



The Balinese Lexicon of Prapen and Memande as an Evidence of Domain Shift and Ethnolinguistic Vitality

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Abstract

This research deals with the examination of the vitality of the Balinese lexical items on *Prapen* and *Memande* in Denpasar. It was designed to discover the nature and form of the domain change, its intergeneration transference, and its implication for comprehensive ethnolinguistic vitality. The data were obtained from a distinctive group of blacksmiths (*Pande*) in Denpasar City, Bali Province, through interviews and questionnaires. The analysis was carried out quantitatively to determine the forms of shift, and the application of the ethnographic technique was also implemented to support the analysis. The results showed that although it is presumed to have high cultural significance, the *Prapen* and *Memande* domains are at the level of unsafe. It is claimed that the negative vitality of the *Prapen* and *Memande* domains do not impact the vitality of the overall Balinese language. The linguistic ideology that strengthens the cluster identity of *Pande* (the Black Smiths) at the vast-community rank is not tangled to *Memande*, yet relatively to the belief and identity. This article also argues on the extralinguistic factors that subsidize the changes in the *Prapen* and *Memande* domains caused by modern socio-economic and technological development.

Keywords: domain change; lexicon; ethnolinguistic vitality; Memande; Prapen

1. Introduction

This article reported the study conducted to investigate the domain change and ethnolinguistic vitality of Balinese, a regional language in Indonesia spoken by approximately four million people. This research focuses on changes in the linguistic domain of *Prapen* and *Memande*, which is a culturally important domain of the Balinese *Pande* (Black Smiths) in Banjar Tatasan Kelod (a traditional Sub village), in Denpasar City, Bali Province, Indonesia (Widhiastut, 2017).

Prapen is the place where *Pande* clans work to produce tools made of irons and steel, meanwhile, *Memande* is the activity carried out in the *Prapen*. The word *Prapen* is derived from the base form *api* 'fire' and affixes *per-an* to become *perapian* 'fire place' and later becomes *Prapen*. *Memande* is a hereditary profession that is inherited from their ancestor.

As a capital city, Denpasar is metropolitan; many people from different places come and live in Denpasar, so multilingualism cannot be avoided. However, Banjar Tatasan Kelod as a traditional sub-

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village is mostly occupied by *Pande* clan. According to the *kelian adat* (the head of the traditional village), I Made Raka, there are 112 families in this sub-village and only 4 families are non- *Pande*. They are all closely related to each other and consider themselves as *nyama* (brothers) due to the past internal marriages, and there is a *Prapen* in every house of the *Pande* family, even though only a few of them still work in the *Prapen*. *Pande* clan is closely related to *Prapen* and *Memande*, therefore, in communicating to each other in their group, they involve lexicons related to *Prapen* and *Memande*.

According to Yudari (2019: 2), *prapen* is not only the place where the *Pande* clan works but it is also the symbol and their identity. Even though 86 % out of 108 members of the traditional sub-village of Tatasan Kelod have left *Memande* profession, the *Prapen* still exists in their houses as their group identity, where they conduct their traditional ritual. The development of technology, socio-economy, and education in the modern era leads to language shift specifically in the lexicons related to *Prapen* and *Memande*, some lexicons are no longer used and are not even recognized by the young generation and some new lexicons emerge. If children do not acquire a language from their parents, there is a small chance that they will be willing to pass the language on to the next generation. Fishman (1991: 1) claims that language shift happens when the intergeneration maintenance of native languages is endangered with fewer speakers in each generation. Grenoble (2011:35) mentioned some factors which can motivate language shift: urbanization, globalization, and social and cultural dislocations. These are deeply interconnected with the factors involved in determining the level of language endangerment which can be categorized as (1) the nature of the speaker base (2) domains of use, and (3) internal and external support for or pressures against using the language.

Symbolic identity is intimately correlated to language ideology, and it plays a significant role in language socialization, language interaction, language maintenance, and language endangerment in multilingual settings (Riley, 2012: 494–495; Léglise & Chamoreau, 2013). Sosiowati et al., (2019: 589) claim that symbolic identity and ideology definitely represent a powerful link and capital that have important impacts on language maintenance and domain vitality. Nevertheless, the relation diverges across stages and domains.

Undeniably, that a language does not live on its own, and the capability of language users to endure as a discrete homogeneous group probably encode the vitality of a language itself. Yet, it is suggested that it is essential to maintain linguistic vitality instead of observing ethnolinguistic vitality entirely (Gumperz, 1972), meanwhile, survival as a distinct collective entity can vary from the survival of an individual language. Chandra (2006) claimed that it is likely that certain customs and traditions which are considered to be inherent to ethnic groups or to identities related to ethnic groups may terminate to occur while language is still persistent. In a diverse circumstance, the indigenous language to a particular cluster may be unrestrained but a sense of belonging to a certain ethnic group in general still remains solid. This was also reported by the research conducted by Khilkhanova and Khilkhanov (2004) that minority group in the Buryatia Republic of Russia were still using their symbolic meaning to unify their identity though they no longer use the Buryat language. It is also crucial to be apprehensive about the vitality of a cluster defined as ethnic or ethnolinguistic without a compromise on what represents ethnic identity or ethnicity.

Earlier research on language shift and maintenance in polyglot settings has shown that language change comprises a gradual process. The children of the weaker language (i.e., inadequate bilinguals) speakers do not acquire and use their local language in particular main settings: family, friendship, religion, education, and employment. Language acquisition and cultural awareness are closely related, since obtaining a language comprises of acquiring not only the linguistic knowledge and its utility but also the comprehension of the values and cultural beliefs that outline the language (Fairclough, 1989; Kramsch, 1993; Hoff et al., 2012; Sosiowati et al., 2019).

The current study focused on the situation of the knowledge aptitude of culturally significant spheres in relation to the dynamism of Balinese language in Denpasar, specifically the domain of *Prapen* and *Memande* since it is a significant social domain of profession for both historical and symbolic purposes. *Pande* community feels gratified of being the *Pande* inheritors who are very well known for their skills in *Memande*. Since *Memande* remained acknowledged to be one of their outstanding personalities, the assumption is that *Memande*, similar to a belief, is a domain of identity with prominent emblematic value for the Balinese *Pande* people in *Tatasan Kelod*, traditional sub-village, in Denpasar. The problems of this study can be formulated into (a) which domains, subdomains, in *Memande* are highly transferred, and what is the reason? (b) which forms of domain shift are proved? (c) what can be revealed by our findings related to ethnolinguistic vitality?

2. Literature Review

Giles et al., (1977) suggested a three-factor model of ethnolinguistic vitality, including status, demographic, and institutional support factors in order to advance a framework for investigating the role of socio-structural variables in inter-group relations, cross-cultural communication, mother tongue maintenance, language shift, and loss. The theory of ethnolinguistic vitality is a social-psychological approach to the relationship between language and identity. Giles et al., (1977: 308) defined the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group as “that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in inter-group situations”. They claimed that status, demographic, and institutional support factors combined to make up the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group. The strengths and weaknesses of a group in each of these domains could be assessed so as to provide a rough classification of ethnolinguistic groups as having *low*, *medium*, or *high vitality*.

Lewis and Simons (2010) mentioned that language shift and death have long been a hot debate amongst sociolinguists, linguists, language planners, educators, and others. An enormous literature on the causes, processes, symptoms, and effects of language loss and death has been the outcome (Denison, 1977; Dorian, 1977, 1980, 1981, 1987, 1989; Gal, 1978; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). There were diverse techniques presented in assessing language vitality. Fishman’s (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) does not only deal with that intergenerational transference (is an individual decision made by parents), but also that societal and institutional choices are vital in affecting the parental decisions concerning their language behaviour in regard to their children. The societal factors form social spaces where languages are used and these social spaces are referred to as “domains of use”, each representing a group of participants, location, and topic closely related to a particular language. The GIDS provides a method of assessing where a language is on the scale of disruption from full use by many users to no use by any users. The other methods offered to evaluate language vitality are the Language Vitality Assessment (UNESCO 2003:8), the Ethnologic Vitality Categories (Lewis and Simons, 2010: 104), and the Language Endangerment Index (Lee & Way, 2016: 281-285). Each scale contains six categories, except the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Categories which consist of five. The GIDS has then been developed into Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) including 13 categories. Before designing any language revitalization program, in the context of endangered languages, accurate assessments of ethnolinguistic vitality and understanding of the related variables involved are logical initial steps to be conducted.

Language can survive as long as the older generation transfers it to the younger. In multilingual situations, minority language will be oppressed by the majority. This involved the whole language system from the smallest unit (words, grammar, and other domains constitute minority identity). Further, it is also caused by the policy applied by the majority language to be used as the national language, or demographically it is used wider among the speakers and economically give more privilege.

Demographic factors are considered to play important roles in identifying language shift and vitality. The language with a small number of speakers has a tendency to be in danger. The inclination is that the small language group will merge with a neighbouring bigger language group, as a result, the former's language and culture were at loss (UNESCO, 2003: 8; Sosiowati et al., 2019).

3. Method

Due to the importance of *Prapen* and *Memande* to the Balinese *Pande* people in Tatasan Kelod traditional village, these domains were investigated to comprehend the connection between the linguistic vitality at the communal level and the traditional domain vitality, like *Memande*. Therefore, we examined the nature of the acquisition of *Memande* knowledge across the lexical items since any domain of local knowledge, involving *Prapen* and *Memande*, is stowed and transferred through generations via the lexical items. This examination used 80 lexicons obtained through interviews with Mangku I Putu Suartama (the oldest informant who is 83 years old) and experienced in *Memande* as a part-time job for about 60 years.

The data were collected in the period 2021 through several visits in the field. The numbers of respondents being interviewed were 60 and questionnaires reflecting their knowledge on the lexical items were also distributed. The main goal of this study was to examine the *Memande* lexicon vitality. We extracted 80 words in the domain of *Prapen* and *Memande* which we considered representative of the lexicon known by *Pande* people in this traditional sub-village. We classified the lexicons into: building lexicon, 9 (11,25%), tool lexicon 12 (15%) material lexicon 9 (11,25%), product lexicons 31 (38,75%), and activity lexicons 19 (23,75%). The number of the lexicons in each subdomain was based on the lexicons obtained from the key informant.

The subsequent method in examining lexical meaning and interviews were applied. We distributed questionnaires consisting of the list containing 80 words on *Prapen* and *Memande* to 60 respondents. With the assistance of the head of the traditional and the administrative sub-village of Tatasan Kelod (Bapak I Made Raka and Bapak I Nyoman Sudiarta), we obtained data on the number of the population in this traditional sub village. We utilized the age groups issued by the Health Department (2009) in grouping the respondents: young (17-25), adult (36-45), old (56-65...). The overall number of populations categorized as young was 116 (62 males and 54 females), the one categorized as an adult was 107 (54 males and 53 females), and the one categorized as old was 79 (41 males and 38 females). We distinguished samples based on sex therefore, the number of our samples was approximately 26% of the smallest number of the age category (female old category) and can be considered as representative. Our samples were 20 for each group (10 males and 10 females) which then we randomly selected. The number of the overall respondents was 60. Besides testing their knowledge of the lexicons on *Prapen* and *Memande*, we also interviewed them on their attitudes towards Balinese, their language choices on the family and social domains to get information on language transmission over generations. With the help of Nyoman Pande Mudita, the person, appointed by the *kelian adat* (head of the traditional sub-village), we distributed and interviewed our respondents (we did this 10 days, 6 respondents a day). The data were then coded and classified based on the age groups and sex.

The average number of words known by each group and their average percentages are presented in table 2.

Table 1. Language endangerment and vitality scale of UNESCO (2003:8)

Vitality Status		Total Score (in %)
Safe	Grade 5	83.40 -100
Unsafe	Grade 4	66.72-83.39
Definitely endangered	Grade 3	50.04 – 66.71
Severely endangered	Grade 2	33.36 – 50.03
Critically endangered	Grade 1	16.68 – 33. 35
extinct	Grade 0	00.0 – 16.67

Table 2. Distribution of the *Prapen* and *Memande* lexicons by the respondents

group	Respondents: age/ sex	Avarage Numbers of lexicon recognized	Average Percentage of lexicon recognized	status	grade
1	17-25 years/male	48.3	60.38	Definitely endangered	3
	17-25 years/female	34.2	42.75	Severely endangered	2
2.	36-45 years/male	66.2	82.75	Unsafe	4
	36-45 years/female	60	75	Unsafe	4
3.	56-65... years/male	77.7	97.125	Safe	5
	56-65...years/female	76.4	95.5	Safe	5

In this study, we utilized UNESCO's (2003) language endangerment scale to analyze shifts in the vitality of the domain awareness. Essentially, ethnolinguistic vitality and language at risk are intimately associated. Critically, language in danger of extinction has substantially negative vitality. Table 1 described the explanation of the language endangerment and vitality scale of UNESCO, since the focus of the research was on ethnolinguistic vitality, therefore, "the language vitality scale" was applied. It also presented the enumerated scoring of UNESCO's six-point scale (Grade 0-Grade 5) within the percentage span of 0-100% which is illustrated in the rightmost column, to allow a comparative analysis of vitality across domains and languages.

For the purpose of this research, the domain vitality scale was identified depending on the percentage of the lexicons recognized by the native speakers in the span of the six-level scale applying equation intermissions of 16.67 % (e.g., 100%: 6). This simple computation produced individual and collective vitality scores across speakers and lexical items. For instance, if the average words known by a group of respondents were 60, they gained a score of 75% (60:80 x 100). Interpreted in terms of the scale shown in Table.1, the respondents of *Prapen* and *Memande* domain vitality were classified as "unsafe" (Grade 4). If the overall average of each age category scores were obtained, the group vitality was identified; this implied the average of all age category vitality scores were positioned on the scale.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Pande people in Denpasar City: socio-historical background

Similar to the other Balinese society in general, the Balinese *Pande* people in Denpasar, specifically in the traditional sub-village of Tatasan Kelod, sub-district of North Denpasar, Denpasar City are Hindus. Although only a small number of them are still *Memande* they all admit that they are *Pande*. They are all proud of belonging to *Pande* clan.

The socio-cultural, historical, and demographic conditions of the Balinese *Pande* are good reasons for the strong vitality of the Balinese lexicons on *Prapen* and *Memande*. Darmada & Utama (2001: 69) mentioned that the ancestors of the Balinese *Pande* living in Tatasan Kelod came from Majapahit (Java) after the year 1343 (Majapahit-Bali war), this can be acknowledged from the inscription being preserved nowadays. According to an archeologist, Bapak Sumarga (in Darmada & Utama, 2001: 20) the work, *Memande* is a high-risk profession. The one who works dealing with metal is magically considered to be dangerous, therefore, he should own magical power, or otherwise, he will bear high risk. The work *Memande* is considered a dangerous job for others who try to practice it. Therefore, the *Pande* clan became genealogically exclusive.

According to the inscription dated 1073, when the king of Bali, King Anak Wungsu categorized the Balinese society into four castes (*Brahman*/priest, *Ksatriya*/royal family, *wesya*/ trader, and *sudra*/labour), the *Pande* clan was excluded. *Pande* clan did not belong to any castes. This clan was exclusive and needed by not only the king to provide weapons and tools made of steel and metal, but also by the people from the other castes. *Pande* clan had their own priest from their own clan. Since the *Pande* clan was exclusive in society, internal marriages were highly expected by the family in this clan. They are so closely related to each other, that when they acknowledged that the one, whom they newly met was from the same clan, they considered him/her as *nyama* (brother/ sister), this situation is continued up to the present.

However, in this era, not all *Pande* people have *Memande* profession. The data showed that only 15 people or 14% out of 108 members of the traditional sub-village are still *Memande*. The results of the interview showed that all the respondents from old age (age 56-65...) have experienced *Memande*, and most of them did *Memande* as a part time job because they mostly worked in the rice-field as farmers, and some worked as public servants or others. They said that before starting their work, *Memande*, they had their own rituals for safety. They stopped doing it because they are retired and have not had enough energy to do so. They all still have their own *Prapen*, but their *Prapen* is only used for rituals, they place offering every day, and especially on *Tumpek Landep* (a special day for Hindus, which comes every 6 months of Balinese calendar, or 210 days), they decorate the *Prapen* in red colour and have a special purification for the tools made of metal (as shown in picture 1 and 2). Red colour is a symbol for Brahman God with the function of a creator, it is also used as the symbolic identity for *Pande* people. Since the *Prapen* is so close to *Pande* people that all the respondents know the word, *Prapen*. This is the evidence for the claim that Language acquisition comprises of acquiring not only the linguistic knowledge and its usage but also the knowledge of the cultural philosophies and values that compose the language (Fairclough, 1989; Kramsch, 1993; Hoff et al., 2012; Sosiowati et al., 2019).



Figure 1. The Prapen festival offerings on *Tumpek Landep* day



Figure 2. The decorated Prapen on *Tumpek Landep* day

Socio-economic factors lead to the shift in the profession from *Memande* to the other professions. Some of the tools produced before are not produced anymore. The process of *Memande* is facilitated by the availability of tools that shortened the process of *Memande*. Mixed marriages cannot be avoided these days, and often result in language shifts. *Pande* people similar to the Balinese people in general practice patrilineal type of marriage. When a man gets married to a woman from a different clan, they have to experience a special ritual called *Parisuda* (purification ritual) and this is still practiced up to now.

4.2 The study on the Balinese Language Maintenance in Denpasar

At present, Indonesian has acquired the status of prestigious language, namely as the language of the middle class, educated people and became elite language (Sneddon, 2003: 140-142). It can be said that the Indonesian language has reached its symbolic function as a unifying language, giving identity, and bearer of authority (Alwi et al., 1993: 14-21). The achievement of this status is closely related to the policies of the New Era government (1968-1998) in the field of language, in particular, and the field of economic development in general. The basic foundation of the New Era government's policy in planning national language was based on the belief that standardization, modernization, and intellectualization of the Indonesian language play an important role in creating innovation and information, communication as a component of Indonesia's economic development (Steinhauer, 1994).

The nation's positive attitude towards the Indonesian language, however, has contributed to the weakening of the position of regional languages in various regions in Indonesia. Many studies have shown that there has been a language shift in various regions in Indonesia (Poedjosoedarmo, 2006;

Smith-Hefner, 2009; Gunarwan, 2006). The language that is the mother tongue of about 5% Indonesian population in the early 20th century (Sneddon, 2003: 140), is now reported to be used as a mother tongue by more than 90% of the Indonesian population (Sneddon, 2003: 11; Errington, 1998: 2).

The indication of language shift in Balinese was also reported by Bonafix, and Christine Manara (2016). They mentioned the factors causing the shift involved negative intergenerational transference, socio-economic factors, education, frequency of contact, areas of upbringing, and attitude towards the language.

A positive attitude towards Indonesian also affects the use of Indonesian by Balinese *Pande* in the family domain. Results of the questionnaire on the use of Balinese in the family domain showed the decline over generations. 100% of the oldest generations (age 56- 65...) used Balinese, whereas 95% of the middle ones (age 36-45), and only 25% of the youngest generations (age 17-25) still use Balinese in this domain.

The language shift in Balinese was also reported by Suastra (2018). He mentioned that although Balinese still functions as the identity symbol for Balinese, and the Balinese attitude towards their language is still good, sociolinguistically, it has been under threat internally and externally by the increase in the use of Indonesian among Balinese young generations.

4.3. The overall tendency to group vitality through generations

Figure 1 presented the overall finding of the *Prapen* and *Memande* domain vitality at the traditional sub-village of *Tatasan Kelod*, sub-district of North Denpasar, Denpasar City through generations. The graphs show the scales to which different generation participants recognized the Balinese lexical items on *Prapen* and *Memande*. The first graph shows two significant patterns. The first pattern reveals their lexicon knowledge, which was 75.58%. Based on UNESCO's endangerment and vitality status, the percentage was classified as Unsafe (Grade 4).

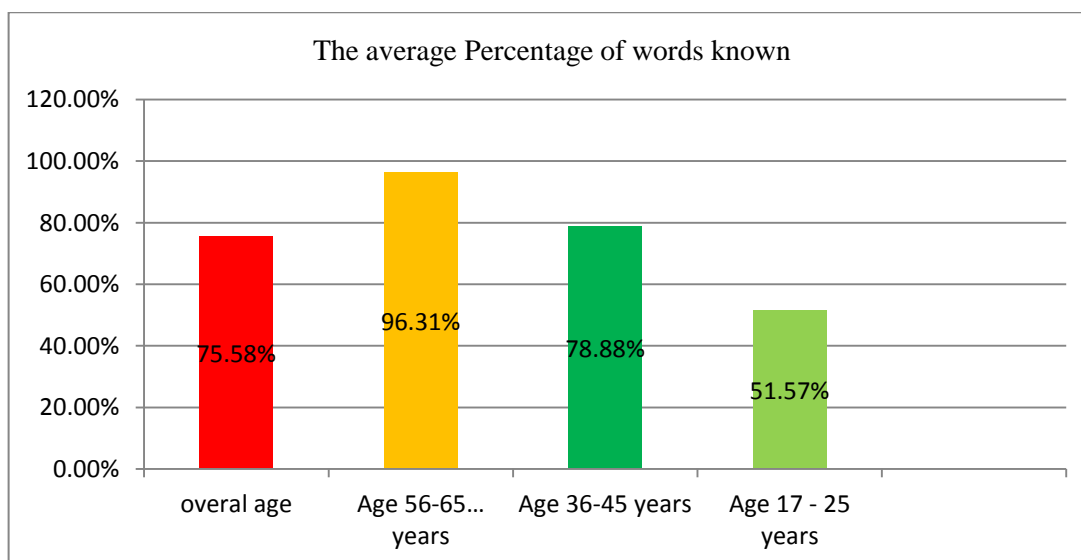


Figure 1. The overall tendency of *Prapen* and *Memande* domain vitality

We discovered two related reasons why most of the lexical items on *Prapen* and *Memande* were currently unfamiliar. They are inadequate transferences of intergeneration and the consequences of modern technology.

Inadequate transference of intergeneration is due to a multipart process including several variables on extra linguistics. This study found that parents' consciousness and contemporary lifestyle were significant variables. The *Pande* clan's older generation seemed not to be fully aware of the importance of maintaining the *Prapen* and *Memande* lexicons. This poor intergenerational transmission is also due to job-related preferences in modern life.

Based on the results of the interviews with the respondents, it showed that members of the current younger generation were not interested in *Memande*. They considered *Memande* as a hard job, needing extra energy, working in the heat of the fire, and being surrounded by smoke and dust was supposed to be unhealthy, and the job of *Memande* was not prestigious in the modern setting. This negative attitude toward the job of *Memande* was shared by the parents. Most of them leave the job, *Memande*, although they were all proud to be *Pande*. It is not astounding that the knowledge level of the *Prapen* and *Memande* was low, it was only 51.57% (see Figure 1)

The low scale of the knowledge of the *Prapen* and *Memande* lexicons for the young generation was contributed by the success in promoting Indonesian as the National Language in Indonesia, and the multilingualism of Denpasar City. The results of the questionnaires showed that most of the respondents (75%) speak Indonesian at home, this strengthens the earlier study by Emmerson (2005, in Simpson 2007) that the number of Indonesian speakers increased sharply from 40.5% in 1971 to 60.8% in 1980, and reached 82.8% in 1990. This increase is also closely related to the policy of the New Era government in the field of basic education (Smith-Heifner, 1989) which provided broad educational opportunities to the people. The Indonesian language which is the mother tongue of about 5% of the Indonesian population in the early 20th century (Sneddon, 2003: 140), is now used by more than 90% of Indonesians (Sneddon, 2003: 11; Errington, 1998: 2). The nation's positive attitude towards the Indonesian language, however, has contributed to the weakening of the position of vernaculars in various regions in Indonesia. Many studies have shown that there has been a language shift in various regions in Indonesia (Poedjosudarmo, 2006; Smith-Hefner, 2009). This was also in line with the reports on the Balinese language shift, by Suastra et al., (2018) that the use of language in the Balinese family domain has shifted from Balinese into Indonesian.

The advancement and presence of novel cultural concepts, involving new technology, are recognized to contribute significantly to the loan words and shift in the language (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 212–213; Haspelmath, 2009). The result of our study also supported the earlier findings that new *Memande* technology contributed to loan words, leading to the endangerment of the indigenous *Memande* lexicons of *Pande* in Denpasar City. It was exemplified by the *Memande* indigenous word, *pemuput* or *penglamusan* specifically refers to a traditional wooden blower, they were substituted by the English word blower, which does not have the constrictive sense of being manually operated. Additionally, a blower refers to a modern tool requiring electric power.

The second vital aspect to observe in Figure 1 is that it showed the deteriorating tendency in vitality, indicated by the second, third, and fourth bars in the diagram. The result showed a categorical decline in vitality from Grade 5 (96.31%, safe) in the oldest generation group to Grade 3 (51.57%, definitely endangered) in the youngest generation cluster.

The vitality decline displays the problem of across generation transference in the *Prapen* and *Memande* domain that can be explained in terms of interaction impact, extra-linguistic cultural shift. The new *Memande* tools (and related *Memande* activities) with new and better technology have been adopted, making traditional tools and technology obsolete. Therefore, the traditional words associated with the obsolete technology have gradually vanished from the lexicon. As none of the speech community used these words, children grow up without acquiring them. The findings discovered that borrowing words implying modern *Memande* tools were mainly Indonesian and English.

The novel technology and modernized devices have rendered nouns referring to the old *Memande* tools obsolete. Furthermore, verbs identifying *Memande* events have become out of date and gradually substituted by loan verbs. Therefore, indigenous action verbs related to *Memande*, such as (*ngikir* ‘sharpening and brightening the products, such as knife, axes’, have been changed by *ngrinde* (Indonesian base *grinde*). We also revealed that a socio-economic factor has affected the vitality of *Prapen* and *Memande* words in Denpasar City. The replacement of indigenous words appears to have happened in the context, and therefore is the result of, intergroup social interactions with outsiders in the modern market economy, that is primarily evidenced by the use of a kind of plastics replacing woods as handles of knives, and are of great economic value, and they are in high demand in the surrounding local markets due to the attractive performance of the products.

4.4. Vitality across *Prapen* and *Memande* subdomains

This sub-section describes our research findings on the features and vitality of *Prapen* and *Memande* sub-domains in Denpasar. The results presented the low vitality of the *Prapen* and *Memande* domain, and the domain size did not correlate with its vitality. The percentage of the overall degree of vitality of the *Prapen* and *Memande* domain in Denpasar is shown in Figure 1. The percentage of the lexicons known by the overall age (75.58%) belonged to the “unsafe” (Grade 4) category, and if we refer to the average percentage of the knowledge of the overall lexicons for age 17-25 female respondents, that is 42.75%, it falls into the severely endangered category (grade 2). The lowest percentage of the words known by this group is due to their unfamiliarity with the words, especially for the words related to activity, since they are less involved in the activity, and most of their *Prapen* are not active anymore since nobody works in the *Prapen*. In short, a very high proportion of the *Prapen* and *Memande* lexicons presented negative vitality.

In relation to the characteristics of the *Prapen* and *Memande* subdomains, we recognized five subdomains in the 80 items of the *Prapen* and *Memande* lexicons, they are buildings, tools, materials, products, and activities. Product lexicons constituted the predominant subdomain with 31 words (38,75%), followed by activity-related lexicons, 19 words (23,75%), tool lexicons, 12 words (15%), material lexicons are 9 words (11,25%), and building lexicons are 9 words (11,25%). The average percentage of each sub-domain are presented in figure 2-6.

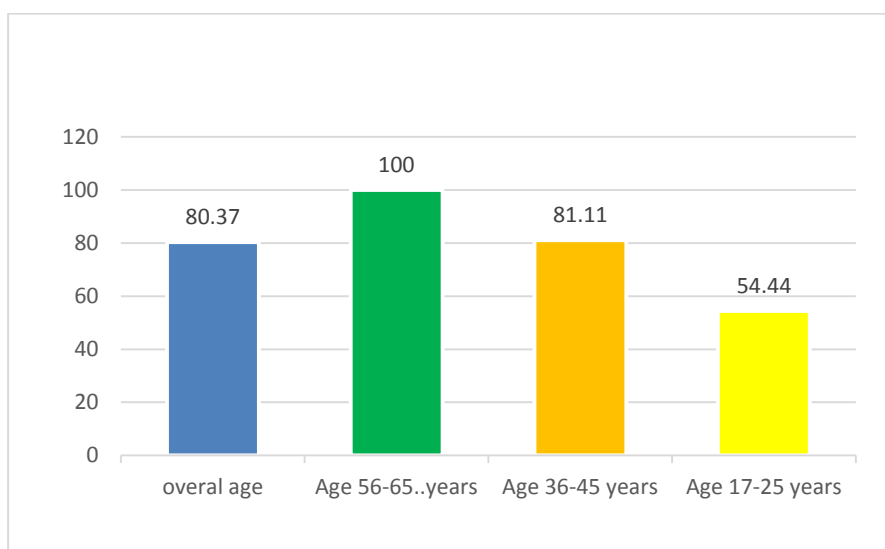


Figure 2. The average percentage of building lexicons known

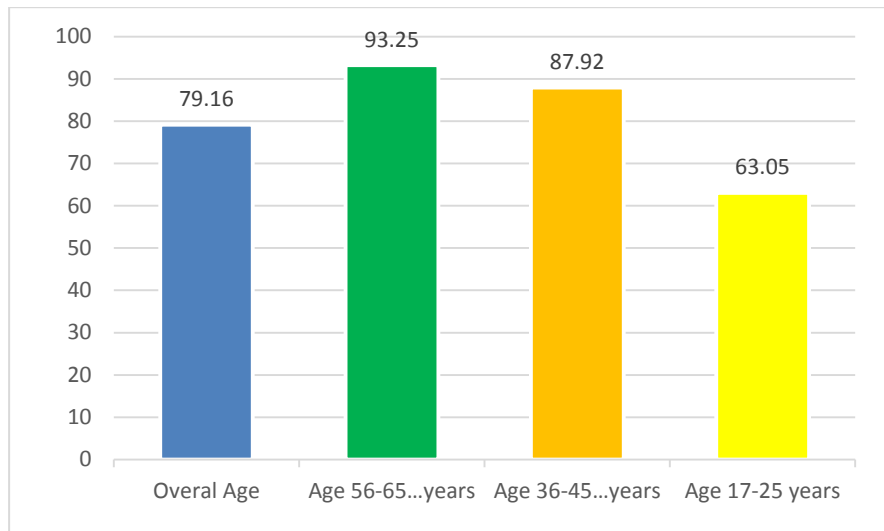


Figure 3. The average percentage of tool lexicons known

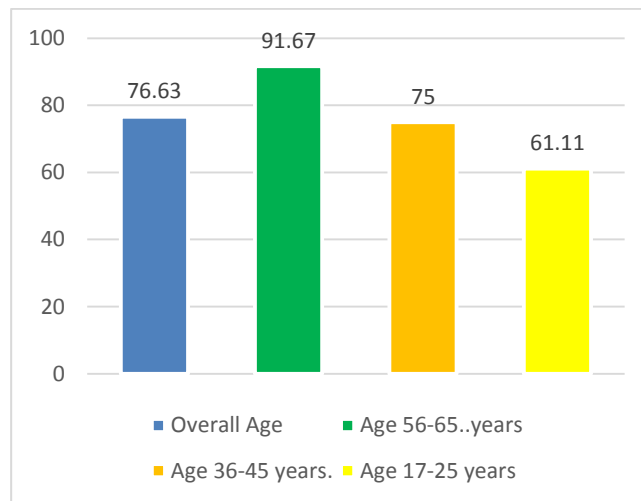


Figure 4. The average percentage of material lexicons known

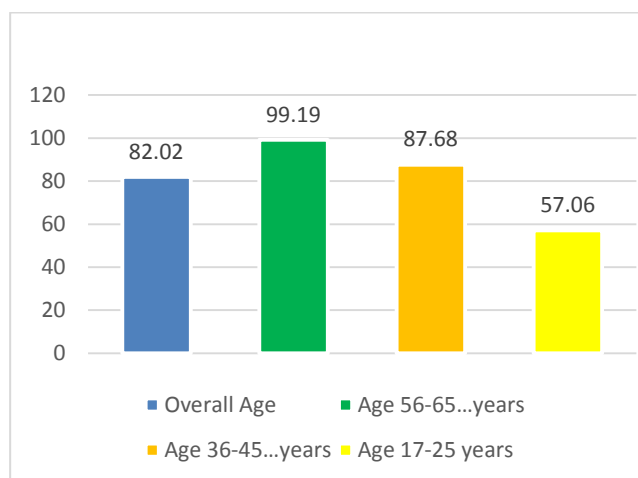


Figure 5. The average percentage of product lexicons known

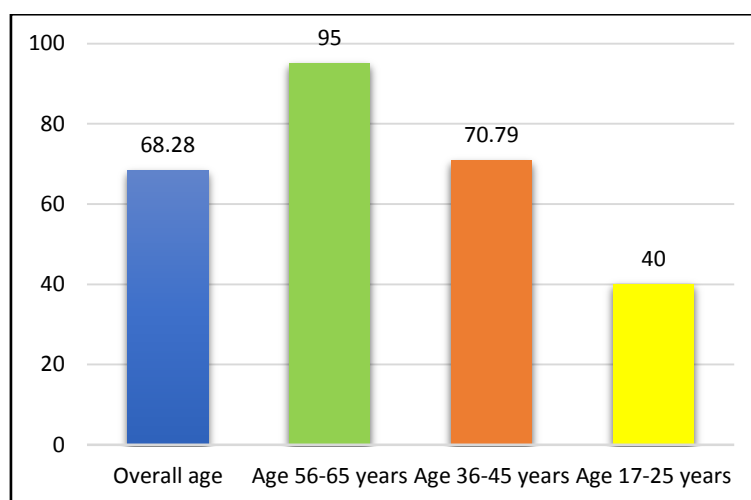


Figure 6. The Percentage of Activity Lexicons Known

Among five graphs presented in figures 2-6, it can be clearly seen that the most known lexical items by overall age respondents were product lexicons, that is 80.37% and the least known were activity related lexicons that is 68.28%. This is not surprising since the product lexicons consist of items that most of them use in current activities, and some of them are similar to the Indonesian words such as; *arit* ‘sickle’, *keris* ‘keris’, *golok* ‘machete’, *kapak* ‘ax’, *tiuk* ‘knife’. However, some of the products were not produced anymore since less customers need them due to the shift in the public transportation in Denpasar (*dokar*, a type of transportation pulled by a horse is not used anymore), for instance: *paku jaran* ‘nail for horse’, *sepatun jaran* ‘horse shoes’ for these types of lexicons, the young generations understand the words but most of them never saw the items. The least known words related to *Prapen* and *Memande* was due to the absence of the young generations in the activities. Very few words such as *makalin* ‘the process of forming the material into the product shape’ (0% or none of the young respondents knew the word), *mapal* ‘the process of hitting the metal into flat structure’ (5%), *mijah* ‘the process of mixing the metals into one’ (5%) of the respondents from Age 17-25 knew the word. These words tend to be extinct. However, all the respondents in this study knew the word *Prapen* in the building sub-domain, since it is the symbol of their identity, it exists in every house, and they have a traditional ritual in it, so they are still in contact with the object. All respondents in the oldest group knew the lexicons in the sub-domain of building. This is not astonishing since all of them experienced *Memande*, thus they were closely related to the objects.

4.5 Domain Shift, group identity, and ethnolinguistic vitality

The study, on *Memande* domain shift in Banjar Tatasan Kelod, Denpasar City reported in this article, emphasized the intricacy of numerous variables included in ethnolinguistic vitality, specifically, proliferated multilingualism is an important aspect because it leads to intensified interaction impact domain shift. The presence of bi- and multilingualism in the speech community is closely related to contact-induced language shifts. This aspect has been discussed in the literature (Matras, 2010; Léglise & Chamoreau, 2013; Lucas, 2015, Sosiowati, 2019). Our results discovered that “borrowing” is the most persistent type of bilingualism and its contact-induced effects, Lucas (2015) refers to it as “convergence”. Our results on *Memande* domain provided sufficient evidence of borrowing words. The striking aspect of borrowing was that it occurred mainly from the Indonesian source language.

According to Sosiowati et al., (2019: 606), “convergence” denotes the types of shifts which occur in the beneficiary language (Balinese was the beneficiary language acquired as the native or first language [L1]) whose speakers are also the L1 speakers of the source language (in our case, Indonesian). This borrowing has happened in Balinese lexicons of *Memande* because the young generations of Balinese *Pande* are now native speakers of both Balinese and Indonesian. Therefore, the stockpile of lexical items in the *Prapen* and *Memande* domain in Balinese and Indonesian are converging and becoming similar. This convergence evolved and caused some native and Indonesian words presently co-occur (e.g., *arit* ‘sickle’ and *kapak* ‘axe’). The convergence towards native Balinese words was the cause of the negative vitality of the Balinese *Memande* lexicons in the near future.

Our study supports the literature on ethnolinguistic identity, language vitality, and language risk in multilingual situations. We intend to highlight that the findings of our study are in relation to the existence of related numerous identities: the Hindu religious identity and the traditional occupation status as *Pande*. The *Pande* clan’s religious identity as a Hindu is extremely important. Religion is usually considered a sensitive issue in Indonesia. According to Hindus, the Hindu religion needs to be safeguarded.

In Bali, there has been a growing movement to promote the religious group identity of being Hindu, such as through *Dharma Wacana*, a preaching activity about Hindu typically led by priests or religious figures. The Hindu religion is widely practiced by the *Pande* clan, and it underpins all aspects of daily life, including *Prapen* activities and related *Memande* rituals. For example, any Balinese Hindu rituals carried out by this clan always involves ritual in the *Prapen*; additionally, before starting the work of *memande*, the *Pande* did the Hindu ritual for safety.

As previously mentioned, *Prapen* and *Memande* are traditionally important domains in the group identity of the *Pande* clan in Denpasar. *Memande* is still regarded as a symbol of Balinese *Pande*’s identity, this activity or occupation is a privileged social status for the *Pande* community. Furthermore, it serves as a salient group identity symbol in the wider regional inter-ethnic settings which requires protection like religion.

Factually, the indigenous lexicons of this identity domain are now declining, *Pande* people does not seem to be seriously concerned with it. It seemed that there were no individual or collective efforts by *Pande* community members to socially enforce the maintenance of the *Memande* lexicons or *Memande* practices. Even though, the *Pande* Youth Organization referred to as *Mahasemaya* has been active in organizing a variety of socio-cultural programs, such as communal *potong gigi* (tooth-filling), *memukur* or *nyekah* “ritual carried out after *ngaben* or cremation ceremony”, particular programs in the domain of *Memande* have not been included in their agenda.

Nonetheless, the irony is understandable and expected based on the Peircean view, where language is seen as a collection of ideologically defined semiotic resources that circulate unequally in social networks and discursive spaces (Heller & Duchêne, 2008; Sosiowati, 2019). In accordance with the semiotic-oriented perspective, the linguistic ideologies that underpin the collective identity of the *Pande* people at the macro-societal level are tied to *Memande* not to the religion, since most of the Balinese are Hindu. In other words, the language used in *Memande* identity has symbolic significance as far as the group identity of the *Pande* people is concerned.

We viewed “linguistic ideologies”, as “any set of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein 1979:193). In contrast with *Memande* (that is connected to a very small subgroup of the *Pande* community), religion (in this case, Balinese Hindu and being Hindu) is of significant symbolic value in the collective identity of the *Pande* people in Denpasar. The Hindu religion, the group symbolic identity, and the

Balinese language serve as broad ideological means of distinguishing the *Pande* community from the inter-ethnic society, who speak other local languages and whose religion is not Hindu. This distinctive symbolic power is only possible within the domain of religion, and within the *Memande* domain, because some Indonesian also have similar professions. Moreover, Balinese Hindus provide a cross-ethnic racial identity (Naber, 2005; Sosiowati, 2019), accordingly, allowing the easy recruitment of new members (i.e., through inter-ethnic marriages).

The use of the Balinese language in the religious domain, as a feature of the Balinese Hindu identity is socially imposed at familial and societal levels. This is exemplified by a deliberate effort to maintain the tradition of using Balinese in the religious domain.

Briefly, the Balinese sociolinguistics and ethnolinguistics in relation to *Memande* domain is similar to the ones in the religious domain. At the macro-societal level, the distinct symbolic values and linguistic ideology attached to these two domains account for the difference in attitudes and therefore, the differences in the sociocultural realization of the use of Balinese in the two domains.

5. Conclusions

This research was carried out to analyze the vitality of the Balinese *Prapen* and *Memande* lexical items, considered as a culturally important domain by the Balinese *Pande* people. Generally, the knowledge of the lexicons was 75.58%, based on UNESCO's endangerment and vitality status, this percentage was classified as Unsafe (Grade 4). The results revealed that the vitality is declining from the oldest to the youngest generation, even though, *Prapen* and *Memande* are believed as the *Pande* clan's identity. The negative vitality was affected by the insufficient intergenerational transferences, increased multilingualism, and the effects of modern technology.

There were five subdomains recognized in the lexicons on the Balinese *Prapen* and *Memande*, they are buildings, tools, materials, products, and activities. Product lexicons constituted the predominant subdomain with 31 words (38,75%), followed by activity-related lexicons, 19 words (23,75%), tool lexicons, 12 words (15%), material lexicons are 9 words (11,25%), and building lexicons are 9 words (11,25%). The most known lexical items by overall age respondents were product lexicons, that is 80.37% and the least known were activity-related lexicons, that is 68.28%. It was not surprising that the word *Prapen* was known by respondents from all age groups, since it was the symbol of their identity as *Pande*, they were familiar with the item. The high vitality was contributed by the oldest group of the respondents since all of them had experienced doing *Memande*.

This article donates significantly to the sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic research on language ecology, ethnolinguistic vitality, and language maintenance, specifically the importance of the strength of group identity and linguistic ideologies. The concept of vitality as observed in Balinese *Prapen* and *Memande* was utilized through various sub-domains or domains in the language, presenting different scales and connections with different symbolic and ideological values. Based on our findings, we expect that the trajectory of the increased negative vitality of the *Memande* lexicons in Balinese will have no or little effect on the overall vitality of Balinese lexicons. Similar to religion, *Memande* is a domain that does not represent vastly charged linguistic ideologies as long as the collective identity of the Balinese *Pande* is concerned.

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