talk in Gorontalo with their children, 6.7% encourage children to learn, 11.7% motivate their children to answer them in Gorontalo, 16.7% talk to grandparents in Gorontalo and 6.7% tell stories in Gorontalo. These numbers suggest that there is a low level of interest and effort from parents to teach children the language, despite the desire for their children to speak Gorontalo, as stated in another question.

The data indicated that parents are reluctant to do different language activities with children because they lack fluency and support for language learning, such as books, movies and media. Mattheoudakis, et al. (2017) suggest that although parents can enroll children in Indigenous language classes, not every Indigenous community has a community-based school, particularly in the Gorontalo community. Home language fluency enables meaningful communication between generations (Muller, et al., 2020), yet Gorontalo children can no longer communicate in their native language with the older generation. Language management studies stress the role of parental input for language maintenance, highlighting the importance of family

language practices based on persistence and consistency, and of parental use of specific teaching/learning techniques such as modelling, rehearsing, elicitation and word games (Pauwels 2005). Without effort and commitment from parents, the Gorontalo language will hardly survive.

Family Language Awareness. Parents' language awareness plays a crucial role in family language, planning and family language practice. Language awareness is the basis of language practice and planning. Individual language beliefs, practice and management are closely related to language awareness. Accordingly, the family environment and awareness about language supports Indigenous language maintenance in the home. Most of the mothers in this study are not aware of language shift and language death. For them, the Gorontalo language will continue to be spoken, because the number of Gorontalese in the province is increasing; they are unaware that language transmission requires daily language use. Brenzinger et al. (2003) state that the number of speakers does not guarantee vitality because speakers' populations must be considered in relation to other speech communities (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006) or the language speakers shift to other languages (Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014), such as Gorontalo Malay and Bahasa Indonesia.

The participants assume that their children will learn the language as they grow up but they lack information about how language is learned. Becker (2013) argues that parents often do not discuss language awareness with their children and find it difficult to maintain the heritage language. When they lack knowledge and information about language learning and multilingualism, language endangerment occurs (Budiyana, 2017). Children learn their Indigenous language when family members speak to them in the language. In the case of the Gorontalo language, it was no longer passed on in the Gorontalo community for a variety of reasons including dominant language interference in the private domain and lack of fluency as

mentioned earlier. In this study, from interviews conducted with the mother, and not with each family member such as the husband and children, the results indicate that family language awareness does not occur.

Language Planning From the Bottom Up as a Key to Reversing Language Shift

In Indonesia, discourses on language policy have generally centered on top-down agency and macro issues, particularly on the government's role in the articulation, direction, and implementation of language planning in public institutions. Although a decentralization policy and national regulations have mandated the preservation and protection of Indigenous languages to the regional government, very little concern was given to the bottom level agencies and grassroots-initiated language programs. To reverse language loss, Bilash (2012) suggested systematic language exposure at all levels of society: individuals, families, communities, institutions, and government.

With the current endangered status of Gorontalo language, that is in shifting or definitely endangered, because it is less used in public places, such as language education, the media, the legal domain and other official spaces. It is worsened by family language practice and management that limit its use at home. It is necessary to take action to prevent the language from losing its speakers continuously.

At the macro level, the prestige status of Bahasa Indonesia is maintained in official documents/meetings, education, media, and public spaces. The Indigenous language is protected by the Constitution, and Indonesia is also one of the countries that signed the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP) in 2007, offering people the right to retain their mother tongue. Despite the law, the functions of this language are limited to the home

domain and little attention has been given to promoting and preserving the language by the national and regional governments.

There is little connection between macro national language planning, and meso regional language planning. The national level has delegated the regional government to protect and preserve the Indigenous language, but it did not define how the protection should be provided. Another regulation to prioritize and promote Bahasa Indonesia in almost all domains has created an imbalance since it limits Indigenous language to only certain domains. The national education policy focuses on the use and promotion of Bahasa Indonesia and restricts the use of the Indigenous language to the first two years of education.

It is difficult for the regional government to find space for Indigenous language teaching because the medium of instruction is Bahasa Indonesia and the majority of learning time has been allotted for Bahasa Indonesia and other lessons. The only space left for the regional government to use as a subject in local content curriculum is 70 minutes per week. As suggested by Suwarno (2020) "since the incoherence occurs hierarchically, a lower regulation (regional government) needs revision, to follow an upper regulation and due to normativity, the revision is essential, even mandatory". Bahasa Indonesia has been part of language planning at the macro and meso levels and it even extends to the micro level. Revising the policy from top down would be chaotic, since many different regulations, laws, and even the Constitution would need to be revisited. Preparing the bottom level actors, followed by reconstructing the regional language planning on the use of the Gorontalo language regionally, could be taken into consideration. In that, regional regulations should focus on teaching the Gorontalo language as a subject by increasing the teaching hours of learning it in school and outside school.

To reverse language shift, research suggests that conscientious efforts from the bottom-up - individuals, families and community agencies - play a role in language conservation and maintenance. Haarmann (1990), suggests "[…] the success of language-planning efforts will ultimately depend on the evaluation of measures and prescriptions by the individual speaker (p. 117), that is on speakers' attitudes toward the languages and varieties they use, or which language planners want them to use. Furthermore, Bilash (2012) argues that preserving the language must be an ongoing process that begins with community awareness of a problem, a consensus among the community to address the problem, and a long-term strategy. Knowledge, skills, and compassion of elders in the community played a crucial role. Their skills can greatly contribute to the development of culturally relevant and dynamic community-relevant programs. As Mckay-Carriere and Bilash (2010) emphasize, elders are knowledgeable about stories, legends, traditions, and life on the land, and they preserve a rich history through their daily interactions.

Chua's (2006) studies on Language Planning in Singapore show strong efforts at the macro level as the government regulates, promotes, and provides many resources for promoting the use of Mandarin as an alternative for the dialects, such as Hokkien, Cantonese and Hakka. It also aims to build a more unified nation by reinforcing Mandarin language in schools. Despite these efforts, eventually the individual's and community had to choose to either switch to Mandarin or keep using their dialect. In the absence of community support, initiative, and awareness, LP at the macro level is unlikely to be successful.

At the micro level, one recommendation that this study suggests is establishing a Gorontalo Community language center as expressed by the interviewed parents. They wish to have a place where they and their children could learn and use their language. To date, the

private Gorontalo cultural centers (*sanggar budaya*) in most sub districts focus mainly on learning aspects of Gorontalo culture such as traditional dance, music and arts. Therefore, the existence of a Gorontalo Community Language Center to exclusively teach Gorontalo language for children and the younger generation could be a way to unite the community and prevent language loss.

Prevention of language loss should begin with the individual. If one still values the language as part of his/her ethnic identity, and has a strong loyalty toward the language, he/she should use it daily at least in the private domain within the family / with friends regardless of the pressure from the dominant language. Encouraging loyalty to ethnic identity and the cultural value of the language is required. More importantly, there is a need for the community, in particular mothers in families, to become aware of the loss of the Gorontalo language and even more importantly, to use their agency and desire to initiate the ideas proposed. A top-down approach needs to be accompanied by the bottom-up drive of the local population.

Overall, languages form the foundation of a distinct cultural identity. Speaking a dominant language does not mean ethnic groups have to give up their right to maintain and promote their Indigenous language locally and globally. Government support, funding, access to education and media, and appreciation and respect toward the language, could motivate endangered language speakers to reclaim their ancestral tongues for generations to come.

Limitations of the Study

Although this is a mixed method study that stands out in its benefits for exploring quantitative results in more detail within a qualitative framework, this study is not without limitations. First, due to Covid 19 restrictions, I had to employ and train a research assistant to collect some data. However, only I am responsible for data analysis and interpretation. Secondly,

limited funding was also a challenge to be able to complete this project. Thanks to the Ford Foundation Alumni Award and the University of Alberta graduate research travel award, I was able to complete this study.

A further limitation of this study is the choice of using a paper-based survey instead of an online survey that took a significant amount of time for coding and data input. It was a wise decision since not all respondents are technologically savvy, and the internet is not accessible at the research site. Furthermore, using a paper-based survey allowed for a more inclusive approach, as it ensured that all respondents, regardless of their technological proficiency or accessibility to the internet, were able to participate in the study. Additionally, the online interviewing method used with the mother participants had limitations. Although this method allowed me to view the participants' facial expressions and emotions during the interviews, it also prevented me from building a close relationship with them, especially when internet and audio connections were interrupted. The participants were, thankfully, willing to continue the conversation, restart it, and spend more time on the interview.

Considering the qualitative interview section is limited to the voices of mothers of lower grade elementary students, I did not interview other family members such as father, grandparents and relatives. If I could interview and observe each member of the family at home, I would have a better understanding of intergenerational transmission of language.

Additionally, since this is a small-scale survey focusing only on one region in Gorontalo province, perhaps it might not inform the language vitality of the whole Gorontalo province. Although, the vitality assessment scales can be applied to other Indigenous languages in Gorontalo specifically or Indonesia.

Future Research

Despite the prevalence of language death, few researchers have conducted studies on the vitality of threatened Indigenous languages in Indonesia. Therefore, there are many opportunities for future research in the field of language vitality, language maintenance and language shift in the Indonesian context. The following are some main research priorities for the future.

1. Indigenous languages in Indonesia might benefit from having its language assessed through the use of different language vitality assessment scales such as UNESCO's Language Endangerment framework, Ethnologue's EGIDS, and Fishman's GIDS. Adaptable language assessment scales such as LVMS that was applied to assess Gorontalo language vitality might also be used with other languages in Indonesia.

2. Through different methods of data collection such as interviews, observations, or video recordings, it is possible to gather more comprehensive information about intergenerational transmission at the micro level. This could focus on the language use of each family member. Further, language use in a broader community covering different regions might also be the focus of future research.

3. The role of gender in language maintenance and language shift may be explored in future studies despite the quantitative finding that gender does not influence language use in the community in this study. Nevertheless, since the number of survey participants was small and the interview did not include other family members such as the father, children, or grandparents, the results cannot be generalized. In the future, studies may focus specifically on micro and meso level language planning for a better understanding of how these two levels are interconnected.

4. Last but not least, as can be seen from the study findings and scholarly information, education plays a crucial role in either preserving or reversing language endangerment. Future researchers may consider examining the role of education systems and all its affiliates. More importantly, it is essential for future research to incorporate observations in private and public schools and to investigate how elementary schools provide Gorontalo language education. Is it a way to maintain language and culture, or is it simply a path to meet a regulation? Learning the language in elementary school with 70 minutes of instruction per week is not sufficient to reverse language shift, but what additional micro level support might help requires further investigation.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Gorontalo Dictionary

Gorontalo

| Home | Lexicon | English - Gorontalo | Indonesian - Gorontal |

| a | b | c | d | e | f | g | h | i | j | k | l | m | n | o | p | q | r | s | t | u | v | w | x | y | z |

A – a

a *expression; satisfaction or sarcasm.* a; *a.* **a de: uwito** That's it. *baru itu.*

a:a:kali *v.* pretend; *berpura-pura.* **tiyo bo a:a:kali teye** he is just pretending here. *dia hanya berpura-pura disini.*

    a:kaliyolo *verb passive.* (be) cheated; *ditipu.*

    mo:ngakali *v.* deceive; *menipu.*

a:lasi *n.* lining, base, table cloth; *alas.* **ma to:nu alasi lo meja botiya** where is the table cloth. *dimana alas meja ini.*

    a:lasiyalo *passive verb.* (be) given a base; *diberi alas.*

    mongalasi *v.* giving a base; *memberi alas.*

a:menga *adj.* disappointed; *kecewa.* **poopiki:rangiya wonu mobulota to oliyo bolo a;menga** think well before borrowing anything, you will be dissapointed. *pikirkan baik baik sebelum meminjam apapun, nanti kau kecewa.*

a:nggapu *noun.* assumption; *anggapan.* **uyito bo a:nggapu olemu** that is only your assumption. *itu hanya anggapanmu.*

    a:nggapuwolo *verb (passive).* (be) considered; *dianggap.*

a:ntohe *adjective.* lacking; *kurang.* **podaha a:ntohe wonu bolo mohutu karaja** becareful, do not be lacking to complete your duty. *berhati-hati jangan sampai kurang dalam memyelesaikan pekerjaan.*

a:ntuluwolo *verb (passive).* (be) destroyed; *dihancurkan.* **bo:pee:nta hudungu botiya mowali rata** only destroyed once this building will be leveled to the ground. *hanya dihancurkan sekali gedung ini akan menjadi rata dengan tanah.*

a:pangi *noun.* apem cake (a kind of traditional pancake); *apem.* **otohila latiya monga a:pangi wonu dumodupo** I love eating apem cake in the morning. *saya senang makan kue apem dipagi hari.*

a:ruti *adjective.* smooth; *halus / lembut.* **bate a:ruti musti mahale** fine batik must be expensive. *batik halus mesti mahal harganya.*

aa *n.* tree brach that alsmost unuseful; *tangkai kayu yang hampir tidak berguna.* **pohamamayi aa lo ayu bo podi:o** get tree branches for a firewood. *ambilkan tangkai kayu untuk kayu api.*

aa:panga *n.* more than one jobs in far apart; *pekerjaan lebih dari satu yang saling berjauhan.* **paya daa tiyo sababu ma bolo aa:panga** poor him becuase of having more than one jobs in far apart. *Payah sekali dia sebab memiliki pekerjaan lebih dari satu dan saling berjauhan.*

aato *n.* broom; *sapu.* **timi-timiidu dumadupo pa:ngo musi aatalo** Every morning front yard must be swept. *setiap pagi halaman rumah musti disapu.*

aba *n.* nick name for father, or elder men; *kata panggilan untuk ayah atau laki-laki yang sudah lanjut usia.* **Watiya monao woli aba** I am going with my father. *saya akan pergi dengan ayah.*

Gorontalo

English - Gorontalo

a b c d f g h i j k l m n o p r s t u v w

A – a

a	a
a call to pray (muslim)	bangu
a large packages of cloth for sale	ba:ntali
and	boli
apem cake (a kind of traditional pancake)	a:pangi
Ashr (afternoon prayer time for muslim)	asari
assumption	a:nggapu

A – a

a *expression; satisfaction or sarcasm.* a; *a.* **a de: uwito** That's it. *baru itu.*

a:a:kali *v.* pretend; *berpura-pura.* **tiyo bo a:a:kali teye** he is just pretending here. *dia hanya berpura-pura disini.*

    a:kaliyolo *verb passive.* (be) cheated; *ditipu.*

    mo:ngakali *v.* deceive; *menipu.*

a:lasi *n.* lining, base, table cloth; *alas.* **ma to:nu alasi lo meja botiya** where is the table cloth. *dimana alas meja ini.*

    a:lasiyalo *passive verb.* (be) given a base; *diberi alas.*

    mongalasi *v.* giving a base; *memberi alas.*

a:menga *adj.* disappointed; *kecewa.* **poopiki:rangiya wonu mobulota to oliyo bolo a;menga** think well before borrowing anything, you will be dissapointed. *pikirkan baik baik sebelum meminjam apapun, nanti kau kecewa.*

a:nggapu *noun.* assumption; *anggapan.* **uyito bo a:nggapu olemu** that is only your assumption. *itu hanya anggapanmu.*

    a:nggapuwolo *verb (passive).* (be) considered; *dianggap.*

a:ntohe *adjective.* lacking; *kurang.* **podaha a:ntohe wonu bolo mohutu karaja** becareful, do not be lacking to complete your duty. *berhati-hati jangan sampai kurang dalam memyelesaikan pekerjaan.*

a:ntuluwolo *verb (passive).* (be) destroyed; *dihancurkan.* **bo:pee:nta hudungu botiya mowali rata** only destroyed once this building will be leveled to the ground. *hanya dihancurkan sekali gedung ini akan menjadi rata dengan tanah.*

a:pangi *noun.* apem cake (a kind of traditional pancake); *apem.* **otohila latiya monga a:pangi wonu dumodupo** I love eating apem cake in the morning. *saya senang makan kue apem dipagi hari.*

a:ruti *adjective.* smooth; *halus / lembut.* **bate a:ruti musti mahale** fine batik must be expensive. *batik halus mesti mahal harganya.*

aa *n.* tree brach that alsmost unuseful; *tangkai kayu yang hampir tidak berguna.* **pohamamayi aa lo ayu bo podi:o** get tree branches for a firewood. *ambilkan tangkai kayu untuk kayu api.*

aa:panga *n.* more than one jobs in far apart; *pekerjaan lebih dari satu yang saling berjauhan.* **paya daa tiyo sababu ma bolo aa:panga** poor him becuase of having more than one jobs in far apart. *Payah sekali dia sebab memiliki pekerjaan lebih dari satu dan saling berjauhan.*

aato *n.* broom; *sapu.* **timi-timiidu dumadupo pa:ngo musi aatalo** Every morning front yard must be swept. *setiap pagi halaman rumah musti*

Gorontalo

Indonesian - Gorontalo
a b d g h j k l m o p r s t u

B – b

badik	**badi**
balak (kayu untuk ramuan rumah)	**ba:laki**
balasan	**ba:lasi**
balsem	**balsemu**
ban	**bani**
bangku	**bangga**
bangsawan	**bangusa**
bankrut	**moba:nggurutu**
bantal	**alanguluwa**
bedak	**badaa**
belajar	**mobala:jari**
belimbing	**balimbi**
belok	**bale-bale**
benar	**banari**
bendera	**bandera**
bendungan	**bandungan**
bengkuang	**bangi**

B – b

ba:ba:ngo *verb.* clean; *bersih (dari runput).* **pa: nguu ma ba:ba:ngo** my yard is clean. *halamanku sudah bersih.*

ba:ntali *noun.* a large packages of cloth for sale; *bungkusan besar berisi kain untuk dijual.* **ma woluwo ba:ntali mota te:to** there is a large package of cloth for sale there. *sudah ada bungltusan kain di sana.*

bale-bale *verb.* turn back; *belok.* **yilongola oto ma bale-bale?** why did the car turn back? *mengapa mobil berbelok?*

balimbi *noun.* star fruit; *belimbing.* **mo:linga daa balimbi to ile:ngi li kakamu** the star fruits in your brother garden is very sweet. *manis sekali buah belimbing di kebun kakakmu.*

bambawu *noun.* scorpion; *kalajengking.* **ja potuluhe to meseli, dadata bambawu** don't sleep on the floor, there are lots of scorpion. *jangan tidur dilantai, banyak kalajengking.*

banari *noun.* true; *benar.* **anu banari watiya dila mohe** If I'm right, I'm not affraid. *jika saya benar, saya tidak takut.*

bandungan *noun.* dam; *bendungan.* **bandungan lolohubu sababu ilodungga lo taluhe daa** the dam collapsed because of being hit by a huge amount of water. *bendungan rubuh sebab diterjang air besar.*

banga-bangango *adverb.* breathless; *terengah-engah.* **tiyo banga-bangango sababu bo heli tilumetea: mola** he was breathing breathlessly because he had just run. *dia terengah-engah sebab baru saja berlari.*

bangganga *adjective.* coarse / rude; *kasar.* **binte boti donggo bangganga** this corn is still coarse. *jagung ini masih kasar.*

bangganga *adjective.* rude; *kasar.*

banggohe *adjective.* big; *besar.* **Maluiyo banggohe ngaamila** all of his chickens are big. *semua ayamnya besar-besar.*

bangi *noun.* bengkoang; *bengkuang.* **bangi mopiyohu pohutu sayori** bengkoang is good for vegie. *bengkuang baik untuk dibuat sayur.*

bangu *noun.* a call to pray (muslim); *azan.* **ma bangu, pobukalo** its azan, break your fast. *sudah azan, berbuka puasalah.*

bangusa *noun.* nobleman; *bangsawan.* **di:la u bangusa u potumulo, bo hale mopiyohu** not a noble source of life but a good behavior. *bukan menjadi bangsawan sumber kehidupan tetapi kelakuan yg baik.*

bani *noun.* tire; *ban.* **bani lo rasipedeu lobutu ola:ngo** my bicycle's tire broke yesterday. *ban sepedaku pecah kemarin.*

ba:alo *noun.* fist; *kepalan tangan.* **paiyola lo ba:alo de uhito orasa liyo** he'll be sorry when someone hits him with his fist. *dia akan menyesal jika dipukul dengan kepalan tangan.*

Appendix B

Map of Indonesia Linguistic groups
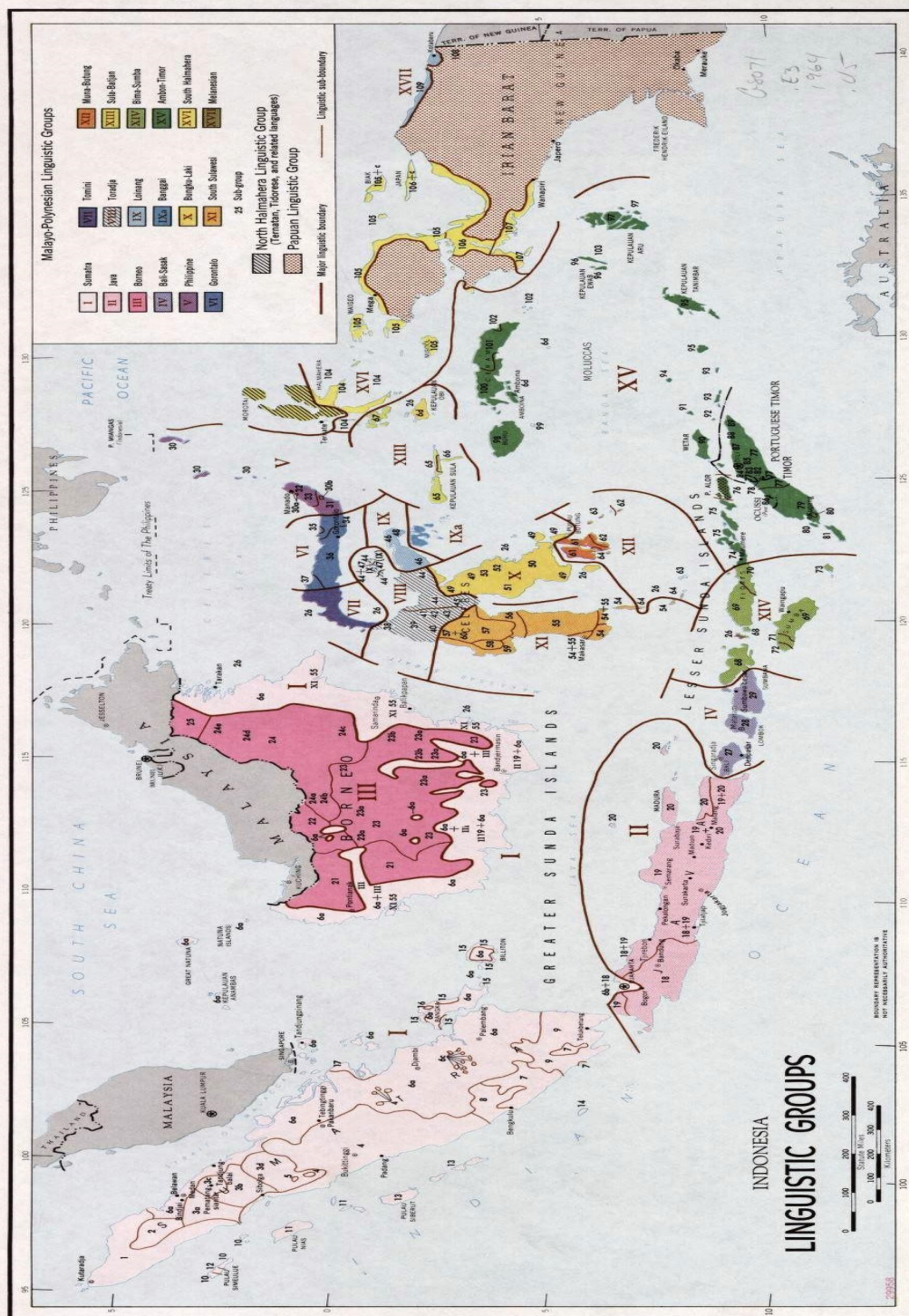
LINGUISTIC GROUPS

A. MALAYO-POLYNESIAN
  I. Sumatra Group
    1. Atjehnese
    2. Gajo
    3. Batak dialects
        3a. Northern group (Karo, Alas, Pakpak)
        3b. Toba
        3c. Simalungun (Timur)
        3d. Angkola-Mandailing
    4. Minangkabau
    5. Lubu
    6. Malay dialects
        6a. Riouw Malay
        6b. Djakarta Malay
        6c. Kubu
        6d. Maluku Malay
    7. "Middle Malay"
    8. Rejang-Lebong
    9. Lampung
    10. Simeulue
    11. Nias
    12. Sigule
    13. Mentawai
    14. Enggano
    15. Lontjong
    16. Lom
    17. Oranglau
  II. Java Group
    18. Sundanese
    19. Javanese (Bandjarese on Borneo)
    20. Madurese
  III. Borneo Group (Dayak Languages)
    21. Land Dayak group
    22. Iban group
    23. Ot-Danum group
        23a. Ngadju
        23b. Maanjan
    24. Kenja-Bahau-Kajan group
        24a. Busan
        24b. Kajan
        24c. Modan
        24d. Kenja
        24e. Bulungan
    25. Murut group
    26. Badjo (sea gypsies)
  IV. Bali-Sasak Group
    27. Bali
    28. Sasak
    29. Sumbawa
  V. Philippine Group
    30. Bengihe-Talaud
        30a. Bantik
        30b. Bentenan
    31. Mongondo (with Ponosakan)
    32. Tombulu-Tonsea-Tondano
    33. Tontemboa-Tonsawang
  VI. Gorontalo Group
    34. Bulanga
    35. Kaidipan
    36. Gorontalo
    37. Buol
  VII. Tomini Group
  VIII. Toradja Group
    38. Kaili
    39. Kulawi
    40. Pipikoro
    41. Napu
    42. Bada-Beso
    43. Leboni
    44. Barere
    45. Wotu
  IX. Loinang Group
    46. Loinang
    47. Bobongko
    48. Balantak

IXa. Banggai
  X. Bungku-Laki Group
    49. Bungku-Mori
    50. Laki
    51. Laiwui
    52. Landawe
    53. Mapute
  XI. South Sulawesi Languages
    54. Makasarese
    55. Buginese
    56. Luwu group
    57. Sadan
    58. Pitu-Ulunna-Salu
    59. Mandar dialects
    60. Seko
  XII. Muna-Butung Group
    61. Muna-Butung
    62. South Butung
    63. Languages of the Tukangbesi Islands,
        Kalaotoa, Karompa, and Bonerate
    64. Wolio and Lajolo
  XIII. Sula-Batjan Group
    65. Taliabu dialects
    66. Sula dialects
    67. Batjan (nearly extinct)
  XIV. Bima-Sumba Group
    68. Bimanese
    69. Mangarai
    70. Ngada-Lionese
    71. West Sumba
    72. East Sumba
    73. Hawu
  XV. Ambon-Timor Group
    74. Krue
    75. Solor
    76. Kedang, Alor, and Pantar (Papuan
        languages also spoken on Alor)
    77. Belo (Tetum)
    78. Marae
    79. Timorese
    80. Kupang
    81. Rotinese
    82. Bunak
    83. Kemak
    84. Tocode
    85. Mambai
    86. Vaiken
    87. Galoli
    88. Macassai
    89. Dagada
    90. Wetar languages
    91. Romang
    92. Kisar
    93. Letinese dialects
    94. Damar languages
    95. Tanimbar languages
    96. Kaiese
    97. Aruese
    98. Buru
    99. Ambelau
    100. West Ceram languages
    101. East Ceram languages
    102. Gorong
    103. Banda
  XVI. South Halmahera – West New Guinea Group
    104. South Halmahera languages
    105. Nufor
    106. Windhesi
    107. Kowiai dialects
  XVII. Melanesian Languages
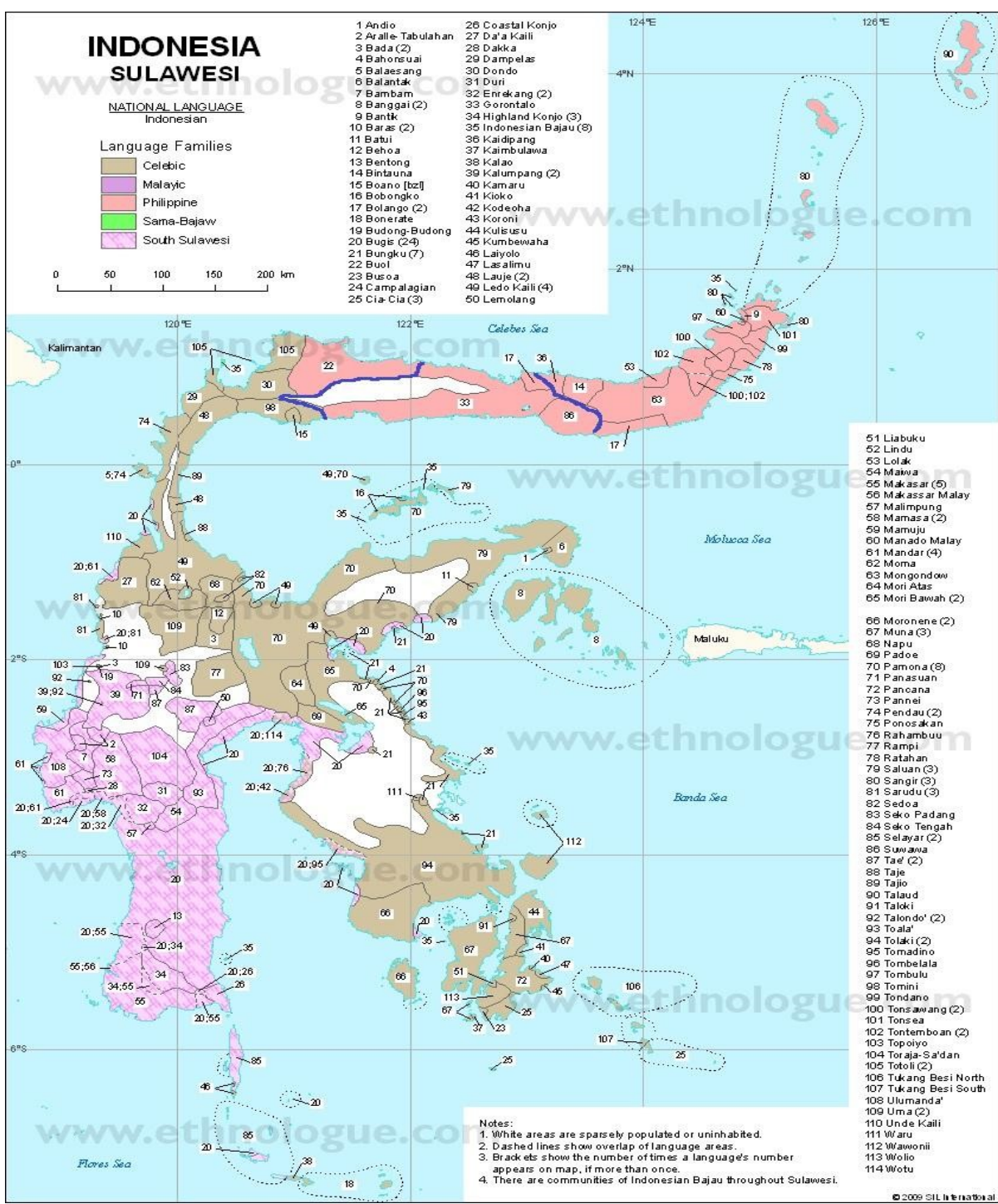   108. Jautefa
    109. Sarmi dialects
B. NORTH HALMAHERA
C. PAPUAN

Source: United States Central Intelligence Agency. (1964) Indonesia Linguistic Groups.
[Washington] [Map] Retrieved from the Library of Congress,
https://www.loc.gov/item/75690917/

Appendix C

Language in Sulawesi Island

INDONESIA SULAWESI

NATIONAL LANGUAGE
Indonesian

Language Families
- Celebic
- Malayic
- Philippine
- Sama-Bajaw
- South Sulawesi

0   50   100   150   200 km

1 Andio
2 Aralle-Tabulahan
3 Bada (2)
4 Bahonsuai
5 Balaesang
6 Balantak
7 Bambam
8 Banggai (2)
9 Bantik
10 Baras (2)
11 Batui
12 Behoa
13 Bentong
14 Bintauna
15 Boano [bzl]
16 Bobongko
17 Bolango (2)
18 Bonerate
19 Budong-Budong
20 Bugis (24)
21 Bungku (7)
22 Buol
23 Busoa
24 Campalagian
25 Cia-Cia (3)
26 Coastal Konjo
27 Da'a Kaili
28 Dakka
29 Dampelas
30 Dondo
31 Duri
32 Enrekang (2)
33 Gorontalo
34 Highland Konjo (3)
35 Indonesian Bajau (8)
36 Kaidipang
37 Kaimbulawa
38 Kalao
39 Kalumpang (2)
40 Kamaru
41 Kioko
42 Kodeoha
43 Koroni
44 Kulisusu
45 Kumbewaha
46 Laiyolo
47 Lasalimu
48 Lauje (2)
49 Ledo Kaili (4)
50 Lemolang

51 Liabuku
52 Lindu
53 Lolak
54 Maiwa
55 Makasar (5)
56 Makassar Malay
57 Malimpung
58 Mamasa (2)
59 Mamuju
60 Manado Malay
61 Mandar (4)
62 Moma
63 Mongondow
64 Mori Atas
65 Mori Bawah (2)
66 Moronene (2)
67 Muna (3)
68 Napu
69 Padoe
70 Pamona (8)
71 Panasuan
72 Pancana
73 Pannei
74 Pendau (2)
75 Ponosakan
76 Rahambuu
77 Rampi
78 Ratahan
79 Saluan (3)
80 Sangir
81 Sarudu (3)
82 Sedoa
83 Seko Padang
84 Seko Tengah
85 Selayar (2)
86 Suwawa
87 Tae' (2)
88 Taje
89 Tajio
90 Talaud
91 Talaki
92 Talondo' (2)
93 Toala'
94 Tolaki (2)
95 Tomadino
96 Tombelala
97 Tombulu
98 Tomini
99 Tondano
100 Tonsawang (2)
101 Tonsea
102 Tontemboan (2)
103 Topoiyo
104 Toraja-Sa'dan
105 Totoli (2)
106 Tukang Besi North
107 Tukang Besi South
108 Ulumanda'
109 Uma (2)
110 Unde Kaili
111 Waru
112 Wawonii
113 Wolio
114 Wotu

Kalimantan

Celebes Sea

Molucca Sea

Maluku

Banda Sea

Flores Sea

Notes:
1. White areas are sparsely populated or uninhabited.
2. Dashed lines show overlap of language areas.
3. Brackets show the number of times a language's number appears on map, if more than once.
4. There are communities of Indonesian Bajau throughout Sulawesi.

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Source: Ethnologue.com

Appendix D

Survey Questions

Introduction

Thank you for agreeing to be a respondent for this research on Gorontalo language vitality in Gorontalo province. There are 45 questions divided into six sections. Please answer all questions to the very best of your ability. This should take about 20-30 minutes to complete, please take as much or as little time as you like. You can do it all at once, or over a few days. Also, while I encourage you to answer all of the questions, you may also answer only as many as you like. Some questions could have multiple answers, mark all that apply.

Please be sure to read and understand the Informed Consent form accompanying this survey. It outlines the purpose, risks, and benefits of the project, and may help to answer any questions or concerns you have.

Section I Basic Demographic questions The following questions are for demographic purposes so that I know I have included people from different backgrounds.	
1.	What is your gender? o Male o Female
2.	Which age group do you belong to? o 18 – 30 years o 31 – 45 years o 45 – 60 years o 61+ years
3.	What ethnicities are you identified with? o Gorontalo o Mixed of Gorontalo and others o Non Gorontalo
4.	Where were you born? (answer one of the options below) o Gorontalo City o Region o Outside the province Where did you grow up? (answer one of the options below) o Gorontalo City o Region o Outside Province Where do you currently live? (answer one of the options below) o Gorontalo City o Region o Outside Province
5.	What is your highest educational background? o Elementary school o Junior High School o High School o College Diploma o Bachelor's degree o Post-graduate degree
6.	What is your profession? o Stay at home parent

	o Government worker o Private employee o Entrepreneur o Farmer o other (please specify)
7	Do you have children? How many children do you have and what are their ages? o NO o Yes – 1 child o 2-4 children o More than 5 children
8.	What is your spouse's ethnicity? o Gorontalo o Non Gorontalo o No spouse

Section II Language Background Information
The following questions will help me to gain a better understanding of your language background.

9.	Which language or languages were used in your family when you were a child? o Gorontalo language (Mamo na'o poolo watiya) o Gorontalo Malay dialect (*ala uti ey, so mo pigi dulu saya*) o Bahasa Indonesia *(saya pergi dulu)* o Other (please specify)
10.	Where did you learn the Gorontalo Language? o At home from parents and relatives o Outside home with friends, neighbors, and colleague o At school o Never o Other (please specify)
11.	Please rate your language competency in the following languages: speaking, reading, writing and understanding 1 = very good 2 = good 3 = fairly good 4 = bad 5 = no skill <table><tr><td rowspan="2">Languages Name</td><td colspan="5">Speaking</td><td colspan="5">Listening</td><td colspan="5">Writing</td><td colspan="5">Reading</td></tr><tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td></tr><tr><td>Bahasa Indonesia</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>English</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Arabic</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Gorontalo language</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>Gorontalo Malay dialect</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>

12.	Among the languages that you speak, which one is the closest to your heart? ○ Gorontalo language (Mamo na'o poolo watiya) ○ Gorontalo Malay dialect (*ala uti ey, so mo pigi dulu saya*) ○ Bahasa Indonesia *(saya pergi dulu)* ○ Arabic ○ English ○ Other (please specify)
13.	Among the languages that you speak, which one do you speak most often at home now? ○ Gorontalo language (Mamo na'o poolo watiya) ○ Gorontalo Malay dialect (*ala uti ey, so mo pigi dulu saya*) ○ Bahasa Indonesia *(saya pergi dulu)* ○ Other (please specify)
14.	How many people do you think speak Gorontalo in Gorontalo province? ○ Most (>90%) ○ More than half of the population (60%-80%) ○ Less than half of the population (30 -50 %) ○ Very few (<30%)
15.	Did you have Gorontalo language classes (as a subject) in school? ○ In primary school ○ In secondary/vocational school ○ Never learned in school
Section III Language Use Questions The following questions will help me to gain a better understanding about how people in Gorontalo use different languages in their daily and professional lives.	
16.	When you speak Gorontalo with whom do you speak? Please tick all that apply. ○ Older people ○ Younger people ○ people of the same age as me ○ All ages people ○ I cannot speak
17.	Among the following languages: Gorontalo language (Mamo na'o poolo watiya) Gorontalo Malay dialect (*ala uti ey, so mo pigi dulu saya*) Bahasa Indonesia *(saya pergi dulu)* Arabic English What language do you use **the most** with these people? <table><tr><td>With your spouse / partner</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>With you children</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>With your nieces / nephew</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>With your father</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>With your mother</td><td></td></tr></table>

	With your siblings	
	With your grandfather	
	With your Grandmother	
	Grandchildren	
	Friends	
	Neighbors	
	Relatives	

18.	Among the following languages: Gorontalo language (Mamo na'o poolo watiya) Gorontalo Malay dialect (*ala uti ey, so mo pigi dulu saya*) Bahasa Indonesia *(saya pergi dulu)* Arabic English What language do these people use the **most when they talk to you**?	

your spouse / partner	
you children	
your nieces / nephew	
your father	
your mother	
your siblings	
grandfather	
Grandmother	
Grandchildren	
Friends	
Neighbors	
Relatives	

19.	Among the following languages; Gorontalo language (Mamo na'o poolo watiya) Gorontalo Malay dialect (*ala uti ey, so mo pigi dulu saya*) Bahasa Indonesia *(saya pergi dulu)* Arabic English What language do you use **the most** in the following situations?

Domains/activities	Language use
Home	
School	
Workplace	
Religious service at the mosque	
Local government services	
Traditional market	
Mall / supermarket	
Activities around neighborhood	
Other	

20.	Among the following languages; Gorontalo language (Mamo na'o poolo watiya) Gorontalo Malay dialect (*ala uti ey, so mo pigi dulu saya*) Bahasa Indonesia *(saya pergi dulu)* Arabic English

What language do you use **the most** in the following activities?

Calling your spouse/friends	
Sending an SMS/WhatsApp's to your spouse	
Sending an SMS/WhatsApp's to your friends	
Sending an SMS/WhatsApp's to your parents	
Updating/commenting status in social media	
Reading newspaper/magazine online	
Listening to music	
Listening to the radio	
Watching TV	

21.	Do you try the following activities in Gorontalo language with your children?

	I don't have children but I would try.	I don't have children and I do not want to try.	I have children but I do not want to try	I have children but I have not tried	I have children and always do this
Talking to them in Gorontalo language as much as possible					
Encourage them to talk to you in Gorontalo language					
Encourage them to talk to with their grandparents in Gorontalo					
Encourage them to learn Gorontalo language					
Story telling about Gorontalo culture					

22.	Do you have or want to have the following services provided in Gorontalo language

Services	Already have	Want to have	Not Sure
Health care-hospital and clinic			

Community services			
Gorontalo language learning center			
Gorontalo Newspaper			
TV shows			
Radio program			
News program			

23.	Do you have any of these available in Gorontalo language and do you ever use them? Indicate how much of each you think there is in Gorontalo and whether you use them or not

Materials	Many	few	none
Library Books			
Children story book			
Dictionaries			
Music			
Video/Movies			
Educational Material			

Section IV Language Legislation and Documentation
The following questions will help me to understand your thoughts about the Gorontalo language policy and documentation. Please indicate whether you know or do not know the following policy exists in your regency, or province. Please read each statement carefully before selecting your answer.

24.	Do you think that the government (national and regional) legislation in your country supports the use of Gorontalo language? o Yes o No o Partly o Don't know
25.	Do you think that the legislation (national and regional) in your country prevents the use of Gorontalo language? o Yes o No o Partly o Don't know
26.	Do you know / hear of institutions or people who cultivate (develop, promote and regulate) **Gorontalo language** in your country? o Yes o No o Partly o Don't know
27.	Do you think that Gorontalo language should be developed (for instance: new words, better spelling or writing, clearer rules etc) so that it could better be used in all kinds of situations? o Yes o No o Partly

	o Don't know

Section V Language attitudes and desires

The following questions will help me to understand your thoughts about the Gorontalo language. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements about your language by ticking the appropriate answer for each statement. Please read each statement carefully before selecting your answer.

28.	I feel proud using the Gorontalo language. o Strongly disagree o Disagree o Neutral o Agree o Strongly Agree
29.	I see the benefits of speaking and teaching Gorontalo language to my children. o Strongly disagree o Disagree o Neutral o Agree o Strongly Agree
30.	I feel that most people in my community are not interested in keeping the Gorontalo language strong. o Strongly disagree o Disagree o Neutral o Agree o Strongly Agree
31.	Speaking Gorontalo is vital to my identity and existence as a Gorontalese. o Strongly disagree o Disagree o Neutral o Agree o Strongly Agree
32.	Competence in Gorontalo language facilitates finding a job and getting a higher salary. o Strongly disagree o Disagree o Neutral o Agree o Strongly Agree
33.	I am satisfied with how well I can speak the Gorontalo language. o Strongly disagree o Disagree o Neutral o Agree o Strongly Agree
34.	I want to teach my children to speak Gorontalo. o Strongly disagree o Disagree o Neutral o Agree o Strongly Agree
35.	It is important to improve my Gorontalo language so that I can use it with my children and other people. o Strongly disagree o Disagree o Neutral o Agree

o Strongly Agree

36. It is important to speak English for international competition.
   o Strongly disagree
   o Disagree
   o Neutral
   o Agree
   o Strongly Agree

37. It is important to learn Arabic because it is the language of our religion.
   o Strongly disagree
   o Disagree
   o Neutral
   o Agree
   o Strongly Agree

38. It is important to learn Bahasa Indonesia because it's the language that unifies the country.
   o Strongly disagree
   o Disagree
   o Neutral
   o Agree
   o Strongly Agree

39. Gorontalo language should be a medium of instruction in elementary school in Gorontalo.
   o Strongly disagree
   o Disagree
   o Neutral
   o Agree
   o Strongly Agree

40. I am satisfied with how my children learn Gorontalo in elementary school.
   o Strongly disagree
   o Disagree
   o Neutral
   o Agree
   o Strongly Agree

Section VI Language Proficiency and Knowledge
The following questions will help me to understand your language knowledge. This is not a test! and you are not being graded so please do not worry if you cannot do all or any of the questions!

41. Would you like to label the parts of the body in Gorontalo language?

	o I cannot do this. o I can do half of it o I can do all of it o I can do this but prefer not to.
42.	Read the following conversation and answer the questions Siti : Hemongola yi'o teye?? Nuke : Wa'u hemo po'olato mo jongge Saronde. Siti : Wololo mao ragai lo o'ato lo Saronde? Nuke : Ahh mogambangi. Bilehi, mo diyambanga ode dimuka wawu mo putariya mayi. Siti : Wanu ulu'u liyo wololo? Nuke : Ulu'u liyo ongo-onggomo heragaiolo modelowa lo o'ato. a. What are they talking about? _____. b. What is Nuke doing? _____. o I cannot do this. o I can do half of it o I can do all of it o I can do this but prefer not to.
43.	Do your best to translate these passages from Gorontalo to Bahasa Indonesia. It's OK if you have trouble, can't translate everything, or just prefer not to answer! Dulahu ma orasawa mopatu da'a wanu mohulonu. Anu ma hui wawu mamo di'olomo, ma jaboti mopatu. Translation: _____ o I cannot do this. o I can do half of it o I can do all of it o I can do this but prefer not to. _____
44.	Do your best to translate this from Bahasa Indonesia to Gorontalo. It is ok if you have trouble or can't translate everything! Saya membersihkan halaman rumah pagi ini. Tiba-tiba, tetangga sebelah kiri rumah saya lewat dan mengajak saya membeli sarapan. Translation: _____ o I cannot do this. o I can do half of it o I can do all of it o I can do this but prefer not to.
45.	Would you be comfortable speaking or using **only Gorontalo language** in the following situations?

Situations	Very comfortable	Comfortable	Not at all comfortable
At home with family			
At school with teachers			

In front of a classroom				
At a job interview				
At a business meeting				
In the traditional market				
In a shop or mall				
Teaching Gorontalo to someone				
Talking with your children				
Talking with your parents				
Ordering food at a restaurant				
Discussion with religious leader				
Writing notes				
Reading books				
Listening to music				

If you are a mother with children in lower elementary school (Grade 1, 2 or 3), would you like to participate in the interview part of this study? If your answer is yes, please leave your contact information below.

Thank you for participating in this survey!

Appendix E

Interview Questions

Interviews for this study will take place at home or at a time and place that both the interviewer and interviewee mutually agreed upon. Interviews will be audio-recorded. The audio recording will be transcribed to permit analysis. Interviewees will be instructed to use the pseudonym chosen for participation in the first phase of this research study.
Interview Format

A. Opening

1. Welcome a participant and thank the individual for agreeing to participate in the interview.
2. Introduce self.
3. Explain the purpose of the study. Ask if the participant has any questions.
4. Ask a participant to confirm their name and pseudonym (audio recorder has not been turned on at this point).
5. Review individual's signed/returned consent form to confirm the information provided (e.g., permission to audio record the interview, permission to use direct quotes in the dissertation and other research publications).
   a. If a participant has agreed to recording, advise that the recorder will be turned on at this point.
   b. If a participant has requested that the interview not be recorded, confirm that the recording device will not be turned on during the interview.
6. Remind interviewee that participation is voluntary and that he/she is free to withdraw from the research study at any time up until 24 hours after the survey transcript has been reviewed and returned to the researcher.
7. Advise participant that he/she is free to decline to answer any questions or parts of questions, take a break at any time during the interview, and end the interview at any time.

B. Interview questions

1. Based on your questionnaire, you indicated that you chose to use *Gorontalo language/ Gorontalo Malay/ Indonesian* often at home with your children. Why do you use this language often with your children?
2. Based on your questionnaire, I have noticed that you indicated that you *can/cannot* speak, read, write, and listen in Gorontalo language? If you can, which skill is the strongest one? Why?
3. Can your children speak Gorontalo language with you or their grandparents? Why not?
4. As a mother of young children, do you wish your children to speak Gorontalo language? Would you like to teach them using this language? Why?
5. If you use Gorontalo, how often do you use it, with whom? In which contexts?

6. According to your experience, do you think Gorontalo parents still continue to use Gorontalo to speak to their children? Grandchildren? Neighbors? Why do you think so? Can you give some examples?
7. What efforts have you done to ensure that your children speak Gorontalo language?
8. Do you think your children will benefit from learning the Gorontalo language? What are some advantages that you could think about learning and teaching the language for your children?
9. Do you think Gorontalo people have shifted to speaking/using other languages such as Bahasa Indonesia and Gorontalo Malay dialect? Why or why not?
10. Where do you hear people using Gorontalo? Who uses it? For what purposes?
11. What do you think are the obstacles to speaking or learning the Gorontalo language?
12. How can people be encouraged to use Gorontalo language in Gorontalo province?
13. Should Gorontalo language be taught in school? Why or why not?
14. What do you think is the value of offering Gorontalo language as a subject in elementary school? How much can children benefit from this program? Will it help children to be able to learn to speak the language fluently or maintain it? Does it have any disadvantages? Why do you think so?
15. What can the community do to improve fluency in Gorontalo? How can they contribute?
16. What do you like most about the Gorontalo language? Why?
17. Do you think Bahasa Indonesia and Gorontalo Malay will replace Gorontalo language in the future? Why?
18. What do you think of the place of English and Arabic languages in Indonesia and in schools?
19. How do you feel if one day the Gorontalo language no longer exists?

C. Closing

1. Advise a participant of the opportunity to review notes/interview transcript after it has been transcribed. Note that they are asked to return all changes or acceptance within one week of receiving the transcript.
2. Conclude by thanking a participant. Remind them that their participation and contributions are important for the future of their language.

Appendix F

Research Assistant Confidentiality Agreement

Project title: Assessing Language Vitality of the Gorontalo Language

I,   , the   Research Assistant   have been hired to

I agree to -

1.   keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than the *Researcher*.

2.   keep all research information in any form or format (survey filled by the participants) secure while it is in my possession.

3.   return all research information in any form or format (Survey filled by the participants) to the *Researcher* when I have completed the research tasks.

4.   after consulting with the *Researcher*, erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to the *Researcher(s)* (e.g., information stored on computer hard drive).

5.   other (specify).

              (Print Name)   (Signature)   (Date)

Researcher

              (Print Name)   (Signature)   (Date)

Appendix G

INFORMATION LETTER and CONSENT FORM

Survey

Study Title: Assessing Language Vitality of the Gorontalo Language

Research Investigator:	**Supervisor:**
Rahmawaty Kadir	Dr. Olenka Bilash
204 Education South	341 Education South
Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2R3	Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2R3
Rahmawaty@ualberta.ca	olenka.bilash@ualberta.ca
780-802-2785	780-492-5101

Background
You are invited to participate in this research study that will be conducted by Rahmawaty Kadir, a doctoral student in the Secondary education department at University of Alberta, Canada. This study is about language vitality of the Gorontalo language because you are Gorontalese and are living in the province. Before you make a decision to participate in this study, one of the research assistants will go over this form with you. You are encouraged to ask questions if you feel anything needs to be made clearer.

Purpose
The purpose of the study is to learn the vitality of the Gorontalo language in Gorontalo province so that it can determine the linguistic health of the language and whether the Gorontalo tribe is maintaining their language or the shift is already taking place in the community.

Research procedures
After reviewing this form and agreeing to participate in the study, the following will happen
   a) you will be asked to complete the attached survey with 45 questions. The survey will take no longer than 30 minutes of your time. Your response to the survey will be anonymous and kept confidential. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. Once you have completed the survey, please return it directly to the research assistant. Additionally, if you have trouble reading or filling the survey you may also ask the research assistant to assist you. At the end of the last section of the survey you will be asked if you would like to participate in the interview. If you do not wish to participate in the interview section, you are welcome to fill in the survey only.
   b) If you indicate your wish to participate in one interview section, please leave your phone number or email address so that the researcher has your contact information. The researcher will contact you to arrange a time and location that is most convenient for you. The interview has approximately 15 open ended questions and it should take no longer than 60 minutes. With your permission, the interview will be audiotaped and then the tape will be transcribed.

Benefits
- You will receive no direct benefits from participating in this research study. However, your responses may help me learn more about the vitality of the Gorontalo language.
- It is hoped that the result of this study will provide empirical data on the Gorontalo language situations and it can be used as input in designing and reviewing language policy planning at regional and national levels.

Risk
- Possible risk discomforts of the study are minimal. Some of the questions in the survey related to your personal language choice and use in relation to Gorontalo language may elicit a little emotional discomfort response as you reflect upon these questions. You may participate as much or as little in the survey and interview as you wish, and you do not have to answer any question if you do not want to. If you experience any upset or discomfort in answering the survey and interview questions and want any help any time after completing the survey and/or interview, you may contact me.

Voluntary Participation
- You are under no obligation to participate in this study. The participation is completely voluntary or not obliged to answer any specific questions even if participating in the study
- You will be able to opt out of the study at any point up until one month after the data has been collected, simply by informing the researcher that you do not wish to participate. In the event you withdraw your participation all data that has been collected from you will be removed from the data set.

Confidentiality & Anonymity
- Results of this study will be used to write Rahmawaty Kadir's dissertation. Research reports might include direct quotes made by you, but your name will not be used. Other identifying information will also be omitted whenever the results are made public.
- Your confidentiality will be assured throughout the study and your anonymity will be protected by the use of a pseudonym in the dissertation. No one else except the research assistance, the researcher and the researcher's supervisor will have access to the survey and all use of data will be handled in compliance with the University of Alberta Standards. Once data has been digitized (within one month of collection) all identification will be removed.
- The data in this study will be securely stored for a minimum of five years and will then be destroyed.

Contact Information
- If you have any further questions regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact
  Rahmawaty Kadir   780 802 2785   rahmawat@ualberta.ca
  Dr. Olenka Bilash   780-492-510   olenka.bilash@ualberta.ca
- The plan for this study will be by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. If you have questions about your rights or how research should be conducted, you can call (780) 492-2615. This office is independent of the researchers.
- Completion and submission of the survey means your consent to participate.

Consent Statement
I have read this form and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. If I have additional questions, I have been told whom to contact. I agree to participate in the research study described above and will receive a copy of this consent form. I will receive a copy of this consent form after I sign it.

Thank you so much for your time and attention, it means a lot not only to me, but also to our language as well.

_____   _____
Participant's Name (Reprinted) and Signature   Date

_____   _____
Name (Reprinted) and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent   Date

Appendix H

INFORMATION LETTER and CONSENT FORM

Interview

Study Title: Assessing Language Vitality of the Gorontalo Language

Research Investigator:	**Supervisor:**
Rahmawaty Kadir	Dr. Olenka Bilash
245 Education Center - South	249 Education Centre - South
Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2R3	Edmonton, T6G 2G5
Rahmawaty@ualberta.ca	olenka.bilash@ualberta.ca
780-802-2785	780-492-5101

Background
You are invited to participated in this research study that will be conducted by Rahmawaty Kadir, a doctoral student in the Secondary education department at University of Alberta, Canada. This study is about language vitality of the Gorontalo language because you are Gorontalese, a mother of lower grade elementary school child/children and are living in the Gorontalo Regency. Before you make a decision to participate in this study, I will go over this form with you. You are encouraged to ask questions if you feel anything needs to be made clearer.

Purpose
The purpose of the study is to learn the vitality of the Gorontalo language in Gorontalo regency so that it can determine whether the Gorontalo tribe is maintaining their language, or language shift is already taking place in the community.

Research procedures
You are receiving this form because you are interested in participating in the interview section. After reviewing this form and agreeing to participate in the study, the following will happen. You will participate in one interview section. The interview has approximately 15 open ended questions and it should take approximately 50 to 60 minutes. During the interview you will be asked about your perspectives about the Gorontalo language, language use and language choice with your children, and your perspectives about their Gorontalo language learning at school. With your permission, the interview will be audiotaped and then the tape will be transcribed. The transcription will be provided to you for your approval after a few days after the interview. You may change, delete anything as you wish. No one will have access to your interview and listen to the tape except me.

Benefits
● You will receive no direct benefits from participating in this research study. However, your responses may help me learn more about the vitality of the Gorontalo language.

- It is hoped that the result of this study will provide empirical data on the Gorontalo language situations and it can be used as input in designing and reviewing language policy planning at regional and national levels.

Risk
- Possible risk discomforts of the study are minimal. Some of the questions in the interview concerning your perception in relation to Gorontalo language use and language choice may elicit a little emotional discomfort response as you reflect upon these questions. You may participate as much or as little in the survey and interview as you wish, and you do not have to answer any question if you do not want to. If you experience any upset or discomfort in answering the interview questions and want any help any time after completing the interview, you may contact me.

Voluntary Participation
- You are under no obligation to participate in this study. The participation is completely voluntary or not obliged to answer any specific questions even if participating in the study
- You will be able to opt out of the study at any point up until one month after the data has been collected, simply by informing the researcher that you do not wish to participate. In the event you withdraw your participation all data that has been collected from you will be removed from the data set.

Confidentiality & Anonymity
- Results of this study will be used to write Rahmawaty Kadir's dissertation. Research reports might include direct quotes made by you, but your name will not be used. Other identifying information will also be omitted whenever the results are made public.
- Your confidentiality will be assured throughout the study and your anonymity will be protected by the use of a pseudonym in the dissertation. No one else except the interviewer and his supervisor will have access to the interview tapes and all use of data will be handled in compliance with the University of Alberta Standards. Once data has been digitized (within one month of collection) all identification will be removed.
- The data in this study will be securely stored for a minimum of five years and will then be destroyed.

Contact Information
- If you have any further questions regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact
  Rahmawaty Kadir   780 802 2785   rahmawat@ualberta.ca
  Dr. Olenka Bilash   780-492-510   olenka.bilash@ualberta.ca
- The plan for this study will be by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. If you have questions about your rights or how research should be conducted, you can call (780) 492-2615. This office is independent of the researchers.
- Completion and submission of the survey means your consent to participate.

Consent Statement
I have read this form and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. If I have additional questions, I have been told whom to contact. I agree to participate in the research study described

above and will receive a copy of this consent form. I will receive a copy of this consent form after I sign it.

Thank you so much for your time and attention, it means a lot not only to me, but also to our language as well.

_____   _____
Participant's Name (Reprinted) and Signature   Date

_____   _____
Name (Reprinted) and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent   Date

Appendix I

Language Use in Different Domains, Based on the Age Group

Domains	Age Groups	Bahasa Indonesia	Gorontalo Malay Dialect	Gorontalo Language	Other Languages
Language use at home	18-30	3	13	2	1
	31-45	6	11	7	0
	46-60	4	8	2	0
	60+	0	1	3	0
Language use in school	18-30	10	7	0	1
	31-45	14	8	2	0
	46-60	9	4	0	1
	60+	1	0	3	0
Language use in workplace	18-30	9	5	0	4
	31-45	13	8	2	1
	46-60	11	2	1	0
	60+	3	0	1	0
Language use at the religious services/activities	18-30	10	7	0	1
	31-45	15	7	2	0
	46-60	9	3	1	1
	60+	3	0	0	0
Language use in Local government services	18-30	13	4	0	1
	31-45	17	6	1	0
	46-60	11	1	1	1
	60+	4	0	0	0
Language use in traditional market	18-30	3	12	3	0
	31-45	4	11	9	0
	46-60	4	2	7	1
	60+	0	1	3	0
Language use in Mall/modern supermarket	18-30	11	7	0	0
	31-45	13	11	0	0
	46-60	11	2	0	1
	60+	2	2	0	0
Language use in the neighborhood	18-30	3	12	3	0
	31-45	7	13	4	0
	46-60	4	6	4	0
	60+	0	1	3	0

Appendix J

Regressions

RSPDN	Independent Variables (Demography)						Dependent Variables (Language Vitality)					
	Gender (X1)	Age (X2)	Place of Birth (X3)	Place of Growing (X4)	Education (X5)	Profession (X6)	Language Background	Language Use	Language Policy	Language Attitudes	Language Knowledge	Total (Y)
R1	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	5.00	2.00	34.00	155.00	0.00	38.00	24.00	258.00
R2	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	6.00	23.00	129.00	2.00	36.00	16.00	209.00
R3	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	40.00	163.00	0.00	42.00	27.00	272.00
R4	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	40.00	131.00	1.00	36.00	23.00	233.00
R5	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	40.00	112.00	2.00	38.00	30.00	222.00
R6	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	2.00	36.00	99.00	3.00	39.00	18.00	200.00
R7	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	42.00	189.00	4.00	35.00	45.00	317.00
R8	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	33.00	174.00	1.00	38.00	25.00	273.00
R9	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	45.00	188.00	1.00	42.00	41.00	322.00
R10	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	2.00	41.00	212.00	2.00	50.00	40.00	349.00
R11	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	1.00	40.00	165.00	1.00	45.00	40.00	294.00
R12	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	5.00	42.00	200.00	2.00	46.00	44.00	330.00
R13	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	26.00	163.00	3.00	49.00	18.00	264.00
R14	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	45.00	182.00	3.00	36.00	40.00	308.00
R15	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	43.00	176.00	3.00	38.00	48.00	307.00
R16	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	2.00	39.00	178.00	1.00	47.00	34.00	300.00
R17	2.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	46.00	215.00	1.00	49.00	47.00	359.00
R18	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	27.00	139.00	2.00	32.00	19.00	221.00
R19	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	42.00	170.00	2.00	39.00	41.00	291.00
R20	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	3.00	35.00	145.00	2.00	37.00	22.00	243.00
R21	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	32.00	211.00	0.00	44.00	30.00	324.00
R22	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	39.00	207.00	0.00	46.00	35.00	333.00

R23	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	2.00	40.00	167.00	2.00	39.00	20.00	272.00
R24	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	34.00	188.00	3.00	45.00	27.00	300.00
R25	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	40.00	187.00	3.00	53.00	33.00	316.00
R26	1.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	6.00	38.00	163.00	0.00	35.00	31.00	268.00
R27	1.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	28.00	138.00	2.00	44.00	25.00	241.00
R28	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	2.00	38.00	193.00	2.00	39.00	30.00	303.00
R29	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	43.00	191.00	0.00	41.00	47.00	322.00
R30	1.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	6.00	25.00	136.00	3.00	29.00	16.00	213.00
R31	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	29.00	206.00	0.00	41.00	27.00	310.00
R32	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	33.00	188.00	1.00	38.00	28.00	290.00
R33	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	36.00	176.00	2.00	40.00	30.00	286.00
R34	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	42.00	181.00	4.00	50.00	37.00	316.00
R35	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	2.00	32.00	174.00	1.00	40.00	24.00	272.00
R36	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	36.00	179.00	1.00	43.00	27.00	289.00
R37	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	4.00	44.00	181.00	3.00	32.00	44.00	304.00
R38	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	4.00	38.00	193.00	3.00	33.00	42.00	309.00
R39	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	6.00	37.00	143.00	3.00	32.00	19.00	235.00
R40	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	39.00	201.00	3.00	46.00	28.00	319.00
R41	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	39.00	185.00	2.00	43.00	19.00	291.00
R42	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	44.00	186.00	3.00	48.00	47.00	332.00
R43	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	2.00	23.00	146.00	3.00	44.00	21.00	240.00
R44	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	2.00	32.00	194.00	2.00	45.00	45.00	323.00
R45	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	2.00	38.00	182.00	1.00	40.00	45.00	305.00
R46	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	5.00	5.00	32.00	165.00	1.00	37.00	27.00	260.00
R47	2.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	45.00	226.00	2.00	49.00	46.00	367.00
R48	1.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	2.00	26.00	143.00	1.00	37.00	22.00	228.00
R49	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	3.00	42.00	172.00	2.00	39.00	41.00	295.00
R50	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	44.00	173.00	2.00	39.00	41.00	298.00
R51	2.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	4.00	1.00	27.00	171.00	3.00	43.00	23.00	270.00
R52	1.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	5.00	6.00	32.00	167.00	1.00	37.00	27.00	264.00

R53	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	5.00	30.00	167.00	1.00	40.00	29.00	266.00
R54	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	6.00	30.00	125.00	1.00	38.00	29.00	221.00
R55	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	43.00	174.00	2.00	43.00	33.00	295.00
R56	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	2.00	39.00	202.00	1.00	39.00	35.00	318.00
R57	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	1.00	42.00	226.00	4.00	49.00	50.00	375.00
R58	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	31.00	175.00	2.00	43.00	43.00	296.00
R59	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	6.00	37.00	192.00	3.00	38.00	20.00	296.00
R60	2.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	6.00	42.00	190.00	2.00	44.00	29.00	311.00

Appendix K

T-Test Gender Difference

Group Statistics

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Vitalitas Bahasa Gorontalo	1.00	26	284.3462	36.85316	7.22750
	2.00	34	289.7647	42.85568	7.34969

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means							
		F	Sig.	t	df	Significance		Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
						One-Sided p	Two-Sided p			Lower	Upper
Vitalitas Bahasa Gorontalo	Equal variances assumed	.997	.322	-.515	58	.304	.608	-5.41855	10.51947	-26.47556	15.63845
	Equal variances not assumed			-.526	57.145	.301	.601	-5.41855	10.30799	-26.05881	15.22171

Appendix L

Indonesia's Language Planning and Policy

Types	Policy planning approach (on form)	Cultivation planning approach (on function)
Status planning (about uses of language)	Officialization: BI Nationalization: BI Standardization of status Proscription: -	Revival:- Maintenance: Some of the major regional languages with large speech communities such as Javanese still maintain the spoken language (Goebel, 2005; Kurniasih, 2006). However, a language shift has been occurring in many parts of Indonesian regions. **Spread** : BI, English Interlingual communication – international, intranational: English, Japanese, Korean, German, Dutch. German
Acquisition planning (about users of language)	**Group**: BI is used by all Indonesian ethnic groups Education/School: BI is taught in all levels of education as a subject and is used as a medium of instruction in public school. Local language is taught as a subject in Elementary school however, it depends on the regional educational policy. **Literary**: BI is used in literary works such as poetry, drama, prose, fiction and non-fiction Religious: BI **Mass media**: Commonly published in BI. Local language magazines are only in major regional languages such as Javanese, Sudanese, Balinese, and Batak which are only published in its region. **Work**: BI	Reacquisition: - **Maintenance**: Major regional languages such as Javanese and Sundanese are still spoken at home. **Shift**: Many regional languages tend to shift to BI or Malay dialect (Musgrave, 2014) Foreign language/second **language/literacy**: English, Japanese, Korean, German, Dutch. German
	Selection Language's formal role in society Extra-linguistic aims BI was chosen to be the language of unification in the Youth Pledge in 1928. It is stipulated in the 1945 Constitution, Chapter XV, Article 36 that the language of the state is BI. BI was enforced as the official language in the 1950's Constitution, chapter IV,	Implementation Language's functional role in society Extra-linguistic aims BI is widely used for inter-group communication in a formal setting such as education, law, administration. Local languages are generally used for intra-ethnic communication in an informal setting (Nababan, 1991) The functions of BI and vernaculars are different, in which the official language is functioned as "business language", whereas the vernaculars are used as "family language" (Nababan, 1991, p. 45).
Corpus planning (about language)	Standardization of corpus Bahasa Indonesia is a standardized dialect of the Malay language. Language seminar was	Modernization (new functions) Therefore, some of the lexical items were borrowed from foreign language, English such

	conducted on 16th of August 1972, the spelling standardization was successfully achieved for the language use in written form (Nababan, 1991). In addition to that, the official Dictionary of BI or "Kamus Besar BI" has been successfully accomplished in the Fifth Language Congress in 1988 (Simandjuntak, 2009). Standardization of auxiliary code BI was partially contributed from Javanese vocabularies, but there were several cultural and social restrictions of Javanese vocabularies (Dardjowidjojo, 1998). Graphization Latin is the official writing system of Indonesian most Indonesian vernacular languages now adopt Latin script.	as "komputer, disket, laser, relevan, spiral" (Dardjowidjojo, 1998: 41). **Lexical** BI lexical strata are layers formed within the Indonesian vocabulary as a result of accumulation of loan words from different languages throughout history. **Stylistic:** Formal Indonesian is most used in writing, public speeches and in education. It is characterised by use of the full range of affixes and by a big, diverse vocabulary with a high incidence of esoteric terms from foreign or classical languages. Informal language of BI is commonly used in conversation although a style such as text message language style also exists. Informal usage merges into street slang or youth slang, "alay" tacky or cheese language, and "Bahasa banci" gay language. Renovation (new forms, old functions) Indonesian spelling continues to develop. From Van Ophuisjen's spelling, Suwandi's spelling and up to the Enhanced Spelling (EYD) is the history of the refinement of BI. Moreover, the vocabulary is also continuously developed including more borrowing words from foreign languages and local languages.
	Codification Language's formal role in society Extra-linguistic aims in support of the codification of Indonesian language is the Enhanced Indonesian Perfected Spelling (Ejaan yang Disempurnakan/EYD) established on August 16, 1972 which makes use of Malay and Indonesia Language simpler.	Elaboration Language's functions Semi-linguistic aims In order to meet a wide range of cultural and economic demands, BI expands its language style, vocabulary, spelling, etc.

Note BI stands for Bahasa Indonesia. This LPP is adapted from Hornberger's 2006 language

policy and planning goals: An integrative framework

Appendix M

History of Gorontalo

History notes that before regional autonomy in 2000, Gorontalo was under Sulawesi and the North and Central Sulawesi provincial authorities. It stayed with North Sulawesi province until 2000 when the regional autonomy law was installed.

This past history indirectly influences the language in the province. With the long history of colonialism, and the potential risk of ethnic separation and conflict striking in a diverse nation, it was crucial to bring the nation together through a shared sense of nationhood. Bahasa Indonesia was both the symbol and the vehicle of that unity. Alisjahbana (1962) states "the more people learned to express themselves in Indonesian, the more conscious they became of the ties which linked them." (p.29). Gorontalese realized that in order to be a unified nation, prevent conflict among ethnicities, and divert oppression from nations eager to occupy the country, supporting the national language was mandatory.

Under the North Sulawesi province administration, the Gorontalese also experienced discrimination in terms of access to social and economic programs. Manado, the capital of North Sulawesi, has successfully spread its language, Manado Malay, a Creole Malay based language that was influenced by Malay, Bahasa Indonesia, Dutch and Portuguese colonists. Gorontalo Malay is strongly associated with Manado Malay's vocabulary.; some scholars use Manado Malay to refer to Gorontalo Malay, but I would argue that the two languages each have a distinct dialect and vocabulary. Gorontalo Malay can be understood by the Manado Malay speaker, with varying degrees of understanding because Gorontalo Malay has words that derive from the Gorontalo language. Further, the development of Manado far exceeds Gorontalo, which is located approximately 400 km away (Kimura, 2007). With this in mind, it is possible that the

choice of Gorontalo Malay to be spoken at home is based on the fact that it is developed based on Manado Malay. Undeniably, history plays a role in FLP as stated by Caldas (2012) who argues that FLP has been established as a result of historical and cultural circumstances beyond the control of family. In the case of Gorontalo language, a shift to Gorontalo Malay is strongly influenced by Manado Malay, a language spoken in North Sulawesi Province, the former mother's province of Gorontalo.