DigitalResources

Electronic Survey Report 2017-006

SIL

Assessment of the Vitality of the Tondano Language (Sulawesi, Indonesia)

Regina Hertz and Sandra Lee

Assessment of the Vitality of the Tondano Language (Sulawesi, Indonesia)

Regina Hertz and Sandra Lee

SIL International®
2017

SIL Electronic Survey Report 2017-006, July 2017

Abstract

In mid-2006, the Indonesia Survey Team from SIL International conducted a sociolinguistic survey investigating vernacular language vitality within the Tondano language [tdn].

The team conducted field research for two weeks in May 2006. Eight villages, whose residents reportedly still had strong use of the Tondano language, were visited. Three qualitative assessment tools were used: a group sociolinguistic questionnaire, a self-evaluation questionnaire, and a village head (*kepala desa*) questionnaire.

This research found that the language vitality of the Tondano language is threatened and decreasing, based on clear trends seen in the correlation between decreasing age and decreasing Tondano language proficiency, as well as the reportedly sparing use and lack of Tondano language dominance in any assessed domain of speech.

Contents

1 Introduction

1.1 The Tondano language

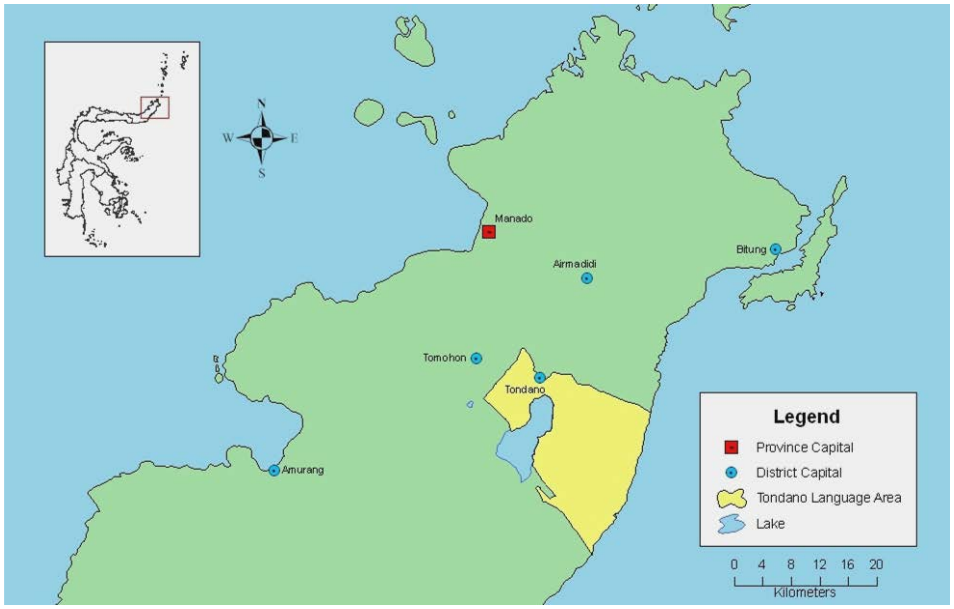
Tondano (henceforth TDN) is one of five Minahasan languages indigenous to the province of North Sulawesi, Indonesia. TDN may also be referred to by the names Tondanou, Tolou, Tolour, and Toulour. It is most closely related to the Tonsea [txs] and Tombulu [tom] languages; all three are classified by the *Ethnologue* as Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Philippine, Minahasan, North, Northeast (Lewis 2009).

TDN is said to have three dialects, Kakas (Ka'kas), Remboken, and Tondano, with an additional variation found in the village of Kampung Jawa, located within the Tondano dialect area. Reportedly, all three of these dialects are mutually intelligible (Sneddon in Merrifield 1991), though language development teams currently working in the area state that the dialectal differences may be significant enough to require two separate versions of literature (pers. comm.).

The same language development teams report that signs of declining TDN use have been seen across the language area. The regional language of wider communication, Manado Malay [xmm], henceforth XMM, is thought to be replacing TDN in many or all domains of non-formal speech. Though this shift has been identified in the past (Merrifield 1991), the extent of this language shift has been unquantified prior to this survey. The national language, which also plays a role in the area, is Bahasa Indonesia, also called Indonesian [ind], henceforth IND.

1.2 TDN-speaking area and population

Language development teams currently working in the area report that 55 villages are within the boundaries of the language-speaking area (pers. comm.). These villages all lie within the Minahasa regency of North Sulawesi and are spread among the five districts of Eris, Kombi, Lembean Timur, Tondano, and Toulimambot.



Source: Map was made with ArcGIS software from ESRI with data from Global Mapping Int'l (GMI).

Figure 1. Map of Tondano Language Area within North Sulawesi Province.

The two available reports of estimated TDN-speaking population are both quite dated. The *Ethnologue* lists the estimated population as 80,000 people, based on a 1991 report (Lewis 2009). Another report from 1990 states that roughly 105,889 people "have some knowledge" of TDN (Merrifield 1991).

1.3 Previous research

Many researchers, both Indonesian and foreign, have focused linguistic studies on the Minahasan languages over the past century. Some key publications dealing specifically with TDN include bilingual dictionaries with Dutch and IND (Watuseke 1974, Watuseke 1985a, Suratman 1985) and grammatical and phonological analyses (Sneddon 1978, Watupongoh 1985, Watuseke 1985b). SIL researchers conducted a language survey in TDN in the early 1990s as part of a larger survey of all languages in North Sulawesi (Merrifield and Salea 1996).

1.4 Status of language development

A team of native TDN-speaking translators and other linguists has been working on language development since 2001. They have developed a working orthography, translated Scripture portions, and created primary school materials (*muatan lokal*) in TDN. This language development has been done in the Tondano dialect of TDN.

It is also reported that Old and New Testament portions were printed in the early 1900s, but those portions are not in use (Merrifield 1991).

2 Research goals

SIL's Indonesia Survey Team was requested to consult with project leaders for the TDN language development project, helping them gather data to inform strategic planning for progression of the project. A key factor identified by the team was seemingly less-than-vigorous Tondano language use. The purpose of the research, therefore, was to determine the vitality of TDN across the area occupied by the Tondano ethnic group. The results will be reported according to the categories and definitions contained within the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), as seen in table 1. (Note: Specifics regarding how to apply EGIDS are discussed in section 5 below.)

Table 1. Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)
(adapted from Lewis and Simons 2010)

Language Status	Description	Summary
International	The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.	The language is used both within the community and beyond
National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government services at the national level.	
Regional	The language is used for local and regional mass media and government services at the regional level.	
Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders but has no official status.	
Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.	The language is used by all generations but primarily within the community
Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form throughout the community.	
Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	
Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but is not being learned by all children as their first language.	Not everyone within the community uses the language
Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children.	
Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	
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.	
Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	No one uses the language proficiently
Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	

The guiding research questions for investigating TDN language vitality were:

- Do children become fluent in TDN?
- What percentage of the Tondano population at each age-level is fluent in TDN and would be able to use written materials in TDN?
- In what domains does TDN use occur or dominate? Specifically, what is the dominant language used within the four major domains of home, relationships, public, and religion/church?

3 Methodology

Research methodology was chosen to accommodate significant time and logistical constraints as well as to account for reported sociolinguistic trends. Because clear patterns and trends in language use were reported, we determined that carefully gathered qualitative data was sufficient to evaluate the TDN language situation with regard to the research questions. The research team chose a variety of qualitative research tools: a group sociolinguistic questionnaire, a self-evaluation questionnaire, and a village head (*kepala desa*) questionnaire. Results of these tools were considered in combination to obtain an overall picture of the TDN sociolinguistic situation.

3.1 Village sampling

We chose a sample of eight villages (see table 2) spread across the TDN-speaking area. The sample was chosen in two stages, accounting for team time constraints and limited available information on the strength of TDN in each village.

Table 2. Village Research Sites

Village Number	Village (*Desa*)	District (*Kecamatan*)
1	Sawangan	Kombi
2	Kapataran	Lembean Timur
3	Eris	Eris
4	Urongo	Tondano Barat
5	Luaan	Tondano Timur
6	Seretan	Lembean Timur
7	Watulaney	Lembean Timur
8	Kinaleosan	Kombi

In the first stage, we chose an initial sample of five villages through a stratified random sampling process with the goal of locating and researching in the villages where use of TDN was strongest. This goal assumes that if the strongest areas showed evidence of language shift, weaker areas would also be shifting.

We first identified the villages where TDN use was the strongest, based on the local language development team's reports of each village's fluency levels. This limited our list of potential sample villages to 49 villages. We then numbered the list of 49 villages and used a random number generator to pick 10 numbers between 1 and 49, representing 10 villages. Third, we selected the five villages to include in our sample by including the first village chosen from each of the five TND-speaking districts. This process ensured representation in the sample from every district, which we hoped would help us locate any additional villages where language use was strong (see below).

In the second stage, three additional villages were added to the sample after we had begun to visit the initial five villages, based on additional information gathered during the research process. These villages were selected to fill gaps in knowledge about language use across the TDN area. The sixth village, Seretan, was added because it was frequently cited by residents of the initial five villages as a village where people are best at speaking the local language, TDN.[1] The seventh and eighth villages, Watulaney and Kinaleosan, were added to represent two remote areas that local teams had not visited and where the level of TDN use was unknown.[2] Because these areas were remote, they were seen as areas with potentially strong TDN use. Watulaney and Kinaleosan were selected because they were located near the center of each of these areas.

[1] While the number of times a village was reported to be an area of strong local language use in itself is subjective and heavily dependent on sampling, it can be considered an indicator of public opinion and should be interpreted in the context of the rest of the data.

[2] After we had begun surveying the initial five villages, we learned that the established local teams of native TDN-speaking translators and other linguists had previously visited all but the most remote villages in the TDN-speaking area in order to conduct tests of translated materials. We learned that in some villages, these teams were able to find enough TDN speakers to complete the tests, but in other villages, these teams found that TDN use was limited and not enough speakers could be found to complete the tests.

3.2 Group sociolinguistic questionnaire

3.2.1 Rationale

Sociolinguistic questionnaires are a direct way to gain information about language use patterns within a language community, including: domains of use, age and relationship of speakers, and the community members' attitudes toward language use. Results from these questionnaires inform researchers about language use and vitality, language shift, and language attitudes.

Administering these questionnaires in a group format allows the researchers to gather the opinions of several people at once, make observations about language attitudes and use during discussions, and gather a group consensus about the general language situation and attitudes within a village. Additionally, in Indonesia, the group format is more natural and culturally appropriate than isolating individuals for an interview. However, the group format may obscure viewpoints of some participants if others are dominating the group discussion.

3.2.2 Procedure

The group questionnaire was designed to investigate the language attitudes and language use patterns within the population segment aged 20–45 years.[3] When gathering groups of assistants, researchers attempted to find speakers within this age range, with an ideal group containing at least one individual in his/her 20s, one in his/her 30s, and one in his/her 40s.[4] Not all interviewees fit this ideal model, and other respondents were accepted for the interviews as well, though their answers were given less weight than the answers of respondents within the target age range. All informants were told to represent those aged 20–45 in their questionnaire answers.

The researchers attempted to gather a minimum of two groups in each village, one consisting of males and one consisting of females. When possible, genders were separated to prevent domination by a segment of respondents due to gender roles. However, researchers did not prohibit males from participating in the "female" group interview or vice versa, when individuals of the opposite gender were present and desiring to participate.

In some villages, a local representative such as a pastor, village head, or friend of a local researcher gathered respondents. In other villages, researchers themselves gathered respondents by finding groups of people sitting on porches or at *warungs* (small local shops) who were willing to be interviewed for the group sociolinguistic questionnaire.

3.3 Self-evaluation questionnaire

3.3.1 Rationale and scope

The self-evaluation questionnaire (SEQ) is a quick way to estimate an individual's proficiency in a language based on self-reported information. Using the SEQ, researchers ask respondents whether or not they can perform certain tasks using the language in question.

The SEQ is derived from the Foreign Service Institute's self-evaluation test questions, which in turn correspond to Language Skill Level Descriptions of the Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) (Blair 1990, section 10.1), allowing researchers using the SEQ to roughly estimate the respondents' proficiency

[3] People aged 20–45 were considered to be the up-and-coming leaders and trendsetters in their community, including in matters of language use.

[4] We included respondents in our group interviews with a wider range of ages because it was difficult to find many individuals within our target age range in the community during the daytime.

by ILR level.[5] The SEQ relies on the assumption that "there is a hierarchy of tasks that corresponds to different levels of bilingual ability" (Blair 1990, section 10.4).

The weakness of the SEQ is that it is largely subjective. The SEQ is dependent on self-reported information likely to be influenced by personal bias, uncalibrated with any other instrument, and not sensitive to the ease or difficulty individuals may have accomplishing certain tasks using the language in question. However, the SEQ is considered adequate for understanding the larger picture of general language proficiency (Grimes 1986, section 7.4).

The SEQ's role in this research is not to attempt to determine the exact language proficiency level of a TDN respondent, but rather to estimate the proficiency levels of TDN speakers and provide context for data gathered by sociolinguistic questionnaires. Specifically, the SEQ was used to answer the binary question: Is this respondent adequately proficient to benefit from vernacular written materials, i.e., at a level of ILR 3+ or greater? (Y/N).[6] The scope of the SEQ was thus limited to testing proficiency up to level 3+, and not beyond.

To strengthen the instrument, mother-tongue TDN speakers were trained to probe for verification while administering the SEQ by asking respondents to demonstrate their language abilities by performing the tasks named in the questionnaire.

3.3.2 SEQ development

The SEQ questions were derived from the speaking and listening sections of the ILR self-evaluation test (reading and writing were not considered relevant for this research) (Orwig 1998). Normally SEQs are between 15 and 20 questions requiring an answer of "yes" or "no," with about three to four questions for each of the five ILR levels. Because our research only required testing for the first four levels, we decided to use only 12 questions, with three questions for each of four levels. Questions included both those focused on ability to understand TDN and those focused on ability to speak TDN.

The test was then translated and contextualized to the culture with the aid of local consultants (as recommended in Blair 1990, section 10.2.1). For instance, the following question for Level 3 was considered too general for TDN people to be able to answer and was difficult for our test administrators to probe:

> Original: Can you state a personal point of view on a subject, including controversial issues, explaining why you hold youe beliefs?

The question was contextualized to include a current local "hot issue" and translated into IND:

> Revised: Dapatkah Anda memberikan pendapat tentang isyu yang berkembang, misalnya mengenai bebas SPP (pembayaran uang sekolah)?
> 'Are you able to give your opinion on a controversial issue, for instance about exemption from school fees?'

[5] The Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) scale is a set of descriptions of abilities to communicate in a language. It was originally developed by the United States Foreign Service Institute, and is still widely known as the FSI scale. It consists of descriptions of five levels of language proficiency. (http://www.sil.org/lingualinks/languagelearning/mangngyrlngglrnngprgrm/TheILRFSIProficiencyScale.htm)

[6] The original version of this statement uses the word "bilingual," which has been substituted here with the word "proficient" because of the particular circumstance of this language. Usually, it is a speaker's proficiency in a language other than the mother tongue (bilingualism) which is in question. However, in this case, the language of focus is TDN, which can be considered either the mother tongue or the second language for different segments of TDN speakers. It should also be noted that the threshold of ILR 3+ is not without controversy, cf. the discussion in Grimes (1985) of bilingual proficiency required for various tasks.

In another example, the following question about explaining a simple process was contextualized to making *nasi goreng* ('fried rice'), a popular dish that most men and women alike would know how to cook.

Original: Can you explain a simple process you know how to do, such as making a cake or repairing a tire?

Revised: Dapatkah Anda memakai bahasa daerah untuk menjelaskan proses sederhana yang Anda tahu, misalnya bagaimana membuat kue atau menambal ban mobil? (membuat nasi goreng, dsb)

'Can you explain a simple process you know how to do, such as making a cake or repairing a tire (or making fried rice)?'

3.3.3 Sampling

In order to be able to sketch a rough picture of language proficiency in the community, an effort was made to obtain data from respondents of differing educational backgrounds (up to but not including high school/some or all of high school/university), genders (male/female), and ages (20s/30s/40s). The three test administrators were instructed to walk through the village and select people to interview. They were encouraged to separate and go to different parts of the village. Each test administrator was given a particular segment of the population to look for (e.g., men under age 30, of all educational ranges) in order to ensure that tests were administered to all population segments of interest.

However, not all population segments were able to be tested in every village, due to time constraints and unexpected limitations on research (e.g., rain, bad roads). Furthermore, because these interviews were only conducted during the daytime, the more educated segment of young adults who work outside of the village may have been excluded from participation in the group discussions.

The ideal target age range for all SEQ respondents was between the ages of 20 and 40. However, because of concerns with being able to find respondents in this age range, we initially expanded the upper limit of the target age range to 45. During the testing, however, tests were administered to a broader age range, including respondents under age 20 and over age 45. Researchers decided to count SEQ results from the seven respondents aged 15–19 as valid, in keeping with sampling methods used in other survey assessments in Indonesia. The age 15 cut-off is related to the age at which students usually finish middle school (*sekolah menengah pertama*), and thus their language skills are relatively developed, though we acknowledge that these young people may not yet have reached their full adult language fluency levels. We also included the four respondents tested who were over age 45, but under age 50.

3.3.4 Test administration

The SEQ was particularly fitting for this research because of the availability of three educated, linguistically aware mother-tongue TDN speakers who were also fluent in XMM and IND, had previous assessment experience, and could easily learn the SEQ method in a one-day workshop. These TDN speakers were the primary administrators of the SEQ. One non-mother-tongue TDN speaker was evaluated as having enough fluency in TDN to evaluate TDN ability up to ILR level 2. This person administered two SEQs within his range of ability to evaluate.

After finding appropriate respondents, the TDN researchers explained the procedures and administered the test in whichever of the three languages was appropriate to the respondent, usually IND or XMM. The researchers then gathered biographical data, such as name, age, educational level, language used with spouse, and the respondents' personal opinion as to whether their proficiency in TDN was the same as, higher than, or lower than the general TDN proficiency of people in their age segment in that village.

During the test, the researchers asked respondents if they were able to complete a task in TDN, and the respondents were directed to answer "yes" or "no." The researchers then wrote down the respondents' answer.

If there was any doubt about their actual ability (suspected over- or under-estimation by the respondents), and for all of the higher-level questions, the researchers then probed the respondents in

TDN to prove their ability to complete the language task. For instance, if the question were a listening task, the researchers would then give the stated information in TDN and probe to see if the respondents could understand. If the question were a speaking task, the researchers would ask the respondents to perform that speaking task in TDN. Researchers then noted their own opinion ("yes" or "no") of whether the respondents were able to complete the task in the target language. They also wrote down any other comments, for instance, noting if shyness seemed to be affecting the results, or if the respondent was completing the task only by mixing a great deal of XMM with TDN.

Though the self-evaluation questionnaire should, in theory, be administered in around 15 minutes, in practice it took 30–45 minutes per subject, in addition to time spent looking for willing subjects.

3.3.5 Scoring

The scoring of the SEQ resulted in an approximate level for each respondent based on the yes/no answers given on the test, either the respondent's or the researcher's answer. If there is no record of any probing on the part of the researcher, the respondent's answer was trusted and used in the scoring. However, if the researcher did probe a respondent, the researcher's answer was the one considered in scoring.

Because the SEQ questions are ordered and divided according to level, it was desirable to have continuous results for the SEQ, that is, for the answer to be "yes" up to a point, and then change to "no" without mixing "yes/no" answers. The question at which the answers change from "yes" to "no" indicates the level of the respondent.

Researchers determined that there must be a positive answer for every question in a particular level in order for the respondent to be scored as that level. If there were only one or two positive answers in a level, the respondent was assigned the previous level with a "+" designated after the number.

In the case of discontinuous answers, e.g., a "yes" followed by a "no" followed by another "yes," special consideration was given to comments that gave reasons for the discontinuation. For instance, if there was a "no" response with the comment "Subject could not think of anything," followed by a string of five "yes" responses, that question was disregarded. If the discontinuation was unexplainable or too mixed, generally the respondent was assigned the first level at which the "no" responses appeared.

In some cases where scoring was too vague or the score sheet was improperly filled out, a respondent's data was discarded.

3.4 Village head (*kepala desa*) questionnaire

3.4.1 Rationale

The village head questionnaire was intended to gather general demographic, economic, development, and education information in each village visited. While this information was not directly used to determine language use and attitudes, it is known to be useful in explaining unusual language use phenomena found through the other survey tools.

3.4.2 Procedures

Upon arrival in each village, arrangements were made for either one team member or the whole research team to have a short meeting with the village head. During this meeting, the research objectives were explained and oral responses were elicited using the questionnaire.

4 Findings

As stated earlier in this report, the guiding research questions for investigating language vitality were:

- Do children become fluent in TDN?

- What percentage of the population at each age level is fluent in TDN and would be able to use written materials in TDN?
- In what domains does TDN use occur or dominate? Specifically, what is the dominant language used within the four major domains of home, relationships, public, and religion/church?

This report will discuss these questions individually below, along with a fourth question:

- What is the preferred language for written and audio materials?

4.1 Do children become fluent in the Tondano language?

Respondents were asked the following question during the group sociolinguistics questionnaire:

> Question: II. #4.
> Apakah anak-anak jadi lancar memakai bahasa daerah?
> ('Do children become fluent in the local language?')

Respondents were asked to answer either "yes" or "no." Researchers also noted the respondent's comments regarding the questions, and these comments are noted in parentheses behind the answers in table 3 below. The information gathered is qualitative and gives a general reported impression of whether or not the younger generations are using the language fluently. In most villages, more than one questionnaire was administered. The table below represents compiled results.

Table 3. Reported Children's Fluency by Village

Village	Do children become fluent in the local language? (II. #4.)
Sawangan	Yes (though only a small percentage, more understand than can speak)
Kapataran	No (it's beginning to be lost)
Eris	No
Urongo	Yes/No (mixed response) (With the "no" answer was the comment "children only understand")
Luaan	No
Seretan	Yes (but only a few, under 10%)
Watulaney	Yes/No (mixed response) (With a "yes" answer was the comment "only after age 18")
Kinaleosan	Yes

Respondents in one village, Kinalesoan, answered, "yes," children do become fluent in the local language without giving any qualifying statements. Two other villages, Urongo and Watulaney, had mixed responses to this question, though the majority in both places stated "yes," children do still become fluent in the local language. Respondents in two villages, Sawangan and Seretan, answered "yes" with a qualifying statement that only a few children will become fluent in the local language. Three villages, Kapataran, Eris, and Luaan, responded "no," children do not become fluent in the local language.

4.2 What percentage of the population at each age-level is fluent in the Tondano language and would be able to use written materials in TDN?

In order to obtain an idea of language proficiency in the local language for the general population under age 40, researchers administered the following question on the group sociolinguistics questionnaire:

Question: II. #6.
Di desa ini, berapa persen orang di bawah umur 20 tahun lancar dalam bahasa daerah? Berapa persen orang di antara umur 20 tahun dan 30 tahun lancar dalam bahasa daerah? Berapa persen orang di antara umur 30 tahun dan 40 tahun lancar dalam bahasa daerah?
('In this village, what percentage of people under the age of 20 is fluent in the local language? What percentage of people between the ages of 20 and 30 years is fluent in the local language? What percentage of people between the ages of 30 and 40 is fluent in the local language?')

When appropriate, researchers reminded respondents that a person who is fluent in the language would be able to both speak and understand the language with ease, rarely having to switch to another language or search for the appropriate word in daily conversation.

While the percentages obtained by this question should not be considered accurate quantitative data, they can give an idea of public perception of language fluency and can be considered a general indicator of community-wide fluency. In order to get better accuracy, more than one group was interviewed in each village, and their responses were interpreted in comparison with each other.

As responses to this question were only estimations, the responses varied a great deal. Though there is great fluctuation in responses, both between villages and within individual villages, comparisons are still possible and show clearly distinguishable trends.

In evaluating responses to this question, researchers compared reports across the three age ranges. There is a definite trend in language usage percentages through all age ranges. Without exception, the lowest fluency percentages in each village are found in the reported data for those aged under 20 years. Also without exception, the highest fluency percentages in each village are found in the reported data for those aged 30–40 years. In the estimation of group sociolinguistics questionnaire respondents in each village, fewer young people are becoming fluent in the local language compared to the number of people who are fluent at the older age levels.

Researchers also compared reports between villages. The strongest reported fluency across the age spectrum was in Urongo, where all reports were above 70 percent for fluency. Watulaney also had strong reported fluency, with some reports given above 50 percent in all age ranges, though other respondents in the same town estimated the fluency at much lower than those figures. Kapataran, Seretan, and Kinaleosan seem to be in the mid-range, with fluency percentages ranging from 10 percent or under up to above 50 percent, with reports varying between age ranges as well as among group respondents. The weakest reported fluency was in Eris and Luaan, where the percentage of fluent speakers at all age ranges was reported to be 50 percent or under.

In addition to the questions on the group sociolinguistic questionnaire, researchers also used results from the SEQ to answer this question. The SEQ gives us indicators of the proficiency levels of each person tested; however, it is not a standardized assessment tool. Results, therefore, must be seen as estimates only.

If the somewhat arbitrary proficiency threshold of ILR level 3+ is used as the minimum level necessary to facilitate adequate interaction with written materials in a particular language, 38 percent of all people tested would be adequately able to interact with written materials in TDN.

Of the sample group, 14 percent of those under age 20 (1 of 7 evaluated), 20 percent of those aged 20–29 (3 of 15 evaluated), 47 percent of those aged 30–39 (8 of 17 evaluated), and 62 percent of those aged 40–49 (8 of 13 evaluated) met or exceeded that level. Table 4 below illustrates the full range and averages of reported scores.

Table 4. Range of ILR Levels by Age

		Age Grouping				Total Respondents (by ILR Level)
		Under 20	20–29	30–39	40–49	
ILR Level	0	1	1	2		4
	0+		1	1		2
	1					0
	1+	4	8	3	2	17
	2	1			1	2
	2+		2	1	2	5
	3			2		2
	3+	1	2	2	1	6
	4		1	6	7	14
Total Respondents (by Age Grouping)		7	15	17	13	52
	Range	0–3+	0–4	0–4	1+–4	0–4
	Mode	1+	1+	4	4	1+
	Median	1+	1+	3	4	2+
	% at or above 3+	14%	20%	47%	62%	38%

While these percentages reflect the proficiency of the sample group and not the overall population, they do indicate a general correlation between decreasing age and decreasing proficiency. This mirrors the trend noted by respondents in the group sociolinguistic questionnaire when they reported percentages of village residents fluent at each of the different age levels.

Unfortunately, the samples from each village were too small to adequately compare proficiency levels between villages.

4.3 In what domains does TDN use occur or dominate? Specifically, what is the dominant language used within the four major domains of home, relationships, public, and religion/church?

A series of questions was asked during the group sociolinguistics questionnaire concerning which language is usually used in each of 25 different situations, grouped under the domains of home, relationships, public, and religion/church. Respondents typically listed all languages used within each situation and then were asked to specify which language was dominant. Researchers gathered from one to four sociolinguistic questionnaires in each village, depending on time and resources available.

In general, TDN is used in at least some situations within all domains in all villages. The exceptions are as follows: TDN was not used in the domains of home or public use in Luaan, and it was not used in the domain of religion/church in Sawangan. Overall, TDN is reportedly used within roughly half of the 25 situations across the eight villages surveyed. Based on percentage of situations reported for all villages, it is used most often in the home domain. Its use is lowest in the religion/church domain. It is not the dominant language for any of the four main domains investigated.

Outside of the four main domains investigated, TDN is reported as dominant in a few situations. It is the only dominant language given for traditional cultural ceremonies in any village, though these ceremonies are reported to be rare. TDN is also the only dominant language used by adults when speaking to elderly people.

In the home and relationships domains, XMM was the reported dominant language used with everyone except the elderly in all villages represented in this survey. In the public domain, respondents

reported mixed language dominance. The religion/church domain was dominated by IND, though some mixing with XMM and TDN was found in this domain.

Detailed findings for each domain are summarized in the sections and tables below. Table 5 provides an overview of the cell shading used to represent the dominant language in the tables for each domain—in these tables, each cell's highlighting indicates the dominant language in that domain, for that village. The lightest colored cells are those where IND is mentioned as the dominant language, those cells with the medium shading show reported XMM dominance, and the darkest colored cells show reported TDN dominance. In situations where no language was mentioned as dominant or conflicting languages were mentioned as dominant, the cell is not shaded. The data represented in the following tables is a merging of responses from multiple questionnaires in each village.[7]

Table 5. Dominant Language Cell Shading Key

IND mentioned as dominant language
XMM mentioned as dominant language
TDN mentioned as dominant language
No language/conflicting languages

4.3.1 Home domain

As seen in table 6, XMM is most often reported as the dominant language used in the home between siblings, with children, and with friends. TDN is also used in the home, though many respondents said that its use in the home was rare. No response was given in Luaan for the language most often used in the home with siblings.

Table 6. Reported Language Use by Village in the Home Domain

	Language most often used in the home with_____.		
Village	siblings	children	friends
Sawangan	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN
Kapataran	IND, XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN
Eris	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN
Urongo	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	IND, XMM, TDN
Luaan	--	XMM	XMM
Seretan	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN
Watulaney	XMM, TDN	IND, XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN
Kinaleosan	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN

4.3.2 Relationships domain

Researchers also asked what language was usually used during communication within relationships between people of similar and different ages. These results can be seen in table 7 below. XMM was the dominant language in relationships involving children or young people in all but three villages: Urongo, Watulaney, and Kinaleosan. In these villages, there was no dominant language used for the category of

[7] The separate groups' responses within each village were merged according to the following guidelines: 1) Each language that was mentioned by respondents in at least one group remains represented in the compilation; 2) If one group in a village named one language as dominant in a particular situation, and the other group(s) named no language as dominant in that particular situation, the language named as dominant remains represented as dominant; 3)If differing groups in one village named different languages as dominant within the same situation, no language is listed as dominant for that situation in that particular village.

children speaking to the elderly. Also in Watulaney, there was no dominant language used for the category of children speaking to adults. There was more language mixing with TDN in relationships involving adults. The only category in which TDN was the dominant language was when adults were speaking to the elderly in the villages of Kapataran, Urongo, Luaan, and Seretan.

Table 7. Reported Language Use by Village in the Relationships Domain

	Language most often used by (a) when they're talking with (b)						
Village	(a) youth (b) youth	(a) children (b) children	(a) children (b) adults	(a) children (b) elderly people	(a) adults (b) children	(a) adults (b) adults	(a) adults (b) elderly people
Sawangan	XMM	XMM	XMM	XMM	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN
Kapataran	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	TDN
Eris	XMM	XMM	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM	IND, XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN
Urongo	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN
Luaan	XMM	XMM	XMM	XMM	XMM	XMM	XMM, TDN
Seretan	XMM	XMM	XMM	XMM, TDN	XMM	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN
Watulaney	IND, XMM, TDN	IND, XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN
Kinaleosan	IND, XMM	IND, XMM	XMM	IND, XMM	IND, XMM	XMM	XMM, TDN

4.3.3 Public domain

In the public domain, shown below in table 8, frequent and mixed use of IND and XMM were reported, as well as some use of TDN. Events such as government announcements and village meetings typically have IND as the dominant language. Those events where XMM dominates language use include bargaining at the market, going to the *puskesmas* (local/regional health station), and conversing with the *kepala desa* (village head). Activities such as cultural ceremonies and, to a lesser extent, gardening/farming, and going to traditional markets take place in TDN. However, respondents noted that traditional cultural ceremonies rarely happen anymore, and younger people typically use XMM in the garden and at the market. Thus, the use of TDN is declining. In two villages (Kapataran and Luaan), respondents claimed that cultural ceremonies no longer take place; thus no response was noted for that situation. Also in Luaan, no response was given for what language is typically used with government workers.

Table 8. Reported Language Use by Village in the Public Domain

	Language most often used _____.							
Village	with the village head	with govern-ment workers	in the garden	at the market	at the health center	for cultural ceremonies	for village announce-ments	for village meetings
Sawangan	IND, XMM	IND, XMM	TDN, XMM	XMM	XMM	TDN	XMM, TDN	IND, XMM
Kapataran	IND, XMM, TDN	IND, XMM, TDN	TDN, XMM	IND, XMM, TDN	IND, XMM, TDN	--	IND, XMM	IND, XMM, TDN
Eris	IND, XMM, TDN	IND, XMM	XMM	XMM, TDN	IND, XMM	TDN	IND	IND, XMM
Urongo	IND, XMM	IND	TDN	XMM, TDN	IND, XMM	TDN	IND	IND, XMM, TDN
Luaan	IND, XMM	--	XMM	XMM	IND, XMM	--	IND	IND
Seretan	XMM, TDN	IND, XMM, TDN	TDN, XMM	XMM, TDN	IND, XMM	TDN	IND	IND
Watulaney	IND, XMM, TDN	IND, XMM, TDN	TDN	XMM, TDN	IND, XMM	TDN	IND, XMM	IND, XMM, TDN
Kinaleosan	XMM, TDN	XMM	TDN, XMM	TDN	XMM, TDN	TDN	IND	IND, XMM, TDN

4.3.4 Religion/church domain

The religion/church domain is dominated by the use of IND, as shown in table 9 below. This dominance was strongest regarding activities that take place within the church, though some respondents mentioned that sometimes their pastor mixes either XMM or TDN with IND in the sermon. Religious activities outside of the church, such as praying alone and home/cell groups, were more likely to have use of XMM, especially for socializing time. TDN was mentioned as a language sometimes used by the elderly in the religion/church domain.

Table 9. Reported Language Use by village in the religion/church domain

	Language used most often for _____.						
Village	weddings/ baptisms	praying alone	liturgy	announce-ments in church	singing	sermons	home/ cell groups
Sawangan	IND, XMM	IND, XMM	IND, XMM	IND, XMM	IND	IND, XMM	IND, XMM
Kapataran	IND, XMM	IND, XMM	IND	IND, XMM, TDN	IND, TDN	IND, XMM, TDN	IND, XMM, TDN
Eris	IND, XMM	IND, XMM	IND, XMM	IND	IND	IND, XMM, TDN	IND, XMM
Urongo	IND, XMM, TDN	IND	IND, TDN	IND, XMM, TDN	IND, TDN	IND, XMM, TDN	XMM, TDN
Luaan	IND	XMM	IND	IND, XMM, TDN	IND, TDN	IND	IND, XMM
Seretan	IND	IND, XMM	IND	IND	IND, XMM, TDN	IND, XMM, TDN	IND
Watulaney	IND, XMM	IND, XMM	IND	IND	IND, TDN	IND, XMM, TDN	IND, XMM
Kinaleosan	IND, XMM, TDN	IND, XMM	IND	IND, XMM	IND	IND, XMM	IND, XMM

4.4 What is the preferred language for written and audio materials?

Though it was not one of the main research questions, researchers also investigated the TDN-speaking community's reaction toward language use in various media forms as a benefit to those who desire to provide literature to the TDN people through appropriate media.

When asked the following question, respondents were given the choice between IND, XMM, and TDN.

> Question III #4.
> Jika ada buku kesehatan, perikanan atau pertanian untuk desa ini, Anda lebih suka memilih buku dalam bahasa apa?
> ('If there were health, fishing, or farming books for this village, what language would you prefer for those books?')

The strong majority of groups chose IND. The most common reason was because it is easy to understand/read. Several respondents also commented that it is what exists (though researchers tried to encourage respondents to consider all languages as possible responses). Some respondents also said that it should be IND because there are some who do not understand TDN.

A small number chose XMM, reasoning that it is also easy to understand, though one person who suggested this choice was laughed at by the rest of the group. Respondents also mentioned that XMM is almost the same as IND and that XMM might be more difficult to read than IND because it is a more ambiguous language (that is, one word often has multiple meanings).

A small number also chose TDN, giving as reasons that people would like to learn the language and that it is a unique language. A few people commented that there aren't yet books in TDN. One person said that they wanted books in TDN because it would be understood.

Results were somewhat different when respondents were asked about audio materials, such as a radio program. Respondents were given the choice between IND, XMM, and TDN for the following question.

Question III #5.
Jika ada acara radio untuk penduduk daerah ini, orang di sini lebih suka memilih acara dalam bahasa apa?
('If there were radio programs for residents of this region, what language would people here choose for those programs?')

The smallest segment of respondents chose IND for radio programs. Of those, some also chose XMM. A few respondents said that IND is the norm for radio programs and goes along with development and progress for their area.

A large segment chose XMM as their preferred language for radio. The most frequent comment among these respondents is that XMM is quickly and easily understood. One respondent commented that those under age 20 would prefer XMM while those over age 30 would prefer TDN.

The most frequent response for preferred language for radio was TDN. Many people said that they chose TDN because they wanted to study/learn the language. Many other people commented that they enjoy listening to their language and that it is satisfying. However, once again, one person commented that the younger people would not like listening to radio programs in TDN.

5 Conclusions and recommendations

According to Lewis and Simons (2010), a language can be evaluated in terms of the EGIDS by answering key questions regarding the identity, function, vehicularity, state of intergenerational language transmission, literacy acquisition status, and a societal profile of generational language use. These factors are pictured in a decision tree, reproduced here in figure 2:

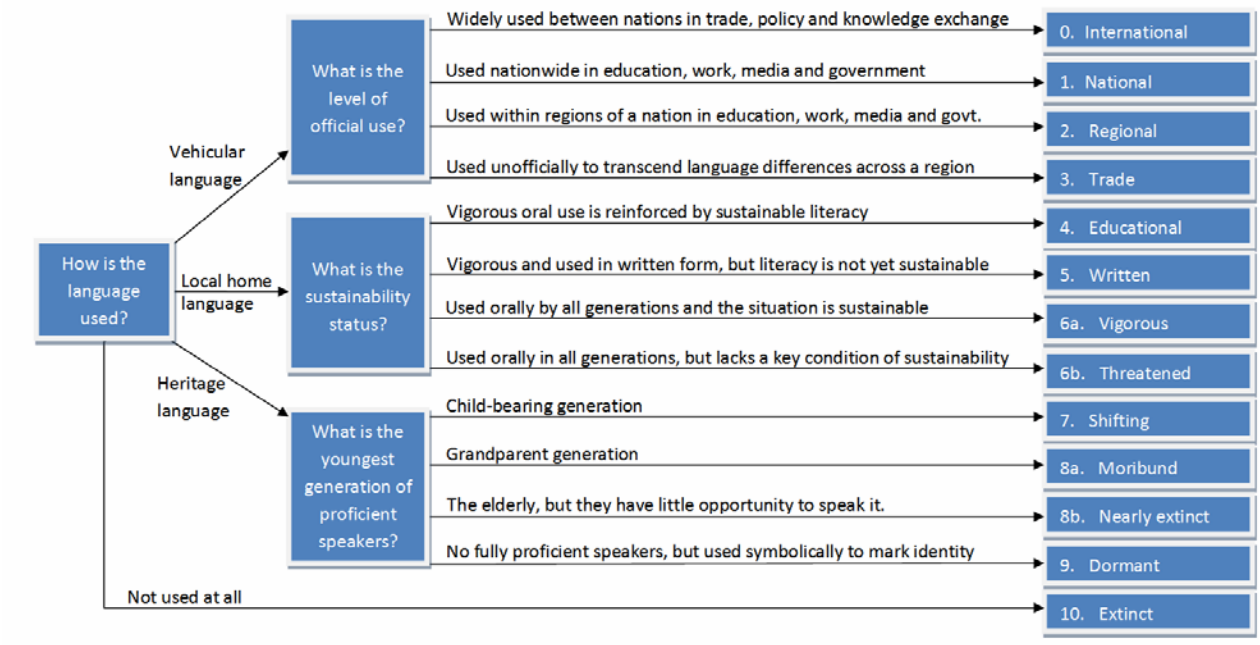


Figure 2. EGIDS diagnostic decision tree (Simons 2011).

The questions relevant to the TDN language situation, and their answers based on this research, are as follows:[8]

- How is the language used? TDN is used as a local, home language.
- What is the sustainability status? TDN is used orally in all generations in some villages, and by the child-bearing generation in others.

Based on these diagnostic questions, the language vitality of the TDN language can best be categorized as threatened, moving towards shifting. This conclusion is based on clear trends seen in the selected TDN-speaking village sites through data reported by community members and gathered by researchers. Because these villages, reported to be the strongest areas of language use, universally and clearly reflected this decline, the researchers are confident that this trend exists across the entire TDN language area.

This trend is evidenced by the following:

- Only a small number of children are reported to be learning the language fluently.
- The reported percentage of people fluent in TDN clearly decreases as the age-group decreases.
- Use of TDN across all researched domains is sparing and fails to be dominant in any domain.

Despite the clear language shift, language attitudes are generally positive. The Tondano people express a love for their identity and a desire for their language not to die. However, a number of respondents stated that the need to *maju* ('move ahead in life') necessitates the use of IND and XMM, and that because TDN does not offer the same opportunities, it is less of a priority for younger speakers.

It can also be concluded that a low and declining percentage of the language community age 20–45 years speaks TDN with sufficient proficiency to adequately interact with vernacular written materials.

It has been suggested that with the encouraged use of educational materials and an aggressive campaign promoting TDN use in the private and public spheres, the language vitality may shift to become more sustainable. However, it is unclear whether these measures would be successful in reversing the evidenced language shift.

[8] See Lewis and Simons 2010 for a more detailed discussion of the diagnostic questions and EGIDS levels.

References

Blair, Frank. 1990. *Survey on a shoestring: A manual for small-scale language surveys*. Dallas and Arlington, TX: The Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington.

Grimes, Barbara F. 1985. Comprehension and language attitudes in relation to language choice for literature and education in pre-literate societies. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 6(2):165–181.

Grimes, Barbara F. 1986. Regional and other nonstandard dialects of major languages. *Notes on Linguistics* (35):19–39.

Lewis, M. Paul (ed.). 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world.* Sixteenth edition. Dallas, TX: SIL International.http://www.ethnologue.com/.

Lewis, M. Paul and Gary F. Simons. 2010. Assessing endangerment: Expanding Fishman's GIDS. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 55(2).

Merrifield, Judi. 1991. Life in North Sulawesi. Unpublished manuscript.

Merrifield, Scott and Martinus Salea. 1996. *North Sulawesi Language Survey*. Publications in Sociolinguistics, 1. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Orwig, Carol. 1998. Managing your own language learning program. In LinguaLinks Library. SIL International http://www.sil.org/lingualinks/languagelearning/mangngyrlngglrnngprgrm/contents.htm, accessed 5 May 2011.

Simons, Gary. 2011. Introduction: Expanding Fishman's GIDS. Paper presented at the American Association of Applied Linguistics conference, 26–29 March. http://www.sil.org/~simonsg/presentation/Applying%20the%20SUM.pdf, accessed on 3 May, 2011.

Sneddon, J.N. 1978 *Tondano phonology and grammar.* Pacific Linguistics B-38. Canberra: Australian National University.

Suratman, Sri Timur, et al. 1985. Kamus Tondano – Indonesia. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Watupongoh, Geraldine Y.J. Manoppo, et al. 1985. *Struktur Bahasa Tondano.* Manado: Proyek Penelitian Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah Sulawesi Utara.

Watuseke, F.S. 1974.. Manado: *Tondano-Nederlands Woordenboek*. Publisher unknown.

Watuseke, F.S. 1985a. *En tinatēran e lelila'an (kamus) Walanda-Toudano.* Jakarta: Publisher unknown.

Watuseke, F.S. 1985b. *Sketsa tatabahasa Tondano*. Jakarta: Publisher unknown.