LANGUAGE-USE IN THREE NEIGHBOURHOODS OF TANAH ABANG: THE SPEAKER'S VIEW[1]

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The dialect of Malay spoken in Jakarta, *Melayu Betawi*, has been the subject of several recent linguistic studies. Still it is important to stress the distinctive identity of that dialect as the home language of at least 5% of the population of Jakarta. One way to determine the functional relationships between Jakarta Malay and other variants of Malay as well as other languages is to undertake a case study of language use based on an intensive household survey in one *Betawi* neighbourhood.

While *Betawi* society favors the acquisition of skills in many languages and while the results of the survey indicate a very complicated use of many linguistic variants -- sometimes even within the same family --, Jakarta Malay maintains its perceived uniqueness and its distinctive role in the home. Even in families of mixed regional backgrounds, it is Indonesian, sometimes flavored by Jakarta Malay, which plays the role of *lingua franca* and neutral language. This highlights the distinctive functions of these two dialects of Malay.

1. CONTEXT AND PROBLEM

An adequate description of the linguistic situation in Jakarta requires the solution of two major problems. The first is the formal delimitation of the languages and speech varieties which are spoken in Jakarta. The second is the definition of the functional relationships between these languages and varieties. After the completion of a linguistic survey of the total Jakarta Malay language area in 1971, I was aware that my data would enable me to study the diatopical variation in Jakarta Malay (i.e. the existence of dialects and subdialects), but that I would need additional data, of a different nature, in order to acquire a more objective insight into the sociolinguistic background of urban Jakarta Malay. Rather than trying to cover the whole urban area, I decided to make a detailed case-study in a small area known to me as typical *Betawi*, exclusively on the basis of reported behaviour by the speakers themselves, as any other method, such as direct observation, would have required much more time and personnel than were available.

I realize that this limited and one-sided approach cannot be expected to yield a solution to the complicated problem of the relationship between the varieties. Nevertheless it may give a more realistic idea of the functional position of Jakarta Malay than one comes across in popular publications as well as in some scholarly discussions. As the design of this case-study and the interpretation of the data are not completely independent of the basic assumptions I have made, I would like to discuss these briefly in advance. My main argument will be that I view Jakarta Malay as an independent vernacular, to be studied on its own as a language in its own right, whereas the other 'Malay' speech varieties occurring in Jakarta should be studied in connection with Indonesian, the national language.

First the problem of formal delimitation. There is no problem with regard to the distinction between the regional or foreign languages which are used in Jakarta, of which Sundanese, Javanese, Minangkabau, (Toba) Batak, Arabic, Chinese, and some Western languages are the most important. It has also proved to be possible to isolate the speech of the native inhabitants of the old Jakarta *kampungs*, for which I am using the name Jakarta Malay. This is apparent from the recent publication by NUSA of the grammatical studies by Ikranagara (1980) and Muhadjir (1981) (and earlier work by Muhadjir), and from lexicographical work by Kähler (1966) and Abdul Chaer (1976). All the sentences which are included in these works belong to one, discrete linguistic system. The analysis of my own dialect data shows the existence of dialects and subdialects such as is normal with natural languages. (For some preliminary results of the dialect survey, see Grijns (1980 and 1982).)

The real problem of delimitation begins with the 'Malay' varieties of Jakarta which do not belong to Jakarta Malay, to standard Indonesian or to any of the other languages spoken in Jakarta.

These varieties share many features with both Jakarta Malay and standard Indonesian. Such features, lexical as well as grammatical, are to be found in Malay as it has served for centuries as a *lingua franca* all over Indonesia. As far as I know, nobody has yet seriously undertaken the description of these varieties. It is a problem of method whether they can best be dealt with as a (loosely structured) system on their own, or as a subsystem of Indonesian.

Wallace has made a study of the "phonological diversity in the Malay language of Jakarta" (Wallace 1976:1), in which the variant pronunciations are discussed "in terms of the correspondences in Jakarta Malay to sounds in standard Indonesian" (p.6). However, Wallace uses the term Jakarta Malay in a wider sense than I do; for him it includes all the Malay-based speech in Jakarta, excepting Indonesian. He hypothesizes a continuum between Jakarta Malay and Indonesian, in which the boundary between the two varieties is not entirely clear. He uses the term 'diglossic continuum' for the linguistic situation (p.33). "The speech of some entire recorded dialogues.... shares so many features of both Jakarta Malay and Indonesian that it can not be properly classified as either" (p.33).

As Wallace's dissertation does not include even one sentence of the speech varieties he deals with it is difficult to judge his assertion. The problem seems to me a qualitative one rather than a quantitative. Which function, i.e., which meaning, do these Jakarta Malay features have? Are they marked or unmarked features? Are they used systematically or randomly? If in an utterance, for example, the Jakartan word *gue*, 'I', occurs and it has, in that context, a particular stylistic effect, the utterance is not a sample of Jakarta Malay speech, because in Jakarta Malay *gue* is an unmarked equivalent of Indonesian *saya*. There are certainly cases where there is a very considerable overlapping of features between utterances in Jakarta Malay and in other Jakarta varieties, but I am convinced that a careful analysis of sufficiently long contexts will always make it possible to classify the text as Jakarta Malay or as something else. Anyone who studies Soekesi Adiwimarta's *Omong Djakarta-Texte* (1973) will find pieces of text (mostly dialogues) of very consistent Jakarta Malay beside passages of a mixed character, where the Jakarta Malay features have a purely stylistic function in contrast to colloquial or even standard Indonesian forms. (See, for example, no. 37;cf. my review in *Bijdragen* 133, 1977:472.)

In Wallace's terminology, the 'middle ground' varieties between traditional Jakarta Malay and Indonesian are called Modern Jakarta Malay. It is not clear where for him the boundaries lie between Modern Jakarta Malay and colloquial Indonesian. "A relatively colloquial variety, influenced to a greater or lesser degree by Jakarta Malay, is used in conversation, for example between educated speakers who are not on intimate terms" (Wallace 1976:28). On the other hand, Indonesian influences Jakartan speech as well: "By a separate linguistic tradition, reinforced by education, government, religion, commerce, and the press, Malay-based standard Indonesian has become widely known to many of the inhabitants of the city and affects the casual conversation of many, especially persons of higher socioeconomic status. But among the lower classes and among the youth, Modern Jakarta Malay is firmly established as a metropolitan style" (Wallace 1976:186).

I am readily in agreement with Wallace once he uses the term style and ascribes particular 'connotations' to Modern Jakarta Malay: "Especially among the young ... MJM has become a widely-spoken dialect with connotations of being with-it, jazzy, up-to-date, urbane, and metropolitan" (Wallace 1977:33). Connotations are marked shades of meaning; they do not occur independently. In fact, I would say, these connotations operate within the larger framework of the Indonesian language.

I come now to the second problem, namely the functional relationship between the various Malay-based varieties: traditional Jakarta Malay (*Betawi*), the 'middle ground' varieties (Wallace's Modern Jakarta Malay), and standard Indonesian. My own investigations are based on the assumption that traditional Jakarta Malay functions as a vernacular, i.e., a discrete linguistic system (without a tradition of written literature, and independent of any standard language), which is the native speech of a discrete group of speakers with their own ethnic identity (the *orang Betawi*, *Betawi asli*, *orang Melayu*, *orang Jakarta asli*, etc., as they call themselves). This Jakarta Malay vernacular is used exclusively within their own community, and even the presence of 'outsiders' will cause a switch to a different variety, normally the *bahasa sehari-hari* (everyday speech), or, under certain circumstances, more formal Indonesian or the best possible approximation of that code. Therefore it is not altogether easy for an 'outsider' to observe the use of the vernacular, as it is not used on public occasions, except in folk drama and in songs. (See Grijns 1979 for my negative experiences in this respect.)

The only extension of the speech community comes through the birth of children and the complete social integration of newcomers. This integration usually does not take place in the first generation. In this the vernacular differs essentially from a *lingua franca* (such as Wallace's Modern Jakarta Malay) or a standard language, which functions far less exclusively. The vernacular is

the conveyor of the traditional culture; the *lingua franca* and the standard language carry the messages from the outside and modern world. These two latter varieties are closely interrelated. Without its sources in the Malay *lingua franca* the development of Indonesian into the national language could hardly be imagined.

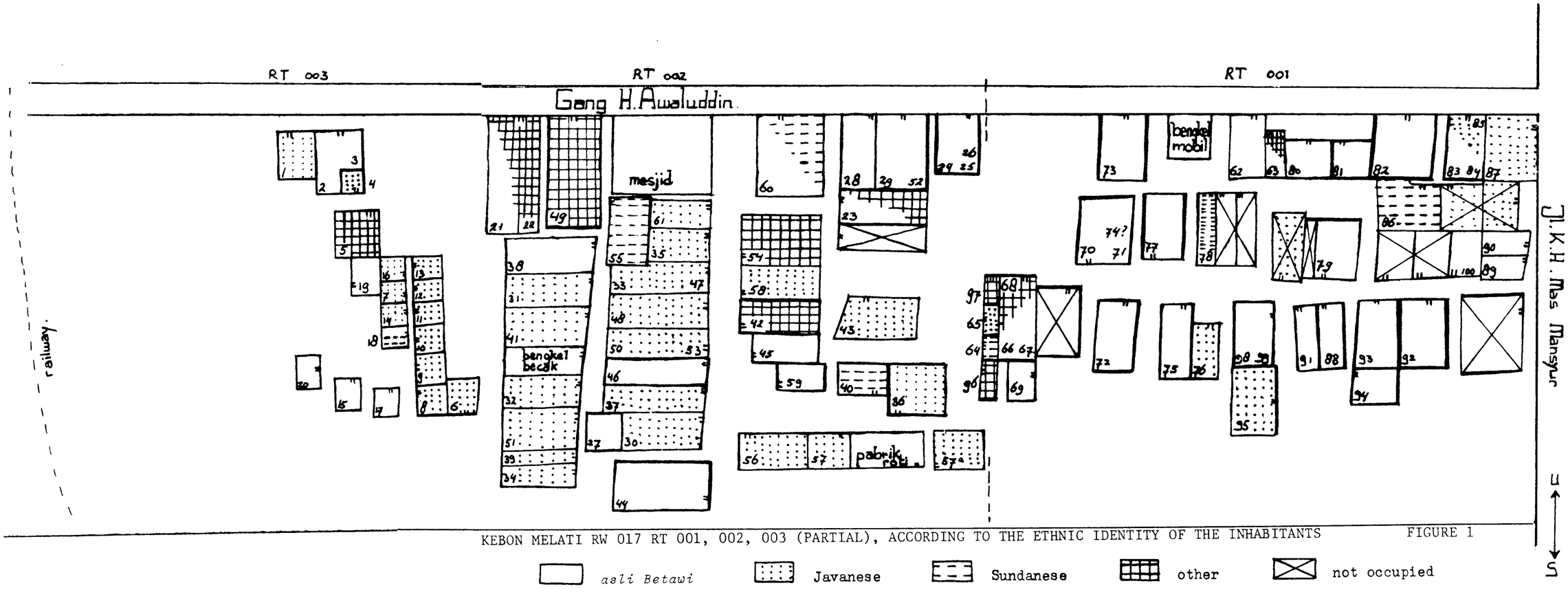
For all these reasons I find the way Wallace separates the general informal speech of Jakarta from the national language not very realistic. It seems as if the standard language for Wallace is a sort of prefabricated system which is superimposed on Jakartan society: "In Jakarta, the lower-class norm is a distinctly local product, while the standard language approximated by the upper classes is a relatively recent import from outside" (Wallace 1976:189). By whom and from where was it imported? Wallace also writes: "...the present prestigious variety of language in Jakarta, standard Indonesian, is not in origin the dialect of the upper classes of the metropolis, but has its roots outside Jakarta in the Malay spoken elsewhere" (Wallace 1976:189). This is an amazing statement if we realize to what extent Jakarta has been the cradle of modern Indonesian literature, and how deeply informal speech from Jakarta has influenced educated speech, through the press, radio, and television, all over Indonesia.

From the preceding discussion it will be clear why I prefer to deal with Jakarta's everyday speech, both descriptively and sociolinguistically, as a local variety of Indonesian. I would prefer to use the term 'modern Jakartan' rather than 'Modern Jakarta Malay', as the Indonesian equivalent of Malay, *Melayu*, in Indonesia definitely has the connotation of 'traditional', which is the opposite of 'modern'. Moreover, if residents of Jakarta call themselves *orang Melayu* there is no doubt that they are *Betawi asli*. On the other hand, long-time residents of Jakarta and younger people who are definitely not *orang Melayu* sometimes like to call themselves *Betawi*. I have known such modern *"Betawi"* citizens who were honestly surprised when confronted with a text in real *Betawi asli (Melayu Jakarta)*. Although born in Jakarta and speakers of the modern Jakarta dialect, they had never been in contact with the *Melayu Jakarta* vernacular. Unfortunately in Lance Castles' much quoted article on the ethnic profile of Jakarta (Castles 1967) the term *Betawi* is applied to all indigenous residents born in Jakarta. This has obscured the fact that the number of real *anak Betawi*, especially after the war, had dwindled to a very small minority of the population. Instead of the estimated 15 percent which Wallace still mentions, my own estimate for the urban subdistricts of Jakarta does not exceed an average of 5.4 percent for 1970.

2. THE AREA

For the case-study I chose a sample of 100 households in three adjoining neighbourhoods of *kelurahan* Kebon Melati in the subdistrict of Tanah Abang, Central Jakarta. For three months preceding this mini-survey I had been living with a *Betawi asli* family in Gang Kebon Pala, also in Kebon Melati, and my assistant resided in the same ward. The surveyed neighbourhoods were RT (*Rukun Tetangga*) 001, 002 and part of 003, which belonged to RW (*Rukun Warga*, 'Section') 017. This RW was one of four adjoining RWs where a relatively high percentage of *Betawi asli* could be expected to live. The three RTs were situated along the southern side of Gang Haji Awaludin, which was one of several narrow streets which intersected the crowded *kampung* area to the west of Jalan K.H. Mas Mansyur from east to west. The RW belonged to the southwestern part of Tanah Abang, near the inside bend of the railway and the *Banjir Kanal*, just to the east of the river Krukut, which is still a typical element in the scene with its streaming (though far from crystalline) water. The pictures of the nearby Tanah Abang *kampung* Kebon Kacang in Bernard Dorleans' study of three Jakartan *kampungs* (Dorleans 1976) illustrate very well the contrast between the general decay of the overcrowded area and an occasional beautiful view which reminds one of the past, some three generations ago, when Tanah Abang was a quiet, rural, area. RT 003 was the most recently developed neighbourhood, where new residents had occupied the strip where the *tukang sado* used to put out his horse to graze, as my host in Kebon Pala still could recollect. In recent years the construction of flats and the asphalting and widening of the roads has altered the scene considerably.

Figure 1 illustrates the situation. It should be read as a diagram rather than as a geographical map, since the real position of the group houses of RT 003 is more to the left, and the scale may be incorrect. The figure is based on a rough sketch of the situation made by my assistant. To give an idea of the real size: the house occupied by the two (*Betawi*) families nos. 98 and 99 has a surface of 30 square meters (5 x 6 m); family no. 16 (Javanese) lives on 20 square meters (4 x 5 m). In RT 002 and 003 the large vertical blocks in the figure represent so-called *rumah petak*, in fact not more than a row of rooms separated by a bamboo wall or screen (nos. 6 - 16, 34 - 38, 30 - 61). In RT 001 no *rumah petak* is found. This type of house is rented out by the owner, and is often accepted temporarily, while waiting for more permanent housing. Another type of lodging is the kind of dormitory (*pondok*) where 15 baker's men and two women, all 'neighbours' (*tetangga desa*) from Cirebon, are packed together (no. 57a). On the other side of



KEBON MELATI RW 017 RT 001, 002, 003 (PARTIAL), ACCORDING TO THE ETHNIC IDENTITY OF THE INHABITANTS FIGURE 1

asli Betawi Javanese Sundanese other not occupied

the *pabrik roti* ('bakery') is the house of the baker, who lives by himself (no. 57). A similar case is the little house where family no. 6 resides. It is the official residence of 19 people, a married couple with their son and two relatives and as many as 14 other relatives or *orang sekampung*. They all come from Indramayu, and 16 members of this 'household' are *becak* drivers. At the time of the survey, 12 of them had already moved to other quarters.

3. THE FIELD WORK

The field work was based on the use of a questionnaire. When making the design for the survey I had to take two specific problems into account. The first was the absence of any detailed official sources with regard to the general linguistic situation in the area. Since Independence it has been government policy in Indonesia that census data should not directly reveal the ethnic identity of the respondents. Thus official questionnaires containing questions with regard to language use and competence have only three distinct categories of languages: *bahasa Indonesia*, *bahasa daerah*, and *bahasa asing* (the national language, regional languages, and foreign languages). Of these, the *bahasa daerah* remain unspecified. This means that for the urban area of Jakarta, where so many ethnic groups live together, it is impossible to make even the roughest estimate as to to how many people can speak or understand Sundanese, Javanese, and other regional languages. In the questionnaire for my dialect survey of the total Jakarta Malay area (1970), in every *kelurahan* of the urban area, respondents were asked to estimate the number or percentage of *anak Betawi* for every RW. With regard to other ethnic groups in the urban area only a less detailed question was included, namely: "are there considerable groups of inhabitants in this *kelurahan* who speak a regional language, and if so, where do they live?" It could not be expected that the respondents who were selected because of their knowledge of *Betawi* society would be able to give reliable information regarding the other ethnic groups. In fact I had nothing which could serve as basic data except the place and year of birth and the year of arrival in Jakarta of the residents, which were registrated by the RW. On the basis of the subsequent analysis of the dialect survey, I now estimate the average percentage of *Betawi* speakers in the subdistrict of Tanah Abang to be 8.1%, which is higher than the average for the total urban area, estimated as 5.4% (estimates for 1970).

The second problem was the ambiguous meaning of the terms *bahasa Jakarta* and *bahasa Indonesia*, as discussed in the introduction of this paper. In order to avoid biased answers, I decided to keep the questions as neutral and open as possible. The only distinction made in the terminology of the questionnaire with regard to the name of languages was between *bahasa Indonesia* and *bahasa (or: bahasa-bahasa) daerah* ('regional language or languages'). Fortunately the term *bahasa* in Indonesian covers speech on the level of language as well as of dialect. The questionnaire was administered in Indonesian.

The questionnaire comprised two different sheets: one sheet for every household and one sheet for every individual respondent. On the general sheet all the names of the members of the household were listed and numbered, and for every individual the data about sex, year and place of birth, marital status, relationship with the head of the household, education, profession, data of arrival in Jakarta, and last place of residence before arrival were filled in. On the back of this sheet the housing conditions were noted.

The individual sheets contained the language questions. These were, as said above, as 'open' as possible. They were the following: (1) which language do you speak fluently, and which less fluently? (2) Which regional languages (*bahasa-bahasa daerah*) do you use in Jakarta when outside? (3) To whom, and why, do you use these languages/this language when outside? (4) In which language are you frequently addressed in Jakarta when outside? a. *bahasa Indonesia;* b. *bahasa...;* c. not so frequently in *bahasa...* (5) Who addresses you in the languages mentioned onder b. and c. above, and why are these languages used to you? (6) In this question the respondent was asked to indicate, for every member of the household, exepting himself, in which language he used to address that member when at home, and also which additional language he used. After that, he was asked in which language each member usually addressed him when at home, and also, in which additional language that person did so. (7) Now the respondent was asked when, by whom and in whose presence, the additional language as indicated in the previous question was used. (8) Where, and at what age, did you first acquire the ability of speaking Indonesian and the regional languages? (9) Do you wish to make any further comment with regard to language use?

The fieldwork, including the final selection of the household groups, was carried out by Mr. Sudja'i Zak., at that time still an undergraduate student of anthropology, who also lived in Kebon Melati and whom I knew as an experienced and very reliable fieldworker. It took him more than three months, in the beginning of 1972, after I had left Indonesia, to visit the hundred households of the sample and to interview about six hundred individual respondents. In this type of survey it is essential to meet *all* the

members of the household. This means that the fieldworker had to visit the same house repeatedly, often in the evening. In this case his task was rendered more difficult by the heavy rains of the season. Nevertheless Mr. Sudja'i succeeded in collecting the required data very completely and accurately.

4. THE RESIDENTS

The number of individuals interviewed in the 100 households total 575, of whom 311 are men and 264 women. Table 1 shows the distribution over the three household groups. RT 001 consists of thirty-nine households, RT 002 of forty-one, whereas the twenty households in RT 003 form only a part of the total RT.

TABLE 1. RESIDENTS

	Men	Women	Total	Households	Average/ Households
RT 001	116	113	229	39	5.87
RT 002	141	105	246	41	6.00
RT 003	54	46	100	20	5.00
	311	264	575	100	

It seems relevant to make a distinction between nine age-groups: infants (0-3 years); young children (4-11 years); adolescents (12-19 years); young adults (20-29 years); and five groups of adults in the age of 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-69, and 70-82 years. In Table 2 the distribution according to age-groups and sex is represented.

TABLE 2. AGE-GROUPS AND SEX

Age group	0-3		4-11		12-19		20-29		30-39		40-49		50-59		60-69		70-82	
Sex	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
RT 001	9	13	31	28	23	25	19	15	16	14	9	10	4	5	4	1	1	2
RT 002	14	6	29	31	21	15	38	20	21	17	12	11	4	3	2	1	0	1
RT 003	2	7	10	12	8	4	13	9	10	9	7	1	1	2	3	2	0	0
	25	26	70	71	52	44	70	44	47	40	28	22	9	10	9	4	1	3
Total	51		141		96		114		87		50		19		13		4	

Converted into percentages, Table 2 reads as follows (see Table 3):

TABLE 3. AGE-GROUPS IN PERCENTAGES OF THE POPULATION

	RT 001	RT 002	RT 003	Average
Infants	9.6%	8.1%	9.0%	8.9%
Young children	25.8%	24.4%	22.0%	24.1%
Adolescents	21.0%	14.6%	12.9%	15.9%
Young adults	14.8%	23.6%	22.0%	20.1%
30-39 years	13.1%	15.4%	19.0%	15.8%
40-49 years	8.3%	9.3%	8.0%	8.5%
50-59 years	3.9%	2.8%	3.0%	3.2%
60-82 years	3.5%	1.6%	5.0%	3.4%

The general pattern is the nuclear family: the two parents living with their children. Only in four cases is the mother or wife missing; in ten cases there is no father or husband. There are no grandfathers (fathers of parents), but there are six grandmothers. In one house there lives a group of six young orphans whom neighbours took care of (no. 100). In sixty-three families there were no additional members except for the rare cases where a relative's child served as an assistant to the housewife. In the remaining thirty-seven families not uncommonly a son-in-law or a daughter-in-law had joined the household (twenty cases), and in seven families there were relatives (mostly in-laws) of the generation of the head of the household. These more marginal adult members of the family, if the family has a regional background, often stimulate

the continued use of the regional language in the home. The same applies for the adult servants (six cases).

In thirteen cases more than one family shared the same house. The two or three families always had the same ethnic background, except no. 18, where a young Sundanese couple lived with a *Betawi* family.

Of the hundred families, forty-two came from Jakarta, thirty-three were Javanese, four Sundanese, one was Minangkabau, and two came from the Lampung districts. There were eighteen 'mixed' families, as follows: Jakarta-Jawa 2; Jawa-Jakarta 3; Jakarta-Sunda 3; Sunda-Jakarta 2; Jakarta-Minangkabau 1; Minangkabau-Jakarta 1; Jakarta-Lampung 1; Palembang-Jakarta 1; Batak-Jakarta 1; Timor-Jakarta 1; China-Jakarta 1; and Sunda-Jawa 1. For the 'mixed' families the region of origin of the head of the household (i.e., with few exceptions, the husband or the father) was given first in this list. Reference is made to the ethnic background, not automatically to the language spoken at home. In Table 4 the distribution over the RTs is shown.

TABLE 4. ETHNIC BACKGROUND

	RT 001	RT 002	RT 003
Jakarta (*Betawi*)	24	11	7
Javanese	4 (10)	18 (14)	11 (14)
Other (homogeneous)	3 (13)	3 (20)	1 (2)
Other ('mixed')	8 (19)	9 (22)	1 (12)
	39	41	20

Between brackets the average duration of residence for the group concerned is given, based on the year of arrival in Jakarta of the most recently immigrated partner. Of a very large majority of the immigrant homogeneous couples both partners arrived in Jakarta in the same year, and thus probably arrived after their marriage. As the figures show, all three RTs are almost exclusively inhabited by long-term residents. In RT 001 only two families arrived less than ten years previous to the survey; in RT 002 there were two families who had been living in Jakarta for less than eight years, and the same applies to RT 003. More than 25% of the families had been living in Jakarta for more than fifteen years. In twenty-nine cases in all one or more of the respondents spontaneously stated during the interview that they were *orang Betawi*, *orang Jakarta*, *orang asli di sini* ('native inhabitants here'). There was no direct question in the questionnaire with regard to the respondents' ethnicity. It seems justified to conclude that in all three RTs those families of which all members were born in Jakarta and who speak at home exclusively *bahasa Jakarta* or *bahasa Jakarta* and Indonesian are *Betawi* families.

5. TYPICAL DIFFERENCES AMONG THE NEIGHBOURHOODS

At this point we have put together sufficient details to notice some typical differences among the three RTs. RT 001 has by far the highest ratio of *Betawi* families: twenty-four out of thirty-nine, not including the five 'mixed' families with a *Betawi* mother or father. In RT 002 only eleven families are *Betawi*, and eight families are semi-*Betawi* ('mixed'). RT 003 has seven *Betawi* families and only one semi-*Betawi* household. On the other hand the Javanese group is not strongly represented in RT 001: four homogeneous Javanese families and four semi-Javanese, in contrast to RT 002 which has eighteen Javanese and only one semi-Javanese household. For RT 003 the figures are eleven Javanese families and one semi-Javanese.

With regard to age, there is a strikingly high percentage of adolescents and a low percentage of young adults in RT 001 as compared with the other two neighbourhoods (see Table 3). I guess that the *Betawi* families are more used to keeping their adolescent children in the family, and that the young adults from the traditional homes are in a better position to find a spouse with whom they move to other places in or around Jakarta. *Betawi* families very commonly welcome the marriage of their children to a Sundanese or Javanese spouse I do not know why the figure for the adolescents in RT 002 is so low Did the Javanese from Cirebon and Indramayu leave their older children with their relatives in the country?

The sex ratio in the total sample is very uneven, as can be seen from Table 1: 311 men to 264 women. The excess of men is especially striking in RT 002 (141 men to 105 women). Even if we take into account the case of the baker's *pondok* (no. 57a), there must be another specific reason for this uneven distribution. The difference is the greatest in the age-group of the young adults (see Table 2), with thirty-eight men to twenty women. Of those twenty women only four are unmarried whereas twenty-nine of

the thirty-eight men are unmarried. Of these men only one is illiterate, nine have finished primary school, seven SMP (junior high school), seven SMA (senior high school), and five have a university training. The four unmarried women, two of whom are servants, have only finished SD (primary school). Of the men, four are still university students, and only some five report that they have a regular profession (taxi-driver, vendor). Compared to the other two RTs, RT 002 has typically a white collar proletariat, and it seems probable that their contacts and loyalties are not centered in the *kampung*.

The figures for education also reveal structural differences between the three RTs. In Table 5 the number of illiterates is given (those who do not read Latin characters) according to sex for persons over 11 years old.

TABLE 5. ILLITERATES (OVER 11 YEARS OLD)

	Men	Women	Total	Total Inhabitants	% of Illiterate
RT 001	5	17	22	229	9.6%
RT 002	11	15	26	246	10.6%
RT 003	12	16	28	100	28.0%

The rate of illiteracy is by far the highest in RT 003, amounting to 28% of the total population. The percentages for RT 001 and RT 002 are almost equal, but there is a striking difference between the average age of the illiterate men if these two RTs are compared. For RT 001 the figure is fifty-nine years, and for RT 002 thirty years (see Table 6).

TABEL 6. AGE OF ILLITERATES AND NUMBER OF ILLITERATE ADOLESCENTS

	Average age			Illiterates of 12-19 years old		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
RT 001	59	44	51	0	1	1
RT 002	30	38	34	2	2	4
RT 003	35	39	37	3	0	3

It seems that the illiteracy of adolescents generally has disappeared in these neighbourhoods, for girls as well as for boys. For the more established *Betawi* society of RT 001 illiteracy had already disappeared before the war. The lower average age in RTs 002 and 003 no doubt is the result of migration under unsettled conditions and of poverty. The five older illiterate men in RT 001 are all *Betawi;* in RT 002 the eleven illiterate men are all Javanese; and in RT 003 nine out of twelve are Javanese, the three others being *Betawi*. Except for one Javanese from Cibinong, all the Javanese illiterates come from Cirebon, Indramayu or Tegal. The figures for RT 001 in Table 6 still reveal the tendency in traditional *Betawi* society to avoid modern education for the girls, and even the reluctance to send the boys to school is frequently recalled. In RT 001 also the number of persons who can read Arabic characters is highest: eighty-three, as against seventy-three in RT 002, and thirty-two in RT 003 (36%, 30% and 32% of the population, respectively). In RT 001 the *madrasah* has been most influential. In the total group of respondents of over eleven years old, exactly 75% of those who read Arabic characters are women.

As types of education other than the Indonesian primary school, the following categories occur in the answers: A. Schakelschool, HIS (pre-war Dutch elementary school types); B. SMP, SMEP, Sekolah Teknik (junior high school, etc.); C. MULO, Normaalschool (Dutch junior high school, etc.); D. SMA, SMEA, SGA, SGKP, STM, PGA, Akademi (senior high school, etc.); E. University. Table 7 shows the distribution of the types A-E over the three neighbourhoods.

TABLE 7. TYPES OF EDUCATION

	A	B	C	D	E
RT 001	2	24	4	8	0
RT 002	4	27	1	17	8
RT 003	0	2	0	2	0

From these figures it is apparent that RT 003 is educationally underdeveloped; whereas the higher levels of senior high school and university are best represented in RT 002. The *Betawi* of RT 001 traditionally are little interested in higher education, and the inhabitants of RT 003 are probably too poor for it. Those who have sent their sons to the high school or university in RT 002 find them, tragically enough, lingering about at home as the white collar proletariat discussed above. For the linguistic situation this is not without relevance. It is probable that the adolescents and young adults of RT 002 participate more actively and more fully in the development of modern Jakartan speech than do their peers in RT 001 and 003, for different reasons.

If we look at the professions we find the more traditional *Betawi* professions of *supir, montir mobil, montir mesin tik, tukang cat duko, tukang cetak* and *dagang* (car driver, motor mechanic, typewriter repairman, car painter, printer and vendor) more strongly or even

exclusively represented in RT 001. The category *dagang* mainly includes the preparing and selling of food in a *warung* (*sop kaki*, for example, but also *bumbu dapur*, *rempah-rempah* 'spices', etc.). In RT 001 there reside also a *wartawan* (reporter) and a *mantri pasar Manggarai* (overseer at the market). In RT 002 there are typically more people employed in (lower) administrative functions; there is a *guru agama* (religious teacher), an official of the *urusan haji* office (the pilgrimage office) and a *pengusaha swasta* (entrepreneur) from Palembang; there are *dagang makelar* (brokers) from Padang and several university students. In RT 002 no *tukang becak* were found; there are three *becak* drivers in RT 001 (one *Betawi*, one from Depok, and one from Brebes); whereas there were twelve in RT 003 (five from Indramayu, six from Cirebon, one from Kuningan).

Reviewing all the above information, we may conclude that of the three RTs it is RT 001 which breathes most the atmosphere of a typical *Betawi kampung*. In the more mixed RT 002 the non-*Betawi* seem to be well integrated into local society, perhaps even more into the general Jakartan than into the *Betawi* society. In RT 003, however, it is typical for the Javanese population to keep in close contact with their home *desa* on the north coast. As a rule, the women go back to their *desa* for confinement, even after they have lived with their husband in Jakarta for several years. Such cases are very exceptional in RT 001 and 002 (one case in each of these RTs). Probably one factor is the miserable housing conditions in RT 003; another may be that the *tukang becak* return from time to time to their *daerah* in order to change places with some relative. *Bahasa Melayu Jakarta* is a typical in-group and folk speech. It flourishes in the solidarity of the *kampung*, in the atmosphere of a calm and bourgeois society. In 1972, this atmosphere still existed in RT 001.

6. SOME TYPICAL FAMILIES

Before turning to more specific topics I will now briefly describe two typical families from each of the three RTs under study.

The head of household no. 80 is an *asli Betawi*, born in 1925 and married to a Javanese wife who was born in Surabaya in 1929. Before the War both completed HIS. He has always stayed in Jakarta, but she went with her parents to Purworejo, then lived from her sixth year on in Jakarta. During the War she lived for some years in Bandung and at the age of thirteen she learned Sundanese there. She has spoken *bahasa Jakarta* and *bahasa Indonesia* from her sixth year on. He learned Indonesian in Jakarta at the age of six, is a native speaker of *bahasa Jakarta*, and learned Javanese, but not fluently, in Jakarta when he was seventeen years old. They have five daughters and two sons, all born in Jakarta between 1951 and 1967. He is *kepala lingkungan* (head of a group of households). Their house has a modest front-yard and faces Gang H. Awaluddin. It is clean and orderly, but the furniture is extremely plain; there is electric light and they even have a transistor radio.

When outside he speaks exclusively *bahasa Jakarta* or Indonesian. She likes to speak Javanese and Sundanese as well, "*agar pembicaraan dan persahabatan menjadi akrab*" ('in order to make the dialogue more intimate, as between friends') and Javanese and Sundanese friends are frequently invited to speak their regional language. But most commonly they use "*bahasa Jakarta, bahasa ini sebagai bahasa sehari-hari*" ('*bahasa Jakarta* is our everyday speech'). At home, only the parents speak occasionally Javanese to each other, alternated with Indonesian. To the children they speak exclusively *bahasa Jakarta* or Indonesian, and these never use any other language when at home or when outside. They all attend or have completed SMP or, according to their age, SD.

Another 'mixed' family is no. 68. The father is *supir bemo* (*bemo* driver), born in 1941 in Padang. She is *asli Betawi*, born in 1948, and has finished SD. He came to Jakarta in 1960, at the age of nineteen, after having completed SMP. He learned Indonesian at the age of seven, *bahasa Jakarta* at the age of nineteen, and is a native speaker of *bahasa Padang*. She learned *bahasa Indonesia* at the age of eight, and is a native speaker of *bahasa Jakarta*. She speaks no other languages. The other ten members of the household have various backgrounds.

There are a son and a daughter of eleven and eight years old; the son attends SD. Both were born in Jakarta. Then there is her mother, *asli Betawi*, born in 1925, illiterate. Next come four of her younger brothers, born between 1949 and 1958, who have finished SD or STM. The two eldest of these are married, one to a wife from Cirebon, born 1950, and one to a wife from Banten, born 1949. The first couple has a little daughter (1971). The son and daughter of the principal occupier speak only *bahasa Jakarta* and Indonesian; their grandmother does not speak Indonesian. The four brothers are native speakers of *bahasa Jakarta*, and also speak Indonesian. The two young women from Cirebon and Banten speak their local variety of Javanese, and learned *bahasa Jakarta* at the age of nineteen; one attended SD for four years (in Cirebon); the other is illiterate. They do not speak Indonesian.

This large family shares the house with two other families, both *asli Betawi*

(nos. 66 and 67), who speak exclusively *bahasa Jakarta* and Indonesian when at home. The two couples have a total of nine young children. Thus the house is occupied by thirteen adults and twelve children. Under such conditions the only bright feature seems to be that there is electric light; the overcrowded house is untidy and dirty. It is only natural that the head of household 68 has chosen for complete integration with regard to language use at home. When outside he occasionally speaks *bahasa Padang;* but at home this family uses *bahasa Jakarta* exclusively, and under certain circumstances, *bahasa Indonesia*.

An entirely different picture is given by household no. 61, situated in a small but well-ordered house behind the mosque in RT 002. Two Javanese parents live here with their twelve-year-old daughter. The man was born in 1925 in Pemalang, the woman in 1929 in Salatiga. Both completed SMP; he came to Jakarta in 1949, and she two years later. He is employed by a bank. The child attends SD. The husband reports that he speaks Indonesian, Javanese and Dutch fluently, and English, Japanese, and *bahasa Jakarta* less fluently. The wife speaks fluently Indonesian, Javanese and Dutch, less fluently *bahasa Jakarta*. The child is fluent in Indonesian and *bahasa Jakarta*. At home, the parents speak primarily Javanese, and also Indonesian to each other. With the child they use exclusively Indonesian; and this is the only language the child uses at home. She speaks *bahasa Jakarta* to her friends and to the neighbours, "*untuk memudahkan pergaulan*" ('in order to create a more relaxed atmosphere'). The father notes that their *asli Betawi* neighbours sometimes address him in "*bahasa Jakarta, mereka menganggap saya seorang Betawi, tapi saya jawab dengan bahasa Indonesia*" ('They think that I am *Betawi*, but I always reply in Indonesian').

Household no. 42 is a 'mixed' family again. The man is born in Timor, 1936, and the woman is *Betawi asli*, born in 1944. He has completed SMA and is employed by a *Perusahaan Negara;* he came to Jakarta in 1950. She has completed SD. Their three young children, between ten years and one year old, were born in Jakarta. The house is simple, but well-ordered. At home the only languages used are *bahasa Jakarta* and Indonesian. The father occasionally uses Indonesian in order to teach his children this language, and sometimes, when addressed in *bahasa Jakarta* by his wife, he answers in Indonesian. (He speaks *bahasa Jakarta* fluently.) The eldest daughter (10) reports on her father's endeavours: "*sewaktu-waktu ayah dan ibu berbahasa Indonesia pada saya, tapi saya jawab dengan bahasa campuran (Indonesia + Jakarta).*" ('Sometimes my parents speak Indonesian to me, but I answer them in a mixture of Indonesian and Jakarta speech.) She likes to speak *bahasa Jakarta* to her friends: "*enak didengarnya, dan saya kurang tahu bahasa yang lain*" ('It sounds nice, and I don't know any other language really well').

Finally we come to RT 003. The first example is household no. 8, a couple from Cirebon, (born 1932 and 1937), with eight children between seventeen years and one year old. Two of her younger brothers have joined the family (born 1950 and 1949). All these twelve persons were born in Cirebon, although the parents have been living in Jakarta since 1961. The husband is a *pesuruh* (errand boy) in a government office; one of her brothers is also a *pesuruh* somewhere else, and the other is a *becak* driver. The father has completed SD; the mother is illiterate. The children all attend SD, if not too young, or have completed SD. At home the parents and the eldest son use Javanese exclusively, and so do the wife's two younger brothers. But from the second child on (a girl of fifteen years old) the children use *bahasa Jakarta* at home as a second language between themselves, but not to their parents. To the baby the mother speaks Javanese. For the whole family it is true that there are frequent contacts with neighbours in Javanese, whereas the use of *bahasa Jakarta* is more restricted.

The second example for RT 003 is household no. 18, five persons in all in a small and dirty house. None of the houses in RT 003 has electric light. The head of the household in this case is the wife, born in Jakarta in 1918. Her husband was born in Jakarta in 1909; both are illiterates. They accommodate a young Sundanese couple from Kuningan and Bogor (born in 1948 and 1952), with their baby, born in 1971 in Jakarta. The young man from Kuningan is a *tukang becak*. The *Betawi* couple speak *bahasa Jakarta* between themselves and when outside, but to the Sundanese couple they speak Indonesian also. The old man notes: "*saya sendiri lebih senang pakai bahasa Jakarta, dan oleh mereka lebih banyak dijawab dengan bahasa Indonesia*" ('As for me, I prefer to use *bahasa Jakarta*, and they mostly reply in Indonesian'). To their baby the young parents speak *Indonesia/Jakarta*. They speak Sundanese at home when no others are present, or "*kalau membicarakan yang rahasia*" ('or if we wish to discuss something confidentially'). This is not the only case where people living in overcrowded houses refer to the regional language as a means to find some privacy.

7. LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE AND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

The statistics of reported language competence are summarized in Table 8. The languages include Javanese, Sundanese, Minangkabau (or *bahasa Padang*), *bahasa Lampung*, and other languages (one speaker of Batak and of *bahasa Bangkahulu* each, one of *bahasa Palembang*, one of *bahasa Timor*,

and two of *bahasa Kek*, (i.e. Chinese from Canton)). Those who have attended high school have a basic knowledge of English and French or German, and even in this *kampung* one could still meet people with a good knowledge of Dutch.

In the figures for *bahasa Jakarta* and the regional languages I have left out the infants (0-3 years) and I have listed the young children (4-11 years) separately as category II. In the table, category I stands for all other age groups. In the figures for *bahasa Indonesia* the children of 0-11 years are not taken into account. The upper half of the table gives the figures for the reported ability to produce fluent speech, and the lower half those for less fluent speech (*kurang lancar*). The two last columns of the upper half, separated by a double line, give the number of respondents who did *not* mention their ability to speak *bahasa Jakarta* or *bahasa Indonesia*.

TABLE 8. LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

	Jav		Sund		Mkb		Lamp		Other		Jkt	Indon	
	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II	
fluent											no competence rep.		
RT 001	19	0	24	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	11	3	20
RT 002	65	1	17	0	8	0	5	0	4	0	23	0	9
RT 003	40	19	7	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	2	30
	124	20	48	0	10	0	10	0	6	0	37	5	59
less fluent											less fluent		
RT 001	14	2	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	22
RT 002	21	5	8	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	26	4	14
RT 003	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	17	8	7
	35	7	19	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	50	12	43

The table shows that roughly one third of the inhabitants speak Javanese more or less fluently (186 persons in all), whereas Sundanese is spoken by some 12% of the population (sixty-seven persons in all). Excepting the Javanese children in RT 003, hardly any children under twelve years old speak the regional language of their parents; even a limited competence is rare. Some 7% (forty-two individuals) do not report that they speak *bahasa Jakarta*; practically all young children speak it fluently. Those adults who do not report being speakers of *bahasa Jakarta without exception consider themselves as qualified speakers of Indonesian*. The large group of speakers of Javanese in RT 002 can be broken down in two subgroups; those who come from the north coast (Cirebon, Indramayu, Tegal, Brebes, etc.) and those who come from the other parts of Java: Yogya, Solo, Salatiga, etc.. The first subgroup speak *bahasa Jakarta*, as do all the Javanese from the same areas in RT 003. The second subgroup (twenty three persons, including some Sundanese) do not speak *bahasa Jakarta*, but Indonesian. Most of them have a higher level of education and an office job.

As indicated above, in the figures for Indonesian only the respondents of over eleven years old have been included. There are 383 respondents in this age group. The large majority of them are of the opinion that they speak Indonesian fluently (281 respondents). Only forty-three respondents reported that they spoke Indonesian *kurang lancar*, and fifty-nine did not mention Indonesian as a language which they speak. Of these fifty-nine respondents thirty-six were illiterate; the remaining twenty-three reported having attended primary school (eight from Jakarta, five from Indramayu, six from Cirebon, three from Brebes, and one from Banten); in this group the following occupations were represented: *tukang becak* (6), *buruh* ('labourer'), *pesuruh* ('errand boy'), *pembantu* ('servant') (3), *dagang* ('vendor') (2), *montir mobil* ('motor mechanic'), *supir taxi* ('taxi driver') (2), etc.

Of those who said that they spoke *bahasa Indonesia kurang lancar*, two women (*orang Betawi*) had even completed SMP; nineteen were illiterate; twenty-two had completed SD, of whom eighteen were *Betawi*, three came from Cirebon and one from Tasikmalaya. What is the reason that such a high percentage of *Betawi* people, even after going through primary school, do not speak Indonesian well? (The nineteen illiterates were also mostly *Betawi* people.) It seems not improbable that *bahasa Jakarta* in everyday life is such a satisfactory means of communication for the uneducated native speaker of *bahasa Jakarta*, that he does not very much feel the need for mastering Indonesian. It also seems significant that of the less fluent Indonesian speaking group the majority are found in the most typically *Betawi* neighbourhood, i.e. RT 001.

One is not amazed to find illiterates who do not speak Indonesian, but it is interesting to learn that there are in the sample forty-three respondents who are illiter-

ate and do speak Indonesian; twenty-one of these even say that they speak it fluently. In most cases they learned Indonesian in Jakarta, sometimes *sejak kecil* or *sejak lahir* ('from birth'), alongside *bahasa Jakarta*. This reflects clearly the opinion that Indonesian exists in Jakarta as a sort of *lingua franca*. Other illiterates say that they learned Indonesian as adults, after migration to Jakarta (seven cases). There are also seven illiterate respondents who say that they learned Indonesian in Central Java or in Cirebon, etc., from their fifteenth or twenty-fifth year on. Anyhow, a speaking knowledge of Indonesian is not seen as an ability one can acquire only through the school. One of those who learned Indonesian late in life is the old *Betawi* host of the young Sundanese couple (no. 18, cf. Section 6). When addressing these young people at home, he switches from *bahasa Jakarta* to Indonesian. I would interpret this as a switch from Jakarta Malay (*Betawi*) (which he speaks at home with his wife) to Jakarta's *bahasa sehari-hari*, a local and informal variety of spoken Indonesian.

A further observation can be made with regard to the age at which the respondents acquired their knowledge of Indonesian. Most of them reported that they were able to speak Indonesian beginning from the age of six to ten years, but there were thirteen Javanese repondents, especially from Cirebon and Indramayu, and also three from Jakarta, who learned Indonesian much later. If we take the group who learned the language between the age of six and ten years, we find an interesting difference between Jakarta and other regions of origin. In Jakarta the average age was 7.5 years; in Cirebon-Indramayu 9.3; in other Javanese areas 9.2; in the Sundanese areas 8.2; and in other areas with a 'Malay' vernacular (Palembang, Padang, Timor, etc.) 7.4.

Let me close this section with a note on the acquisition of the regional language. There are some forty individuals who report that they speak more than one regional language, besides *bahasa Jakarta*. The most frequent combination is Javanese and Sundanese, and either of these two is always part of the combination. More interesting are the cases where the regional language was learned while living in Jakarta. Some thirty-five children learned Javanese in Jakarta from their parents in early childhood, and in the same way some children in Sundanese families learned Sundanese at home. Very often this knowledge disappears when the parents give up speaking their regional language to the younger children. This happens when the children among themselves (and gradually also when speaking to their parents) use *bahasa Jakarta* exclusively. On the other hand, twenty-two respondents report that they learned Sundanese in Jakarta, not at home and at a later age. For Javanese the same was stated by sixteen respondents. This is usually caused by the influence of neighbours who are constantly exploring with whom they can communicate in their regional language. Many respondents report that they are pleased to take up such opportunities. This is in accordance with the general attitude among the *Betawi* which favours the learning of other languages. In some cases respondents point to the commercial interest which may be involved here. The keeper of a *warung* or of a repair-shop or a vendor tries to serve his customers in their own language.

8. LANGUAGE USE AT HOME

During the interviews it was left to the respondents to choose themselves the name for the language or codes to which they referred. The only name for a code occurring in the questionnaire was *bahasa Indonesia*, but this term was only used in the section on language use outside the home. In the answers the following names or combinations occur: (0) zero (often: *sedang belajar*, 'still learning to speak', of infants); (1) *bahasa Jakarta* (sometimes called *bahasa Jakarta asli*, 'original Jakartan speech', or *bahasa Betawi*, which I shall label as BJ; (2) Javanese, Sundanese, or one of the other *bahasa daerah*, 'regional languages' mentioned in the previous section, to be labelled as BD; (3) the combination of a regional language with Indonesian, i.e., either a mixed sort of code, or the frequently alternating use of both languages, labelled as BD/BI; (4) the similar combination of Indonesian with a regional language, labelled BI/BD; (5) the similar combination of Indonesian and *bahasa Jakarta*, labelled BI/BJ; (6) the similar combination of *bahasa Jakarta* and Indonesian, labelled BJ/BI; (7) the similar combination of *bahasa Jakarta* and a regional language, labelled BJ/BD; and, finally, Indonesian, labelled as BI.

It is noteworthy that the combination of a regional language with *bahasa Jakarta* (BD/BJ) does not occur in the answers. I shall come back to this point later. The combinations BD/BI, BI/BD, and BJ/BD occur infrequently, and the number of speakers using more than two codes at home is rather restricted. In order to uncover first the main pattern of language use at home I shall simplify the complicated statistics by concentrating on the more frequent types. These are summarized in Table 9 for each of the three RTs. They include the frequent cases of BJ, BJ+BI, BD+BJ, BD+BI, and the less frequent types of BJ+BD, BI/BJ, BI/BJ+BD, BJ/BI, BJ/BI+BD, BI, BI+BJ, BI+BD, BD, and BD+BI/BJ. The category 'Others' will be specified separately. Table 9 gives the patterns for individual speakers, not for the households.

TABLE 9. LANGUAGES USED AT HOME BY INDIVIDUAL SPEAKERS

	RT 001		RT 002		RT 003		'Others'	Total
(N=number)	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Zero (infants)	7	3%	7	3%	5	5%		19
BJ	130	57%	50	20%	18	18%		198
BJ+BI	45	20%	42	17%	8	8%	7	102
BJ+BD	11	5%	8	3%	2	2%		21
BD+BJ	5	2%	10	4%	45	45%	1	61
BD+BI	0	0%	39	16%	0	0%	13	52
BI/BJ	0	0%	13	5%	0	0%	2	15
BI/BJ+BD	0	0%	10	4%	2	2%		12
BJ/BI	5	2%	9	4%	0	0%	1	15
BJ/BI+BD	0	0%	6	2%	0	0%		6
BI	5	2%	4	2%	0	0%	5	14
BI+BJ	0	0%	11	4%	0	0%	1	12
BI+BD	6	3%	2	1%	1	1%	4	13
BD	2	1%	2	1%	11	11%		15
BD+BI/BJ	6	3%	8	3%	4	4%	2	20
	222		221		96			
'Others'	7		25		4		36	
Total	229		246		100			575

The high rate of BJ speakers in RT 001 is what we would expect for this typical *Betawi* RT. As many as 57% of the speakers use exclusively BJ at home; the total percentage for BJ speakers in RT 001 is 84%, and only 11% do not use BJ at home. For RT 003 the figures are: total number of BJ speakers: 73%; whereas 18% do not use BJ. In RT 002 only 48% of the residents speak BJ at home; and 38% do not. On the other hand mixed or alternating speech based on BJ or BI occurs most in RT 002; BJ/BI 6% + BI/BJ 12% = 18%. For RT 001 the figures are: BJ/BI 2% + BI/BJ 3% = 5%; for RT 003: BJ/BI 0% + BI/BJ 6% = 6%.

The exclusive use of BD at home occurs only in a few Javanese families. There is one family in RT 003 where the adults speak no other language than Javanese. The parents and their son arrived in Jakarta in 1961, and two adult relatives joined them in 1968-69; they come from Cirebon. There is one more adult in another family in RT 003 from Indramayu, who arrived in Jakarta in 1963 and who only speaks Javanese at home.

The exclusive use of BD + BI is only found in families in RT 002 (16% of the respondents); the large majority of these speakers are adults. For them, as I interpret it, the second language which they knew on their arrival in Jakarta, as far as spoken language is concerned, was general colloquial Indonesian which they continue to speak without trying to adopt the more typical Jakartan varieties. On the other hand, among the speakers for whom the use of the regional language comes in the second place (the categories BI/BJ + BD, BJ/BI + BD, and BI + BD in Table 9) the large majority are young adults, adolescents and some young children.

Speakers using Indonesian as the only language at home are rare. The nine cases are all Jakarta-born adolescent or young children of Sundanese or Central-Javanese parents with minimally junior high school education and mostly office jobs. These parents probably do not allow their children to speak *bahasa Jakarta* when at home.

The pattern BJ + BI is typical for *Betawi* respondents. It is found in twenty-seven families, six of which are 'mixed' marriages in which always one partner is *Betawi;* the remaining twenty-one families are fully *Betawi*. Without exception, the parents of these families follow the BJ + BI pattern. The young children often speak only BJ.

Before discussing the 'mixed' varieties I list the cases labelled in Table 9 with 'Others' in a separate table (see Table 10).

TABLE 10. SPEAKERS USING MORE THAN TWO CODES AT HOME

	RT 001	RT 002	RT 003
BJ+BD+BI	1		
BJ+BD/BI+BI	2	1	
BJ+BI/BD+BI	2	1	
BD+BJ+BI/BJ		1	
BD+BI/BD+BI/BJ+BI		1	
BD+BI/BD+BI		1	
BD+BJ/BI+BI			2
BD+BI+BJ		1	
BD+BI+BI/BJ		5	
BD+BI+BI/BJ+BJ		1	

BD+BI+BJ/BI		1	
BI/BJ+BD+BI		1	
BI/BJ+BJ		1	
BI/BJ+BJ+BJ/BI			1
BJ/BI+BJ		1	
BI+BI/BJ		3	
BI+BJ/BI		2	
BI+BJ+BJ/BD		1	
BI+BJ+BD		2	
BI+BD+BJ		1	
BI+BD+BI/BJ	1		
BD+BJ/BI	1		
	7	25	4

The order of the speech codes in this table (as in Table 9) is generally the following: the first code is the one used between the parents, the second is the code used between the parents and the children; or, if the parents between themselves as well as the children and vice versa all use the same code, the second code indicates the code used among the children. The children among themselves may use different codes. Very often the first or the first and second child use a code which corresponds with the code of the parents, while the younger children use a different code, and are addressed in that code by their older siblings; there is not always symmetry in communication. If there is a third and a fourth code used at home by a particular speaker, usually a grandmother or a relative or relative or fellow villager of one of the parents is involved. From this it will be clear that Table 10 is only a very rough summary of a much more complex structure. Nevertheless one thing is brought out clearly in Table 10: the variation in language use in RT 002 exceeds very much that in the other two RTs. This could already be predicted by the absence of any zeros in the column for RT 002 in Table 9. We can also see that no more than two speakers use four codes at home.

Let us now, with the help of Tables 9 and 10, analyze further the use of mixed or alternating codes. The combination BD/BJ does not occur, and the only reported case of BJ/BD was of a *Betawi* husband who lived with his wife and her parents from Padang, and occasionally "*dalam keadaan bergurau*" ('just for fun') tried to speak a little *bahasa Padang* to her. The explanation for the absence of the combination of BD with BJ lies in the fact that both languages function as a vernacular. As linguistic systems vernaculars are so well-defined that one does not mix them up. They are also well-defined functionally. By using a vernacular one identifies oneself with an ethnic group. One does not mix up one ethnic identity with another.

It is very significant for this problem that, excepting the one case of 'funny' talk mentioned above, *all* respondents who report that they use a mixed code or alternate two codes (68 respondents) always indicate *bahasa Indonesia* as one of the two codes (cf. Tables 9 and 10). The *lingua franca* which unites speakers from different groups is called Indonesian. This Indonesian is so loosely structured that nobody is excluded from trying to use it. It is apparent that for the respondents Indonesian includes much more than the written standard language. It is the neutral reservoir from which they can draw when using another vernacular which they master imperfectly. It is also the meeting-ground for speakers who wish to communicate with people from other groups without using a vernacular. Let me turn back from these general statements to the data and see if these justify this view.

There are three respondents who report the use of BD/BI. They are the *Betawi* head of household no. 80 and his Javanese wife. This family is described above in Section VI. The husband does not speak Javanese fluently. Normally this couple speak BJ to each other. But if they use Javanese occasionally, *the gaps are filled in with Indonesian, not with BJ*. The third BD/BI speaking respondent is found in household no. 28. He is *Betawi*, his wife is Sundanese and comes from Bogor. They also normally speak BJ to each other. He lived for some time in Bogor as a boy and speaks Sundanese *kurang lancar*. Occasionally he speaks BI/Sundanese to his wife, and she speaks Sundanese/BI. For him Indonesian serves as basic code. For her it is a means of loosening the exclusivity of the vernacular and to meet him on common ground. There is no doubt that he would understand her very well if she stuck to pure Sundanese. In this asymmetric example both functions of Indonesian as *lingua franca* are well illustrated.

Four more respondents speak BI/BD. In family no. 85 the husband is Javanese and the wife is *Betawi*. They usually speak BJ to each other, and also BI/Javanese, symmetrically. She does not speak Javanese very well. Here again BI is basic and lends itself to being intertwined with elements of her vernacular, Javanese. In family no. 55 the situation is complicated. The parents both come from Cirebon and mostly speak Sundanese to each other. They learned Javanese as a second language during adolescence as pedlars in Cirebon, and still speak BI/

Javanese to each other. Further codes used in this home are Javanese, BI, BI/BJ, and BJ/BI (there are six children and her recently arrived brother from Cirebon). The mother speaks BI/BJ as well as BI/ Javanese to the children; the father BI and Javanese; nobody speaks BJ; they live in an almost completely, Javanese *rumah petak*.

BI/BJ is spoken in fifteen families by forty-seven respondents. In all these cases the first language of at least one parent is a BD (or, in one case, Chinese). With two exceptions the BD is the main language in the home, i.e., it is spoken between the adults. These adults speak BJ *kurang lancar* in twelve or thirteen of the fifteen families; in eleven of these families the adults and adolescent children speak Indonesian fluently. Only 20% of these forty-seven BI/BJ speakers have attended junior highschool, etc. It is not their level of education which is the cause of the BI component in their speech, but their defective knowledge of the vernacular. What they call BI is the kind of *lingua franca* they have brought with them from their region of origin, and which they adapt to BJ.

There are twenty-one individuals who speak BJ/BI, distributed over twelve families. Here again at least one of the parents is not *Betawi*, excepting one family in which the father is an army man. Not infrequently in one family the older children speak BI/BJ, whereas the younger children speak BJ/BI. Rather than viewing this as relating to their age I think that this reflects the progressive integration of the family into the *Betawi* society. However, if we look at RT 002 and we see the complicated pattern of language use and the influence of social factors from outside, there is little doubt that especially those young people whose first and only language was BI/BJ or BJ/BI will not have moved definitely into the direction of the use of BJ. One may rather assume that they have developed into speakers of general Jakartan Indonesian, a dialect with a strong local identity, but not isolated or independent from the development of the national language, as the speakers, in 1972, already indicated when they always included the term *bahasa Indonesia* in the name of the mixed code which was their everyday speech.

Notes

1. This report is a completed version of a paper given under the same title at the Third European Colloquium on Malay and Indonesia Studies, held in Naples, 2-5 June, 1981, under the auspices of the Istituto Universitario Orientale, and on the invitation of Professor L. Santa Maria.
2. Although not quoted, I should like to refer to Yayah B. Lumintaintang's ongoing research on language use in 'mixed' families in Jakarta. See her report *"Pola pemakaian bahasa; keluarga perkawinan campuran Jawa-Sunda di Jakarta"*. Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Jakarta 1980, 1034 pp.

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