

A Socio-ethno-linguistic journey in Enggano:

Insights, Challenges, and Paths Forward

I Wayan Arka, Arono, Dendi Wijaya, Engga Zakaria Sangian

Outline

- Introduction
- Enggano socio-cultural aspects
 - Demography, clans, socio-cultural structure, traditional belief systems, language & religions
- Language use, contact, multilingualism, and variations
 - Patterns of language use across domains & across villages
 - Linguistic variations: geographical/social
- Language vitality and endangerment
- Final remarks & future research

Introduction

- We present an exploration of Enggano socio-ethno-historical linguistic dimensions shaping/influencing **the current use, variation, vitality, and degree of endangerment** of the Enggano language
- What insights learned, and what challenges forward?
 - for applied sociolinguistic research on minority language maintenance?



Demography and mobility

- There has been a recent accelerated influx of migrants affecting the demographic makeup of the native Enggano versus non-native Enggano population on the island.
- This carries significant implications for the well-being and preservation of the Enggano language.



Tabel 1 Populasi Masyarakat Enggano dari tahun 1866-1963 (Jaspan, 2018)

Year	Engganese	Non-Engganese	Total
1866	-	-	6420
1884	870	44	914
1900	543	-	-
1914	291	166	457
1928	162	276	438
1961	400	290	690
1963	400	2800	3200

Village	Native Enggano	%	No-Enggano	%	Total
Banjarsari	120	13.47	771	86.53	891
Meok	560	71.79	220	28.21	780
Apoho	158	45.93	186	54.07	344
Malakoni	325	42.82	434	57.18	759
Kaana	415	51.36	393	48.64	808
Kahyapu	56	10.57	474	89.43	530
Total	1634		2478		4112

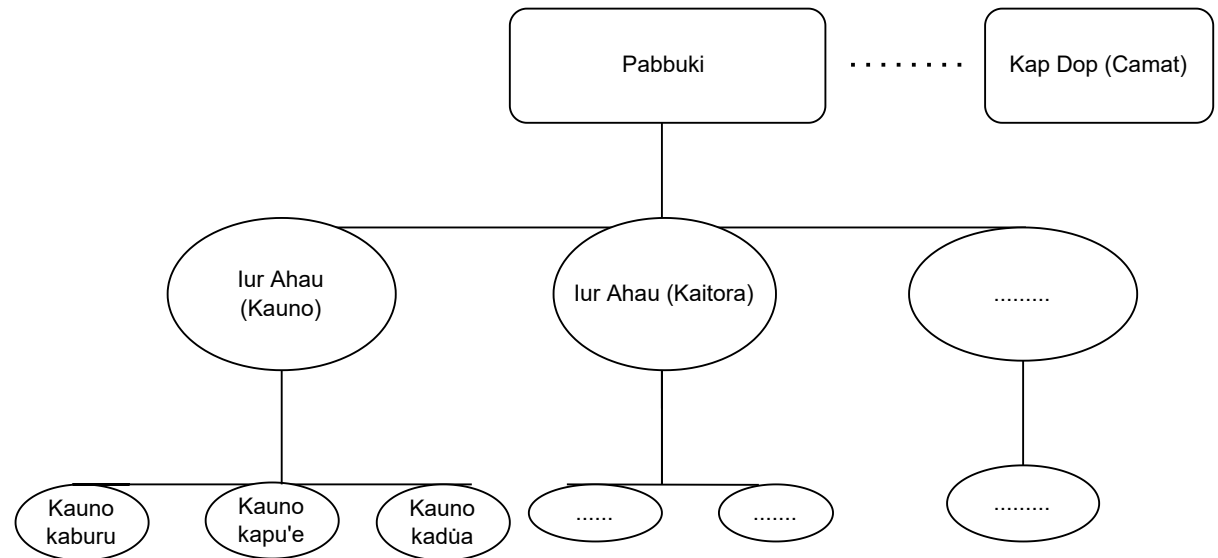
Enggano clans & traditional socio-cultural structure



- Notable and unique in the Enggano clan grouping is the acknowledgment and **assimilation of newcomers** into the traditional clan structure:
 - indigenous (*asli*) clans: *Kauno, Kaitora, Kaharuba, Kaharubi, Kaahua*
 - non-indigenous (*pendatang*) clans: *Kamay*
- Clan grouping:
 - an important social structure within the Enggano community, contributing to their **sense of identity** and **belonging**; e.g.
 - personal names show distinct clan affiliations,
 - distinct histories

Enggano clans & traditional socio-cultural structure

- The *adat* leadership positions/roles have changed over time
 - *Pabbuki* (*epa'buk*): Speaker/Leader of all clans
 - *Kap Dop*: Native Enggano Camat, structurally parallel with *Pabbuki*
 - Recently introduced (20XX?)
 - *Kepala Suku* or *Iur Ahau*: Clan Leader
 - Introduced in 1960s
 - *Pintu Suku* (previously *Kap Ka'udar*): Sub-clan Territorial Leader



Matrilineality

- Enggano society, like Minangkabau (Selinaswati 2014), follows a **matrilineal** tradition: ancestral descent is traced through the maternal rather than the paternal lines.
 - Oral history: *Nanipah* (1st woman), who married to *Kah Kamippa*
 - Matrilocal: a new couple with the husband moving to the wife's *ka'udar* (i.e. the place where the wife lives)
 - Identity: personal naming system
 - Property inheritance
- Modern flexibility: deviation from traditional matrilineal norms



Modern religion and the Enggano language & culture: Christianity

- While the Enggano people still maintain their traditional (*adat*) belief system to a certain degree, their practices have been significantly weakened with the spread of modern religions (Christianity and Islam) to the island.
- Christianity arrived in 1902 with the first church in Ki'iei (with the HKBP, *Huria Kristen Batak Protestan*), then in Pulau Dua (later moved to Malakoni) and Banjarsari (later moved to Meok)
- Currently mainly in the conservative villages of Meok and Apoho
- Constitute only **21.71%** (or 964 people) of the Enggano population, and all of them identify as **Protestants**



NO	VILLAGE	POLULATION	RELIGION					
			Islam	Christian	Chatolic	Hindu	Budha	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	KAHYAPU	673	663	10	-	-	-	-
2	KAANA	832	824	8	-	-	-	-
3	MALAKONI	869	786	83	-	-	-	-
4	APOHO	373	157	216	-	-	-	-
5	MEOK	704	195	509	-	-	-	-
6	BANJARSARI	989	851	138	-	-	-	-
JUMLAH		4,440	3,476	964	-	-	-	-

Modern religion and the Enggano language & culture: Islam

- Islam was introduced to the island in 1920 through the migration of other ethnic groups as workers in Enggano, facilitated by the Dutch colonial government. The initial wave of migrants primarily originated from Java, particularly Banten.
 - Currently the majority of Muslims are in the northern and southern villages of Banjarsari, Kahyapu, Kaana.
- Over the years the Muslim population has steadily increased, and become the **dominant group** (78,29%, or 3,476) of the total population in 2023 in Enggano (Enggano District statistics, 2023)

The Muslim population is typically identified with the Kamay Clan, although there are also native clans who follow Islam.

Moslems: mosques/ musholas

- Banjarsari (7)
- Meok (1)
- Apoho (1)
- Malakoni (3)
- Kaana (3)
- Kahyapu (5)

Christians, Churches

- Banjarsari (2)
- Meok (4)
- Apoho (1)
- Malakoni (1)
- Kaana (0)
- Kahyapu (1)



NO	VILLAGE	POLULATION	RELIGION					
			Islam	Christian	Chatolic	Hindu	Budha	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	KAHYAPU	673	663	10	-	-	-	-
2	KAANA	832	824	8	-	-	-	-
3	MALAKONI	869	786	83	-	-	-	-
4	APOHO	373	157	216	-	-	-	-
5	MEOK	704	195	509	-	-	-	-
6	BANJARSARI	989	851	138	-	-	-	-
JUMLAH		4,440	3,476	964	-	-	-	-

Modern religion and the preservation of language and culture

- The introduction of modern religions has had a **devaluing effect on the indigenous belief** and knowledge
 - This has been well documented across the world; e.g. the case of the *Vera* ritual in Rongga (Arka 2010)
 - Also related to the endangerment or maintenance of local language and culture
- Intriguing patterns of how religions may be related to patterns of language use
 - Muslim villages in Maluku tend to retain their languages but not the Christian villages (Musgrave and Ewing 2006)
 - In Enggano, the local Enggano language is frequently used in sermon in mosques (particularly in Malakoni), not in churches



Multilingualism, contact and the dynamics of language use

Methodology & data

Multiple methods

- Subjective reporting (by language consultants), collected by means of sociolinguistic Questionnaires
 - 109 language consultants across the six villages
- Swadesh list: **lexical** and **phonetic** variations
 - 6 senior adults for dialectal variations investigation
 - 18 senior adults and teenagers for language competency
- Ethnography:
 - Engga Z Kauno, one of the project team members, is a native Enggano speaker
- Enggano corpus: natural language use

Language use in the conservative (Christian) village of Meok

- The vitality of the Enggano language in Meok is generally robust:
 - ✓ Enggano remains the primary language of communication among the family members
 - ✓ It also remains the language for in-group communication in public, though Indonesian is dominant.

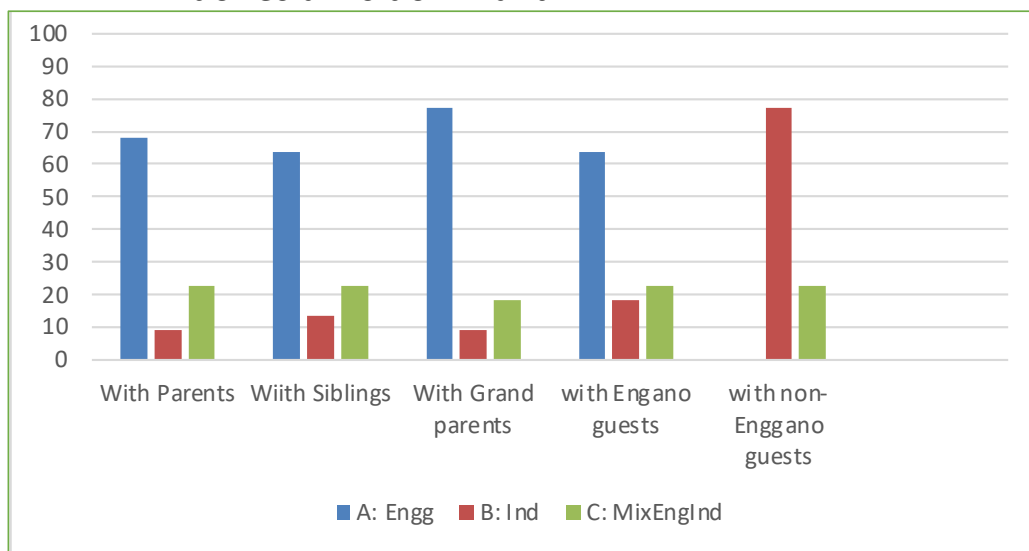


Figure 1: Language use in the domestic setting in Meok

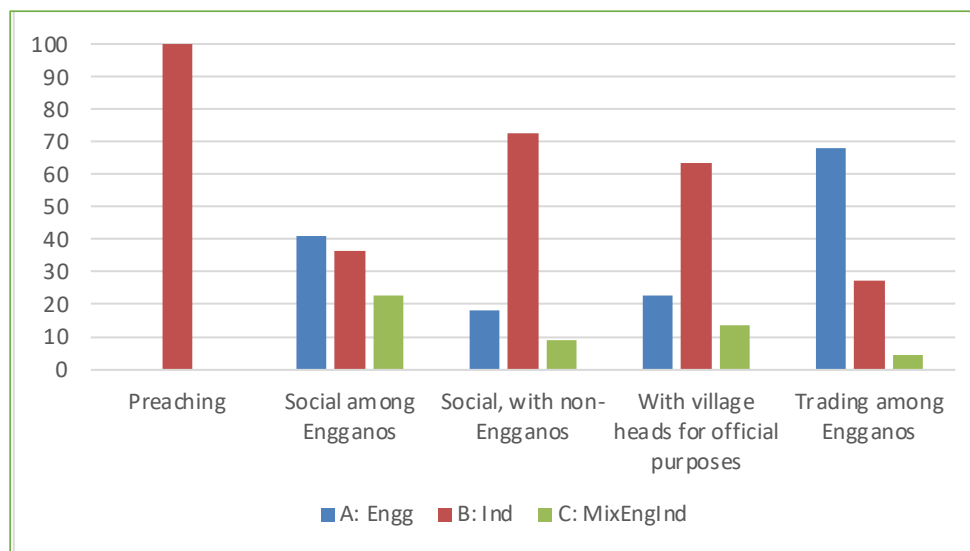


Figure 2: Language use in the public setting in Meok

Language use in non-conservative predominantly migrant (Moslem) villages: Banjarsari & Kahyapu



- The vitality of the Enggano language in these two villages is critically low, especially in the public domains:
 - ✓ The dominant trend is to use Indonesian (red bars), even in the in-group communication in public
 - ✓ Intergenerational transmission problem: in the domestic setting, a notable decline in the use of Enggano: its most frequent use is when speaking with grandparents.

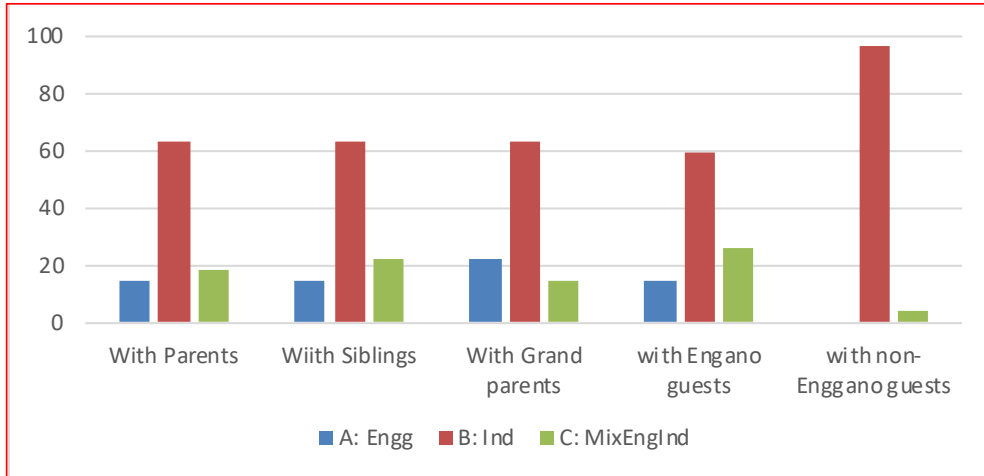


Figure 3: Language use in the domestic setting in Banjarsari and Kahyapu

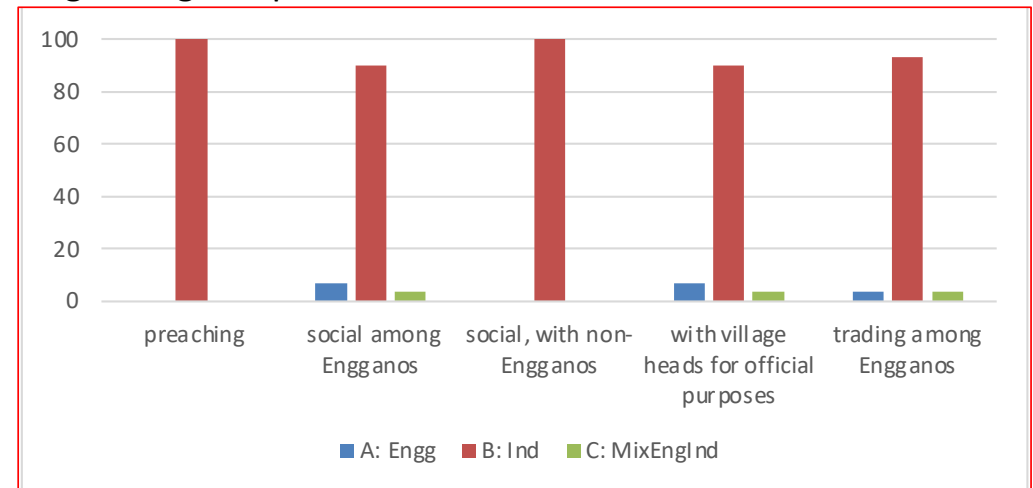


Figure 4: Language use in the public setting in Banjarsari and Kahyapu

Language use in Apoho & Malakoni: Domestic setting

- These two adjacent villages assume some significance due to their status as centre of the district administration (Apoho, primarily Christian) and the local business hub (due to the seaport, Malakoni)
- The vitality of the Enggano language in these two villages is relatively healthy especially in the **domestic** setting



Language use in the domestic domain in Apoho

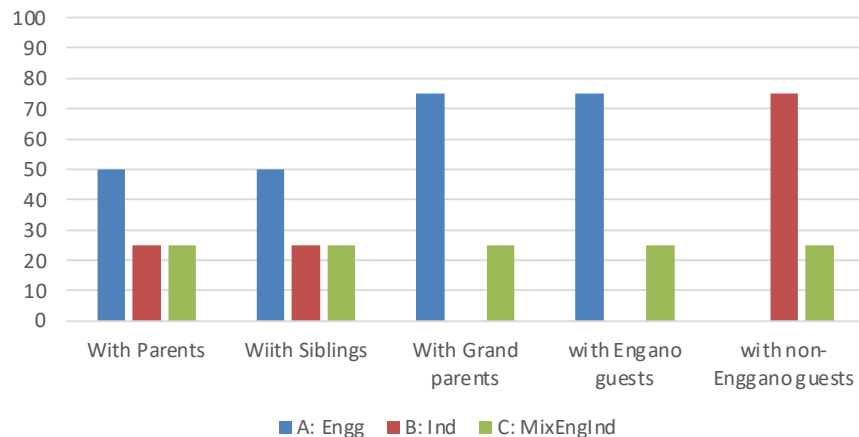


Figure 5: Language use in the domestic setting in Apoho

Language use in the domestic domain in Malakoni

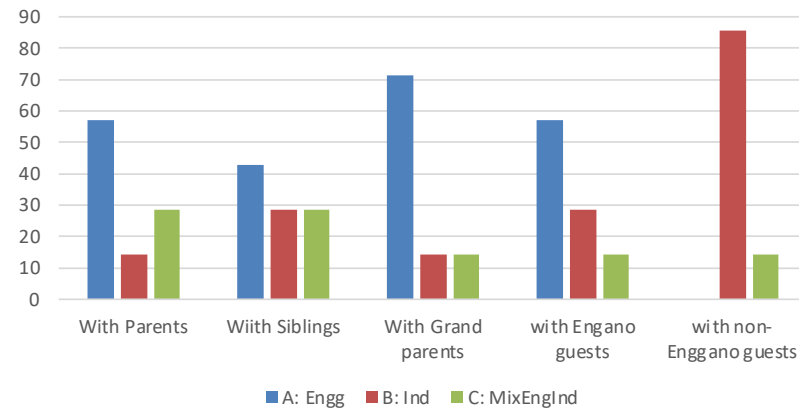


Figure 6: Language use in the domestic setting in Malakoni

Language use in Apoho & Malakoni

Public setting

- In the **public** sphere, however, the use of Enggano significantly low even for in-group communication, for which Indonesian prevails as the dominant language.
- These two villages show the marginalisation of the Enggano language use, like the trend in non-conservative villages of Kahyapu & Banjarsari

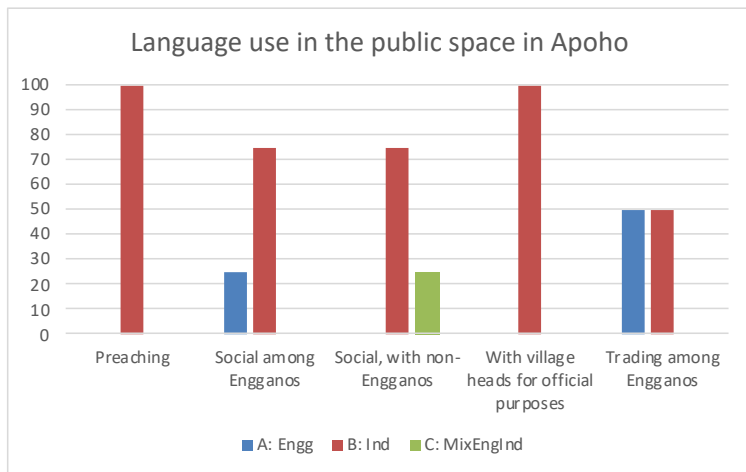


Figure 7: Language use in the public setting in Apoho

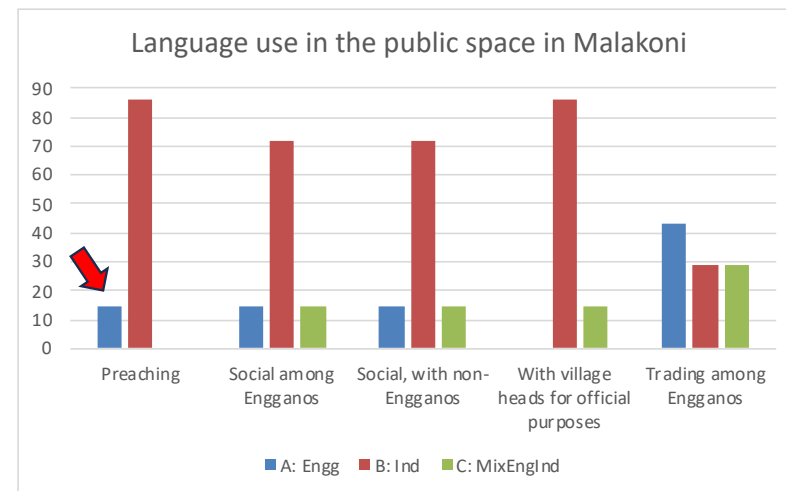


Figure 8: Language use in the public setting in Malakoni

Language use in Kaana

- Kaana: predominantly Muslims but a **roughly equal proportion** of native Enggano and non-Enggano population.
- The marginalisation of the Enggano language use, even in the domestic domain with **mixed use of Indonesian & Enggano being dominant**, followed by Indonesian
- Most frequently use of Enggano being in communication **with grandparents**.
- In the public sphere, Indonesian prevails as the dominant language (like in Kayapu & Banjarsari).

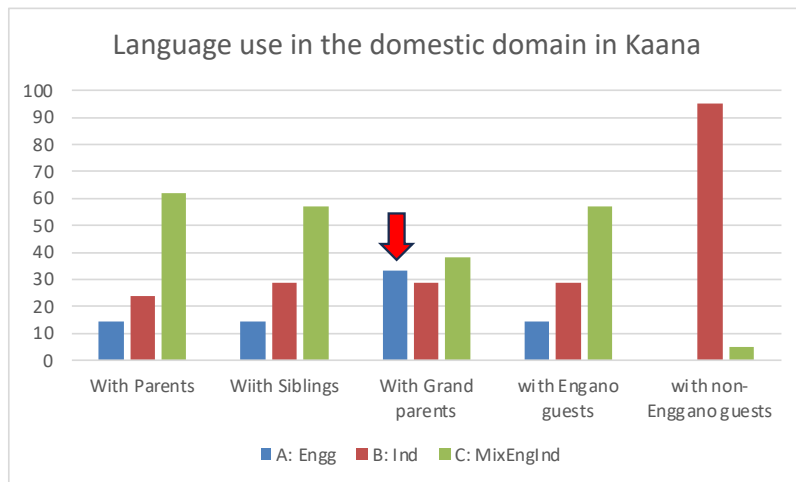


Figure 9: Language use in the domestic setting in Kaana

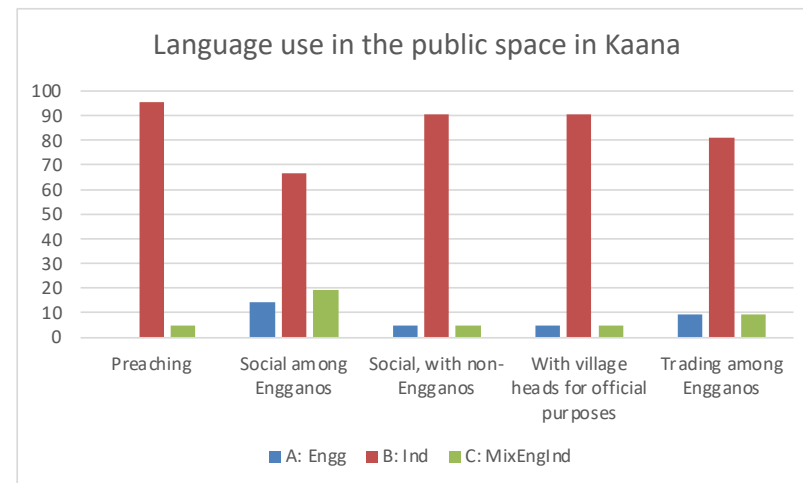


Figure 10: Language use in the public setting in Kaana

Patterns of language use, language contact & social networks

(cf. Gumperz and Hymes 1972, Milroy 1987, Milroy and Milroy 1992)

- Exploring the **impact of language contact**: assessing whether there is a correlation between the percentage of the population that is native Enggano in different villages and the reported prevalence of Enggano language use in those areas
- **The use of Enggano**: R (Pearson Correlation Coefficient) values are $r=.762$ for public settings and $r=.765$ for domestic settings → **strong positive correlation**
- **The use of Indonesian** in both public and domestic domains exhibits **strong negative correlations** with the percentage of the native Enggano population in various villages ($r= -.8315$ for public settings and $r= -.979$ for domestic settings, respectively).

Villages	Native Enggano Population (%)	Public Enggano Use (%)	domestic Enggano Use (%)
Banjasari&Kahyapu	12.02	3.33	13.33
Meok	71.79	30.00	54.55
Apoho	45.93	3.53	35.29
Malakoni	42.82	9.47	33.68
Kaana	51.36	6.67	15.24

Table 1: Proportion of native Enggano population and the corresponding proportion of **Enggano language use** across villages.

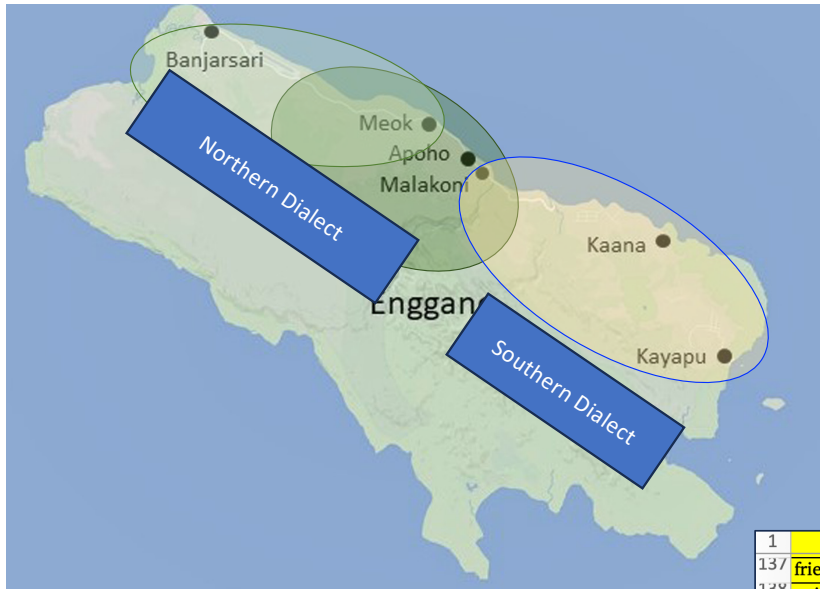
Villages	Native Enggano Population (%)	Indonesian use in public (%)	Domestic use of Indonesian (%)
Banjasari&Kahyapu	12.02	94.67	68.89
Meok	71.79	60.00	25.45
Apoho	45.93	91.76	40
Malakoni	42.82	81.05	40
Kaana	51.36	84.76	40.95

Table 2: Proportion of native Enggano population and the corresponding proportion of **use of Indonesian** across villages

Enggano Linguistic Variations and Dialect Continuum

Two dimensions:
geographical/horizontal &
intergenerational/vertical

Geographical/horizontal Variations: Dialect Continuum



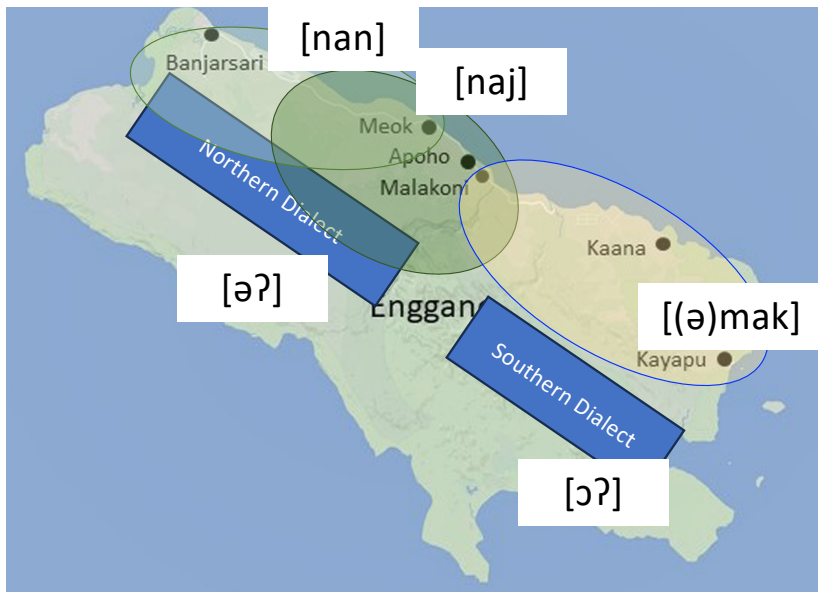
- Broadly **two dialects** can be conveniently distinguished:
 - The **conservative Northern(-Central) Enggano** dialect, with Meok being the most conservative, and Banjarsari being less conservative.
 - The most **non-conservative Southern Enggano** dialect, primarily spoken in Kaana & Kahyapu
- They form a **dialect continuum**, with overlapping properties found in-between villages
- They exhibit dialectal differences in lexical, phonetic, and prosodic properties.
- There are also variations related to **generational** differences

Degrees of similarity to the Meok variety	
Completely the same	1
Similar	2
Quite similar	3
Different	4
Completely different	5

Banjarsari	2.01
Meok	1.00
Apoho	2.17
Malakoni	2.15
kaana	2.58
Kahyapu	2.47

		Banjarsari	Meok	Apoho	Malakoni	Kaana	Kahyapu
137	friend	teman	[ka'nək]4	[a.nə.de]1	['ā.nəʔ]2	[a.nən]2	[a.nəʔ]2
138	animal	binatang	[minatan]1	[mī.nā.tā]1	['mī.na.ta]1	[mi.nā.tā]1	[mṵ.na.taŋ]2
139	fish	ikan	[e'jae:]1	[eʔ.jai ^h]1	['eʔ.ej]3	[eʔ.jaj]2	[eʔ.ya.ih]3
140	bird	burung		[kəʔ.ep]1	['kəʔ.ep]3	[ke.ep]2	[ke.ep]2
141	dog	anjing	[be:]1	[be]1	['be]1	[be]1	[e.beʔ]3
142	louse	kutu	[e'hiuʔ]2	[hiuʔ]1	['huʔ]2	[hiük]3	[ah.mi.juk]4
143	mosquito	nyamuk	[ki'ja:]1	[ki.ja]1	[ki.'ja]2	[e.kiʔ.ja]3	[kiʔ.e.ja]4
144	fly	lalat	[iu:m]1	[jüm]1	['jüm]1	[hiüm]3	[e.jum]2
145	bee	lebah		[bih]1		[e.bih]3	[e.bih]2
146	snake	ular	['əpu:ʔ]2	[ā.pūʔ]1	[ā.'puʔ]2	[ao.ūʔ]3	[a.puk]2
147	chicken	ayam	[aia:m]2	[ā.nām]1	[ā.'nām]1	[a.nam]2	[a.rəb]4
148	water buffalo	kerbau	[kərbo:]1	[kar.boʊ]1	[kar.'boʊw]2	[kar.bo]1	[ka.ra.bo]2
149	cat	kucing	[mea:]1	[me.ja]1	['me.ja]2	[me.a]2	[e.me.jao]4
150	frog	kodok, katak	[pe:ʔ]2	[pek]1	[kə.'pek]3	[e.pēʔ]3	[e.pək]3

Geographical/horizontal Variations: Dialect Continuum



- **Lexical.** The conservative variety, also the variety spoken by the senior adults/elderly, tends to feature native words that are **often reflections of Austronesian words**.
 - E.g., the word for 'mother' in the Conservative Dialect is [naj] (in Meok/Apoho) or [nan] (Banjarsari) (<PAN/PWMP *ina), whereas it is '[ə.mak(.ɛ)]' in the non-conservative Southern dialects of Kaana and Kahyapu.
 - All young teenagers participating in our VOCAB test including those from the conservative villages of Meok, used [(ə)ma]; none of them used the native Enggano [na].
- **Phonetic.** In terms of vowel space, a noticeable feature is the shift or split of [+back, -high]: [o] vs. centralised V (schwa)
 - E.g., the word for 'down' changes from [itub] in Meok to [tɔp] in Malakoni and Kaana. Additionally, the word for 'you' varies, being [əʔ] in the northern dialect of Meok/Banjarsari, while it becomes [ɔʔ] in Kahyapu.
 - This contemporary variation could have some historical dimension, with the split of old /o/ to have become centralised (a schwa) or remains [+back] (cf. Smith 2020): a variation already noticed in Old Enggano by Helfrich (1888).

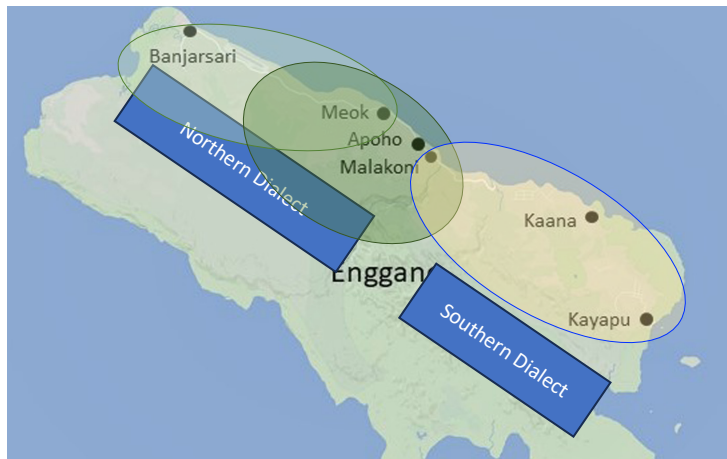
- **Phonetic, lenition:**

[b]/[d] (older speakers) vs.

[m]/[r] (younger speakers)

- *yub* vs. *yum* 'house' .
- *hiud* vs. *hiur* 'dust' .

Generational/social variations



- **Grammatical: Possessive Constructions.**

- The conservative variety (spoken by the senior adults/elderly):
the morphological means of POSS
- The non-conservative variety (across villages):
analytical means of POSS, influenced by Indonesian

Table 11. Comparing Possessive Strategies

	Possessive Suffixes	Example	Personal pronouns	Example
1SG	-'	<i>yuba'</i>	u	<i>yub u</i>
2SG	-b	<i>yubab</i>	é'	<i>yub é'</i>
3SG	=de	<i>yubde</i>	ki	<i>yub ki</i>
1PL.INCL	-k	<i>yubak</i>	ik	<i>yub ik</i>
1PL.EXCL	=da	<i>yubda</i>	a	<i>yub a</i>
2PL	=du	<i>yubdu</i>	ari	<i>yub ari</i>
3PL	-r	<i>yubar</i>	hamé'	<i>yub hamé'</i>

Table 9. Possession Marking in Contemporary Enggano

	Old Enggano	Example	Contemporary Enggano	Example
1SG	-'(V)u	<i>euba'au</i>	-'	<i>yuba'</i>
2SG	-bu	<i>eubabu</i>	-b	<i>yubab</i>
3SG	=dia	<i>eubadia</i>	=de	<i>yubde</i>
1PL.INCL	-ka	<i>eubaka</i>	-k	<i>yubak</i>
1PL.EXCL	=dai	<i>eubadai</i>	=da	<i>yubda</i>
2PL	=du	<i>eubadu</i>	=du	<i>yubdu</i>
3PL	-da	<i>eubada</i>	-r	<i>yubar</i>

Language vitality and endangerment

Language vitality and endangerment

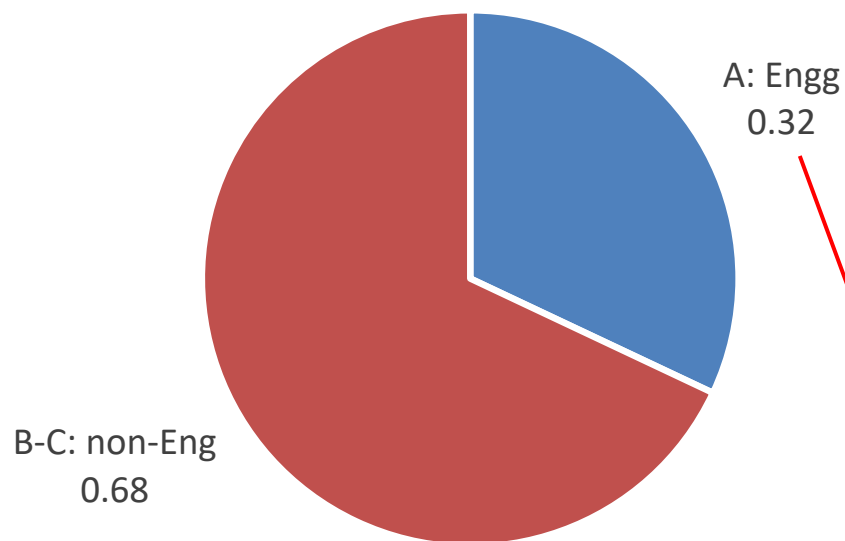
- Ethnolinguistic vitality is defined as the **extent to which a group is likely to behave as “a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting”** ([Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977:308](#)) and,

therefore, the **extent to which its language is passed on to the next generations** ([Pauwels 2016:37](#)).

- Research on ethnolinguistic vitality is critical in **language endangerment** as it has **practical policy implications** (e.g., for language maintenance and revitalisation).
- There has been other previous research on Enggano vitality, pointing out the fragility of Enggano vitality, also confirmed by our research reported here
 - [We present more solid evidence in qualitative and quantitative terms](#)



Enggano Vitality: the overall trend across domains



- **Q1:** What is the (overall) present state of vitality for the Enggano language?
- **Q2:** Which factors have the most significant impact on the observed level of vitality mentioned in (1)? WHY?
- Method:
 - We interpret UNESCO's (2003) scale as the **scale of language endangerment and vitality** shown in Table 1.
 - Vitality Questionnaires & ethnographic information

Table 1. Language endangerment and vitality scale

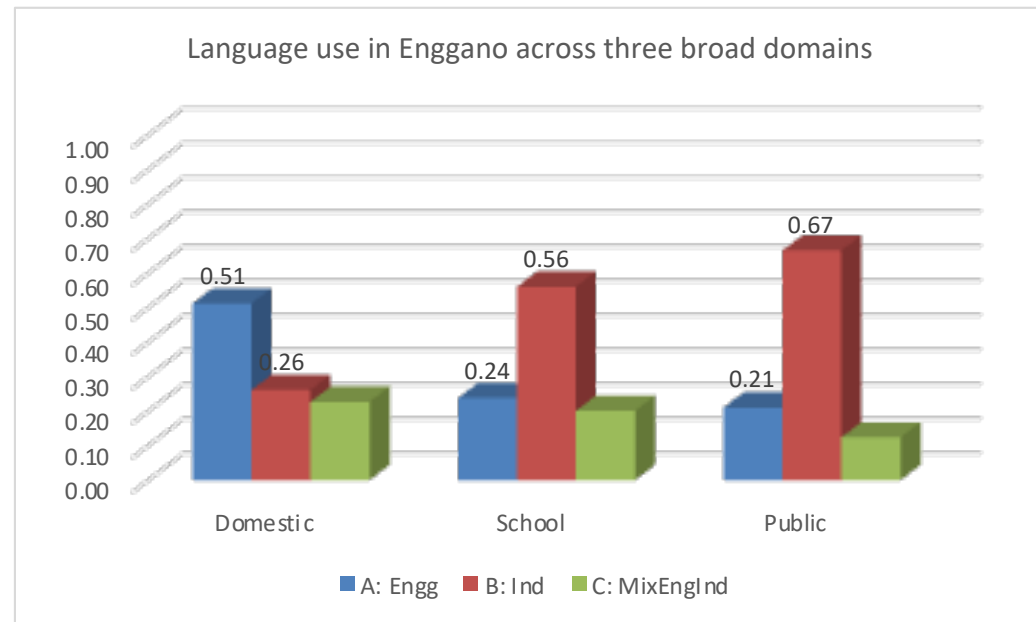
Vitality Status		Total Score (in %)
safe	Grade 5	83.40–100
unsafe	Grade 4	66.72–83.39
definitely endangered	Grade 3	50.04–66.71
severely endangered	Grade 2	33.36–50.03
critically endangered	Grade 1	16.68–33.35
extinct	Grade 0	00.0–16.67

Language use in Enggano across three broad domains, across villages

Table 1. Language endangerment and vitality scale

Vitality Status		Total Score (in %)
safe	Grade 5	83.40–100
unsafe	Grade 4	66.72–83.39
definitely endangered	Grade 3	50.04–66.71
severely endangered	Grade 2	33.36–50.03
critically endangered	Grade 1	16.68–33.35
extinct	Grade 0	00.0–16.67

- Enggano is facing a decline in the school and public spaces, while Indonesian is gaining prominence in these areas.
- This trend can be attributed to the evolving demographic dynamics within contemporary Enggano
 - Enggano communities have become increasingly multi-ethnic.



Language use in Enggano across three broad domains, across villages

Table 1. Language endangerment and vitality scale

Vitality Status		Total Score (in %)
safe	Grade 5	83.40–100
unsafe	Grade 4	66.72–83.39
definitely endangered	Grade 3	50.04–66.71
severely endangered	Grade 2	33.36–50.03
critically endangered	Grade 1	16.68–33.35
extinct	Grade 0	00.0–16.67

- Enggano is facing a decline in the school and public spaces, while Indonesian is gaining prominence in these areas.
- This trend can be attributed to the evolving demographic dynamics within contemporary Enggano
 - Enggano communities have become increasingly multi-ethnic.

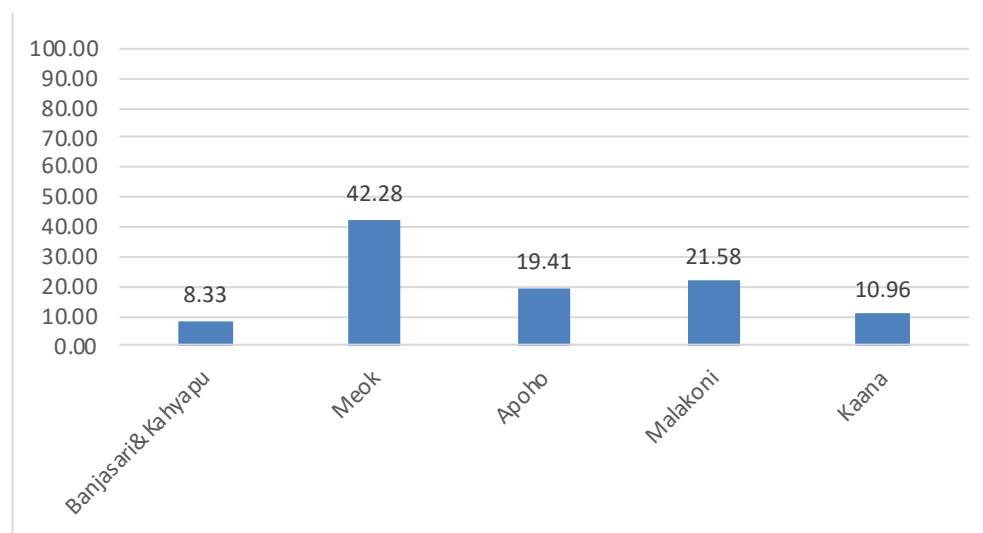
	A: Engg	B: Ind&MixInd
Domestic	0.51	0.49
School	0.24	0.76
Public	0.21	0.79
Overall across domains	0.32	0.68

Enggano vitality in the domestic and public domains across villages

Table 1. Language endangerment and vitality scale

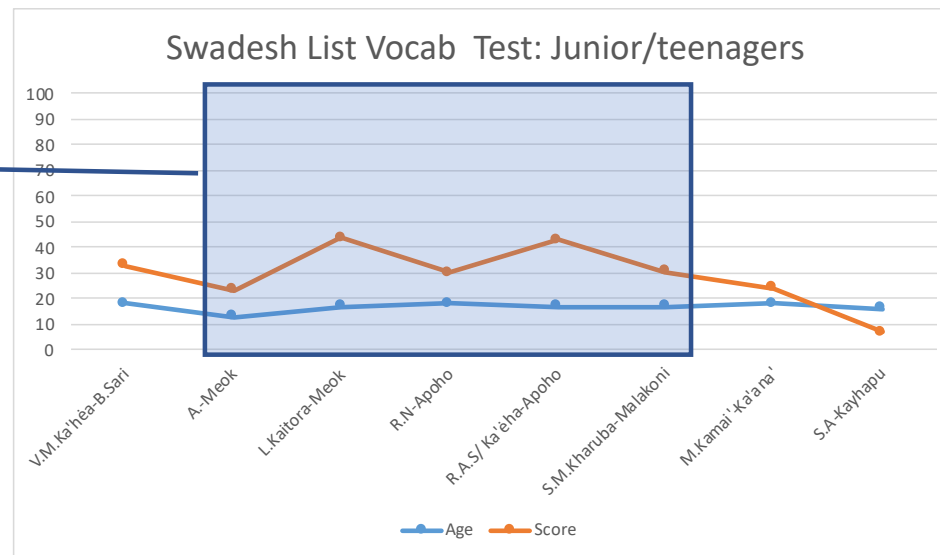
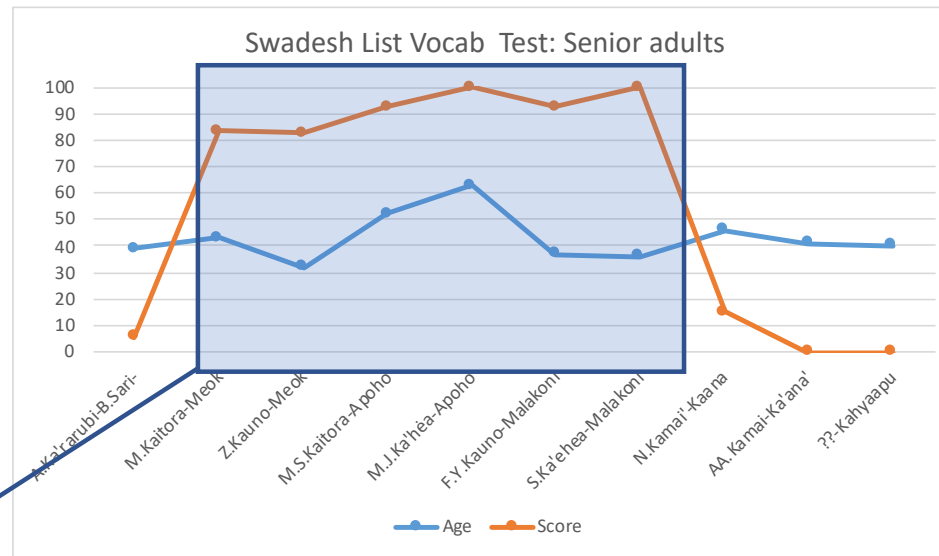
Vitality Status		Total Score (in %)
safe	Grade 5	83.40–100
unsafe	Grade 4	66.72–83.39
definitely endangered	Grade 3	50.04–66.71
severely endangered	Grade 2	33.36–50.03
critically endangered	Grade 1	16.68–33.35
extinct	Grade 0	00.0–16.67

- The lowest vitality status/Grade: Banjarsari, Kahyapu, and Kaana.
- Expected, explainable:
 - in terms of the demographic composition (i.e. critically low number of native Enggano people living in these villages)



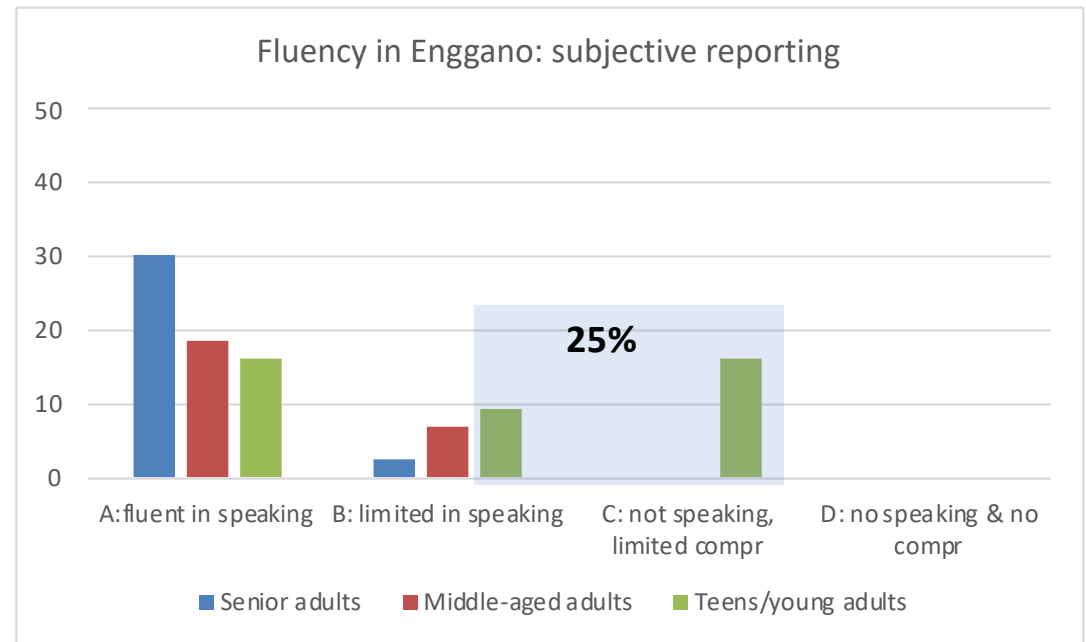
Vocabulary (Swadesh list) test

- The Enggano people in conservative villages have higher language competence than those in the non-conservative ones



Intergenerational transmission: Questionnaire data, subjective reporting

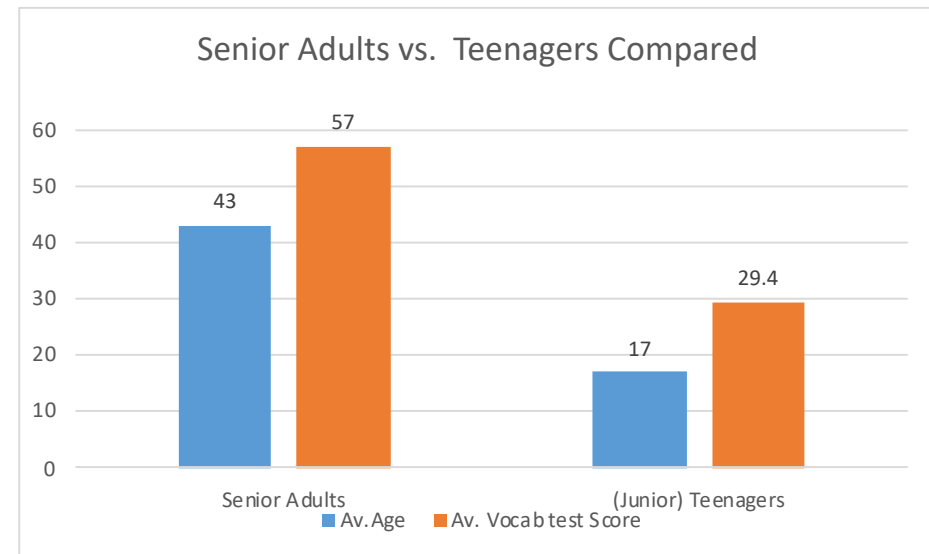
- A significant decline in language fluency
- Among the teenager respondents, a total of 25% reported **not being fluent** in Enggano
 - with over half of them stating that they do not actively speak the language but have limited passive understanding.



Intergenerational transmission: Vocabulary Test

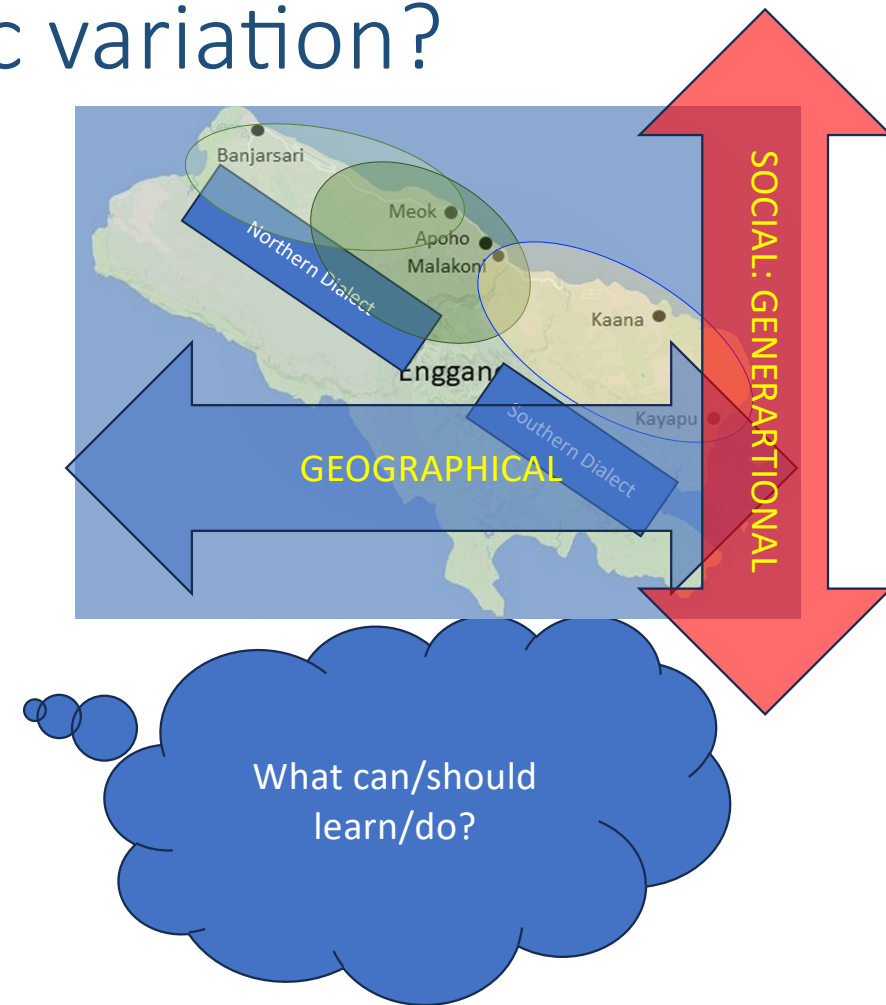
- More evidence for diminishing Enggano competence:

The divergent proficiency levels of the senior adults and teenagers across the Enggano villages.



What's the connection of language vitality, endangerment and linguistic variation?

- **Geographical dialects**, forming a continuum:
 - Central(-northern) vs. **southern Enggano**
 - Conservative vs. **non-conservative** villages
- **Social variations** (i.e. **sociolects**), forming a continuum:
 - Intergenerational: Senior adults vs. **teenagers**
 - Social domains: domestic vs. **public**
- **Language attrition/endangerment/vitality**, forming a continuum
 - Vibrant/high vitality vs. **endangered/low vitality**
 - Language maintenance vs. **language shift**

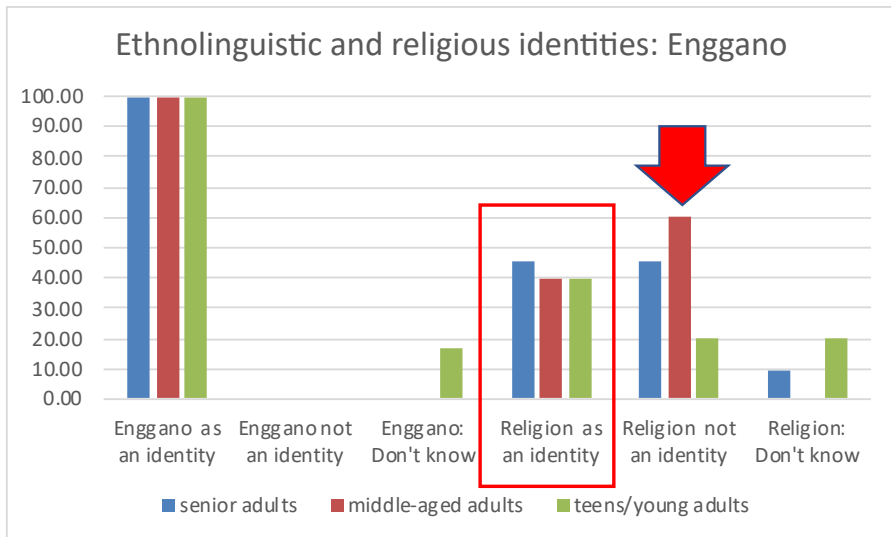


Final remarks & future research

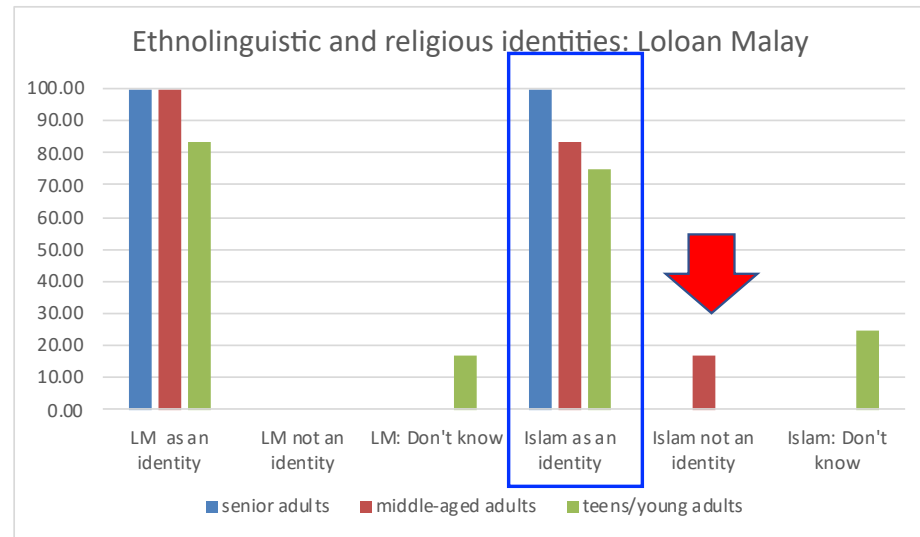
- **What** has been done language: findings?
 - Language documentation, and researching linguistic and related non-linguistic aspects of Enggano, including the socio-ethnolinguistic issues of linguistic variation and vitality, as reported in this paper.
- Analysis & insights: **what matters & why?**
 - Impact of **language and culture contact** on the wellbeing of language
 - comparative research on the broader **language ecology** in relation to the ethnolinguistic vitality of minority speech communities (e.g., emblematic ethnolinguistic identity).

Distinctive identities: between language and religion

- Interconnection of distinctive religious and ethnolinguistic identities with vitality: weak (Enggano) vs. strong (Loloan Malay)



The Enggano people are split between Christians & Muslims



All LM people are Muslims

QUESTIONS/CHALLENGES FOR LANGUAGE CONSERVATION: FUTURE (RESEARCH) PROJECTS

- Emblematic ethnolinguistic-religious identity?
 - To what extent do (modern) religions affect the well-being of local languages?
 - How can we exploit or take advantage of religious identities in the context of the preservation of indigenous languages?
 - What are the best ways of giving the local religious communities/actors a more prominent role in language/cultural maintenance?
- Social variables affecting language vitality/maintenance
 - ‘small’ with relatively healthy vitality: what is the minimum threshold of speakers for maintaining robust language domains?
 - What sociolinguistic action research can be done for long-term community engagement and capacity building?



Thank you

Terima kasih

mèk ém nè'ah

References