



The Identity of Depok People Based on the Terms of Address Variations: A Dialectology Study

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Abstract. Depok emphasizes the importance of culture in social life. By analyzing the language used among its people, one can trace the identity of Depok. Historically, the indigenous Depok people speak the suburban Betawi subdialect. Geographically, Depok has common borders with Jakarta, Bogor, Bekasi, and Tangerang, which might affect the language situation. A hypothesis states that speakers of Betawi and Sundanese reside in Depok. One of the distinguishing features of a culture is the use of kinship terms of address. The research problem is how the varieties of terms of address used by the inhabitants of Depok show dialectological perspectives and serve as indicators to determine the identity of Depok inhabitants and their ethnic group. The objectives of this study are (1) to create a mapping of the terms of address distribution and (2) to determine the identity of Depok people based on the distribution of the terms of address variations. This study used a qualitative and sociogeolinguistic approach, a combination of sociolinguistics and dialectology (geolinguistics). The data show that Betawi terms of address are used extensively in 10 of 11 subdistricts. This proves that most Depok inhabitants are from Betawi ethnic group, although a tiny percentage of the inhabitants use Sundanese terms of address with a smaller usage area. Consequently, the Depok people's identity tends toward the Betawi people's identity, with some influences from the Sundanese people.

Keywords: terms of address variations · identity of Depok people · dialectology · sociolinguistic

1 Introduction

The city of Depok began as a remote hamlet in the middle of a thick forest [1]. This hamlet has turned into a modern city covering eleven subdistricts with a total area of 200.29 km² and almost two million inhabitants. A milestone in the history of Depok can be traced as far back as the 17th century when a wealthy Dutch named Cornelis Chastelein, who retired as a high-ranked VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) official, decided to buy some plots of land in an area including the small hamlet of the old Depok on 18 May 1696 and turned the land into a plantation. Back then Chastelein's land included the present-day Depok which was stretched from some lands in South Jakarta to Ratujuaya,

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Bojong Gede. There are two popular opinions on the origin of the name 'Depok.' First, it is said that 'Depok' is the acronym of the first Protestant (Christian) organization in Java which was established by Chastelein in Depok. The organization's name was "*De Eerste Protestante Organisatie van Christenen*" (DEPOC). Second, some people are of the opinion that the name 'Depok' comes from a Sundanese word meaning hermitage or abode of one living in seclusion, and this Sundanese word had been used by people in the area long before the establishment of Chastelein's DEPOC organization. Chastelein left a will before he died on 28 June 1714 saying that he freed his twelve original slaves and their families, and he bequeathed each of the twelve families a piece of land in Depok. These twelve families were of Sundanese, Ambonese, Balinese, Buginese, and Portuguese descent. The descendants of these families have been referred to as "Belanda Depok" people (Depok Dutch people).

Another milestone in Depok history is when the Dutch government gave permission to Depok to establish its own government (a *Gementee*) headed by its president as the highest authority in 1871. During the war of independence in 1945, many areas in Depok were destroyed, and most of the Depok Dutch People (the descendants of the original twelve) fled to the Netherlands. After the Independence of the Republic Indonesia, Depok was a subdistrict with 21 villages within Parung sub regency (i.e., *kewedanan* or assistant regent), which was under Bogor Regency. During this period, it is believed that more Sundanese speakers moved into Depok. Later, the government constructed some residential areas in Depok starting in 1976, and five years later, in 1981, the status of Depok was upgraded into an administrative city with 3 subdistricts and 17 villages.

Geographically, Depok has common borders with Jakarta and Bogor. Depok is an important buffer city of Jakarta, the capital city, because Depok is directly adjacent to Jakarta in the north. This might also be the reason why the central government has projected Depok to accommodate areas for public housing, commerce, tourism, and water absorption. To the south, Depok is adjacent to its former municipality, Bogor. More people moved into Depok from Bogor area, especially when some subdistricts from Bogor were transferred to Depok, and this contributed to the rapid increase in the number of inhabitants in Depok (Fig. 1).

As more housing developments and more public facilities have sprung up around Depok, the city has experienced a fast development and expansion. Beji subdistrict was expanded to six administrative villages with the establishment of a new administrative village of Beji Timur (East Beji). Similarly, a fast expansion was experienced by Sukmajaya subdistrict which was expanded to eleven administrative villages after four new administrative villages were established. They are Abadijaya, Baktijaya, Jatimulya, and Tirtajaya.

In 1999, three subdistricts from Bogor were transferred to Depok. They were Cimanggis (with twelve administrative villages), Sawangan (with fourteen administrative villages), and Limo (with eight administrative villages). In addition, five administrative villages from Bojong Gede subdistrict in Bogor were transferred to Pancoran Mas subdistrict in Depok. This made Pancoran Mas consisted of eleven administrative villages. Thus, in 1999, Depok consisted of six subdistricts (Sukmajaya, Pancoran Mas, Beji, Cimanggis, Sawangan, and Limo) and 63 administrative villages. Currently, Depok



Fig. 1. Map of Depok before 1999

has eleven subdistricts: Bojongsari, Sawangan, Cinere, Limo, Pancoran Mas, Cipayang, Beji, Cimanggis, Sukmajaya, Cilodong, and Tapos (Fig. 2).

The increase developments of educational and public facilities, e.g., universities, starred hotels, apartments, and shopping malls, are significant in promoting the increase in inter-region communication interactions. The interaction level throughout Depok areas is high because of its demographic structure and the increasing availability of various means of transportation. Subsequently, Depok has transformed into an urban city which attracts more people to move into the area. The rapid growth of development in housing



Fig. 2. Map showing the 11 sub-districts in Depok

and commerce, land expansion, and the fact that Depok is directly adjacent to Jakarta, Bogor, Bekasi, and Tangerang also affect the language mapping in Depok.

Based on its history, it is generally believed that the indigenous people of Depok are basically the speakers of Betawi language (i.e., a small number of descendants of the “Belanda Depok” people or Depok Dutch people are not discussed in this study). These indigenous people were born in Depok and lived in the area just like their fathers and grandfathers before them, i.e., two generations above them were also born and grew in Depok. Most of the indigenous people of Depok speak a suburban dialect of Betawi language. These Betawi-spoken people were originally resided in the three subdistricts: Beji, Pancoran Mas, and Sukmajaya. One of the effects of the addition of new districts and administrative villages to the city of Depok and the rapid developments of housing and commerce was the ‘migration’ of the Betawi-spoken people to the West (Sawangan and Bojongsari) and to the South (Cilodong and Cipayung). Nowadays it is getting more difficult to find the indigenous Depok people who speak a suburban dialect of Betawi language. The language of their younger generations has been ‘contaminated’ with Indonesian language from the new settlers coming from other regions in West Java, and most of them speak Sundanese. The other two affecting factors for their language contamination are education and media which expose these younger generations of Betawi people with Indonesian, Sundanese, and foreign languages (e.g., English, Chinese, Arabic, Japanese, Korean, etc.). Nevertheless, it is generally taken for granted that the inhabitants of Depok speak Betawi language and Sundanese.

Depok Municipality is currently giving a lot of attention and emphases on the importance of culture in social life. This commitment has been demonstrated in the choice of theme for the anniversary of Depok which falls on 27 April. In 2018, the theme for the 19th Anniversary was “*Depok, Kota Cerdas dan Berbudaya*” or “Depok, Smart and Cultured City” (Depok Municipality, 2018). This is continued in the 20th Anniversary of Depok in 2019 by choosing the theme “*Rame-Rame Berbudaya*” or “Being Cultured Together” focusing on cultural preservation. The importance of culture preservation can also be seen in the logo of the 20th anniversary in which there is a silhouette of a Cisalak Mask Dancer inside the number “0”. This Cisalak Mask Dance is one of the unique traditional dances of Depok originating from Betawi culture. Beside the dancer, there is also a silhouette of a Depok Pencak Silat martial artist which is also one of the traditional cultures of Betawi (Fig. 3).

It is also interesting to observe the use of terms of address, “*Nyai Engkong, Emak, Baba, Nce Mamang, Nde, Abang Mpok, and Bocah-Bocah*” in the banners promoting the 20th Anniversary of Depok in 2019 which were posted in many spots around the city. These terms of address are followed by an encouragement to the people of Depok to preserve the traditional culture of Depok (i.e., cultured) which supports the 20th Anniversary theme (as seen the following picture) (Fig. 4).

The use of terms of address in the banner is interesting to be studied further. At first glance, the terms of address seem to contain Betawi terms of address: *Nyai* and *Engkong*. However, there are also terms of address such as *Nce*, *Mamang*, and *Nde* which are from a non-Betawi language. It is suspected that *Nce Mamang*, and *Nde* might come from Sundanese language. Based on the elaboration of the background of study above, the research problem is how the varieties of terms of address used by the inhabitants of Depok



Fig. 3. Banner for the 20th Anniversary of Depok City.

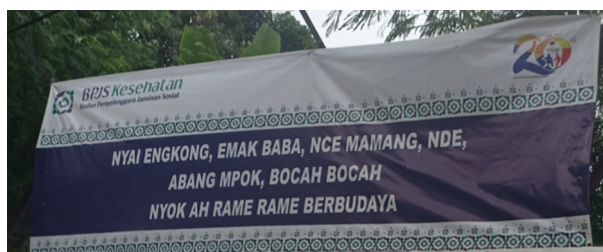


Fig. 4. Banner for Depok 20th Anniversary Containing Address Term

show dialectological perspective. These terms of address can be one of the indicators to determine the identity of Depok's inhabitants which can reveal their ethnic group identity. Accordingly, the objectives of this present study are (1) to create a mapping of the terms of address distribution in Depok, and (2) to determine the identity of Depok people based on the distribution of the terms of address variations.

2 Literature Review

To communicate, human needs language to convey meanings and intentions. When a person talks to another person, it is important to use the appropriate terms of address. Terms of address are words and phrases which are used to address the second person (the hearer) or to substitute for the third person's name. Basically, each language has its own system of terms of address to communicate and interact among the interlocutors in a social interaction [2]. Terms of address are culture-dependents because the intended meaning of a term is determined by the socio-cultural values, language norms, and

patterns of culture in language, and the use of address terms in an interaction is also a form of social behavior which reflects the existing culture in the society, and which distinguishes one culture with another. One example for this is the terms of address which apply kinship terms. Kinship terms are terms of address which refer to a relationship by blood and by marriage. A social relationship by blood is a direct relation, whereas a social relationship by marriage is an indirect relation [3]. Indonesian language, for example, has several kinship terms such as *bapak* (father), *ibu* (mother), *paman* (uncle), *bibi* (aunt), *adik* (younger sibling), *kakak* (elder sibling), *mas* (elder male sibling), or *abang* (elder male sibling).

The kinship terms can be described by using the speaker as the EGO. From the speaker, the kinship terms are traced back to the speaker's parents, grandparents, great-grandparent, etc., and the kinship terms can also be extended forward to the speaker's children, grandchildren, etc. The kinship terms in a language are embodied in certain forms which convey not only the meaning of the term, but also certain values based on the socio-cultural background of the users of the kinship terms. From the kinship terms used in a society, the identity of that society can be determined. Xiliang [4] is of the opinion that a kinship term is a form of salutation which is used in a face-to-face communication, and this kinship terms can represent not only the social relationship between speaker and hearer, but also the identity of the society.

Previous research on the identity of Depok society was conducted by Yuwono & Nazarudin [5]. Their research which is from the perspective of discourse analysis and with corpus-based approach was aimed at discovering the characteristics of the articles (news and features) found in *Radar Depok*, a local mass media in Depok, throughout 2017. Yuwono & Nazarudin found that the citizens of Depok also have contributed to the search for the identity of the indigenous people of Depok by the use of certain lexicon in their articles. For example, it is found that the word Betawi is more productive (than Sundanese, for instance) as the highest collocates for *seni budaya* (art and culture) in *Radar Depok*. Interestingly their data also show the collocation frequency of the word '*budaya*' (culture) in *Radar Depok* represents "uncertainty" of the identity of Depok society. Within the collocation frequency list, a word '*hilang*' (missing) which collocates with '*budaya*' (culture) is found as if it supports the assumption that "someone is preserving this missing culture" of Depok. Beyond their use of the word '*hilang*' (missing), *Radar Depok* as a representative of local journalism actually makes a lot of efforts to preserve the "supposedly exist" Depok culture, i.e., Betawi culture, by using more Betawi words in its articles.

3 Theoretical Framework

Before a society uses language to characterize the members of a particular group and to determine certain distinctive aspects of the language which can be used to indicate their social identities [6]. This division of a society based on language use also results in the existence of language varieties for each society group. Language variation based on its users can be classified into regional varieties (geolinguistics) and social varieties (sociolinguistics). In regional varieties, inhabitants of a society possess certain distinctive language features which are different from those of other regions, and this regional

varieties were influenced by geographical factors [7]. Meanwhile, social varieties are affected by social factors: age, gender, occupation, and social class.

Language contact in a society is one of interesting discussion topics in sociolinguistics. Language contact is a situation in which a speaker of a particular language interacts with a speaker of another language (or with speakers from other languages) and the languages involved in the interactions influence each other. This language contact may involve different languages, different language elements, or different varieties of a language, all of which are used simultaneously or are mixed in an interaction [8]. Accordingly, language contacts occurring in Depok area might be the cause of language variations used by the people of Depok, including the variations in using the terms of address. By using the appropriate terms of address, the speaker intends to make the hearer (or the audience) feel the speaker's presence, know that speaker is showing his/her attention to the hearer, and be aware that the speaker suggests a certain type of relationship between speaker and hearer along with the recognition of their social statuses respectively [9].

4 Research Method

This present study used a qualitative method with sociogeolinguistic approach, a combination of sociolinguistics (the study of language variation within certain social stratifications) and dialectology (geolinguistics or the study of language variation based on spatial or geographical analyses).

Dialectology is a branch of linguistics which studies dialects (language varieties) and any matters related to dialects. Basic information used for dialectology research is language mapping which contains visual data on spatial distributions of language varieties.

This present study mapped the distribution of kinship term variations used by the indigenous people of Depok. The observation points (OP) are the eleven subdistricts in Depok. The variations of kinship terms were asked to informants who met the NORMs (non-mobile, older, rural, and males) qualification from each OP. These are the eleven OPs in Depok (Table 1 and Fig. 5).

5 Analysis of Terms of Address Variations and Their Usage Areas

In dialectology research, dialectometry and isogloss bundles are used to determine whether an utterance from one village belong to different dialects or different languages when it is compared to an utterance from another village [10]. The isogloss bundles are instruments used to assist researchers in determining the border of the usage areas as seen in the next picture (Fig. 6).

Some examples of kinship terms variations and their usage areas are presented below. The variation of kinship terms found in an area are explained afterwards, i.e., PAMAN (uncle) with its data variants [əncə], [əncɪŋ], and [nce]. .

Table 1. Observation points numbering of Depok's subdistricts

Observation Points	Subdistricts
1	Beji
2	Pancoran Mas
3	Cilodong
4	Kalimulya
5	Limo
6	Sawangan
7	Cipayung
8	Tapos
9	Cimanggis
10	Cinere
11	Bojongsari

**Fig. 5.** Map of Observation Points in Depok.

5.1 Terms of Address Variations for 'Ayah' (Father)

The word '*ayah*' or father in online dictionary of Indonesian language (KBBI) is as follows.

Ayah: 1. *n* male biological parent; *bapak*

2. *n* term of address towards a male biological parent

This glos AYAH is found in Depok with three data variants presented by the informants as seen in Table 2.

The variants of the glos 'AYAH' have a slight difference phonetically, and it is suspected that they come from a single etymon. For example, the variants [babah] and [abah] of the glos 'AYAH' comes from Betawi language and Sundanese respectively with

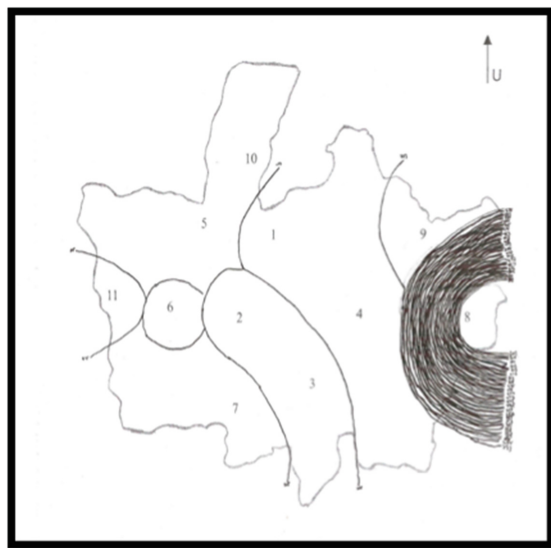


Fig. 6. Isogloss Bundles of Kinship Terms in Depok.

Table 2. Term of Address Variations for *Ayah* (father)

Glos	Data Variants	Area
AYAH	[baba ^h]	1–5, 9–10
	[baba]	6–7, 11
	[aba ^h]	8

only one contrast in initial phone, [b] and [a]. Obviously, this one contrastive phone may not suffice to determine whether the two variants have different etyma. From the table above, the OP number 8 in Tapos subdistrict (Leuwinanggung administrative village) tend to have a quite different language variations from those of the other observation points. In usage area 8, the variant [abah] is only used in the area, and it is quite different from the other two variants although it is still intelligible for the speakers from the other observation points.

The explanation for this might come from the fact that basically the people in Leuwinanggung (Tapos subdistrict) speak Sundanese. The area is directly adjacent to Bogor; thus, the people here use a thick Sundanese accent and vocabulary. It is also discovered that people in Cimpaeun, another administrative village in Tapos subdistrict also retain the use of Sundanese. The other administrative villages in Tapos are influenced by Betawi language. It is interesting to note that Leuwinanggung and Cimpaeun are beginning to receive Betawi language influence. This may begin since their transfer to Depok.

5.2 Terms of Address Variations for the Elder Brother of Father/Mother

The glos ABANGNYA AYAH/IBU (the elder brother of our father/mother) is called ‘Paman’ (Uncle) in Indonesian. In online Indonesian dictionary (KBBI), *paman* is defined as:

1. *n adik laki-laki ayah atau ibu* (the younger brother of father/mother); *pakcik*

The people of Depok use these variants of PAMAN (Table 3).

The four data variants of the glos ABANGNYA AYAH/IBU show lexicon differences which, interestingly, indicate the influence from Betawi language, Sundanese, and Javanese. In OP 1 (Beji subdistrict) and OP 9 (Cimanggis subdistrict) use the variant [ʔncan] from the Betawi language. OP 9 (Cimanggis) used to be a Sundanese-speaking area, but the informants gave evidence that, nowadays, people in Cimanggis might experience a shift of influence to Betawi language.

In OP 2 (Pancoran), TP 6 (Sawangan), and TP 11 (Bojongsari), the informants use the variant [bapa?gʔde] which might be closely related with ‘Pakde’ (the elder brother of father/sister) from Javanese. Historically, Depok was a transit post for the troops of Mataram Kingdom in Central Java area. These troops were headed by their king, Sultan Agung, in his two attempts to attack and siege the Dutch VOC government in Jakarta in the middle of 17th century. When the attack failed, some of the troops refused to return to Central Java and decided to stay in some parts of West Java, including Depok, where they married to local women and had offspring in the area who continued speaking Javanese. The Javanese words might influence the vocabulary of the indigenous people of Depok. In another case, the variant [uwa] is found in Pancoran Mas, Cilodong, and Cipayung. Evidently, this variant [uwa] is used not only to address the elder brother of our parents, but also to address our grandmother and the elder sister of our parents.

The word PAMAN (uncle) is also used of the gloss ADIK LAKI-LAKI AYAH/IBU (the younger brother of father/mother). There is only one variant of the address terms as seen in Table 4.

The gloss is used in all observation points in Depok. This indicates that the variant [mamaŋ] tends to be stable in its form and meaning since the informants from all the

Table 3. Term of Address for Elder Brother of Father/Mother

Glos	Data Variants	Area
ABANGNYA AYAH/IBU	[ʔncan]	1, 9
	[bapa ² gʔde]	2, 6, 11
	[ʔnde]	5, 10
	[uwa]	3—4, 7—8
	[ʔncan]	1, 9

Table 4. Term of Address Variations for Younger Brother of Father/Mother

Glos	Data Variants	Area
ADIK LAKI-LAKI AYAH/IBU	[mamaŋ]	1–11

Table 5. Term of Address Variations for Younger Sister of Father/Mother

Glos	Data Variants	Area
ADIK PEREMPUAN AYAH/IBU	[ɔ̃ncɪŋ]	1—5, 9—10
	[ɔ̃nce]	6—7, 11
	[bibɪ]	8

observation points used the variant to address the younger brother of father/mother, in general.

5.3 Terms of Address Variations for the Younger Sister of Father/Mother

In online Indonesian dictionary (KBBI), the younger sister of our father or mother is addressed as ‘bibi’ (aunt).

bi.bi: 1. *n adik (saudara muda) perempuan dari ayah atau ibu* (the younger sister of our father or mother)

2. *n panggilan kepada perempuan yang agak tua* (an address term for elder female)

The variants of ‘bibi’ (aunt) which are used by the informants are as follows (Table 5).

The variant of the gloss ADIK PEREMPUAN AYAH/IBU is [bibɪ] which is used only in OP 8 (Tapos subdistrict). This variant [bibɪ] is extremely different from the other two variants, [ɔ̃ncɪŋ] and [ɔ̃nce]. The two variants show a slight phonetic difference which leads to a conclusion that they might come from a single etymon in Betawi language.

The following table contains a summary of terms of address in Depok with the two data variants, the usage areas, and the origin of the words.

From Table 6, the highest number of data are in the form of glosses with two etyma with two data variants (16 out of the 25 glosses). In addition, Tapos observation point becomes the unique point in which most of the variants in the area are different from those of the other observation points (Table 7).

Based on the analyses, it can be concluded that the indigenous people of Depok use terms of address from Betawi language and Sundanese. Betawi language has a more extensive usage area distribution than the Sundanese. Betawi terms of address are used in almost all Depok subdistricts except for Tapos subdistrict. In addition, some Javanese terms of address are also found like the variant [bapa? gɔ̃dɛ] which has similar meaning to the word PAKDE (older brother of father/mother) in Javanese.

6 Indigenous People Language: Suburban Subdialect of Betawi and Sundanese

It is generally believed that the indigenous people of Depok speak suburban subdialect of Betawi language and Sundanese. Betawi language can be grouped into two subdialects: central Betawi and suburban Betawi. One of the main phonetic differences of the two dialects is their pronunciation of the final vowel [a] in a word. In the central subdialect, this vowel [a] is usually pronounced [ɛ], whereas in the suburban subdialect, it is pronounced [ah] or [aʔ]. Moreover, in the suburban dialect, consonants [b], [d], [g], and [h] are frequently appeared at the end of a word. This is rarely found in central dialect.

Table 6. Term of Address with Two Data Variants

Gloss	Data Variants	Area	Languages
ABANG (elder brother)	[aban]	1—7, 9—11	Betawi
	[kaka ²]	8	Sundanese
KAKAK DARI ISTRI (elder brother of the wife)	[aban]	1—7, 9—11	Betawi
	[uwa]	8	Sundanese
KAKAK DARI SUAMI (elder brother of the husband)	[aban]	1—7, 9—11	Betawi
	[uwa]	8	Sundanese
ADIK (younger brother)	[ənton]	1—7, 9—11	Betawi
	[adi]	8	Sundanese
ADIK DARI ISTRI (younger sister of wife)	[əncɪŋ]	1—7, 9—11	Betawi
	[bibɪ]	8	Sundanese
ADIK DARI SUAMI (younger sister of wife)	[əncɪŋ]	1—7, 9—11	Betawi
	[mamaŋ]	8	Sundanese
ISTRI/SUAMI DARI KAKAK (wife/husband of elder sibling)	[əmpo ²]	1—7, 9—11	Betawi
	[dahuan]	8	Sundanese
ISTRI/SUAMI DARI ADIK (wife/husband of younger sibling)	[ade ² ipar]	1—7, 9—11	Betawi
	[adi]	8	Sundanese
KAKAK PEREMPUAN (elder sister)	[əmpo ²]	1—7, 9—11	Betawi
	[uwa]	8	Sundanese
KAKAKNYA AYAH/IBU (Elder Brother of Father/Mother)	[əncan]	1—7, 9—11	Betawi
	[uwa]	8	Sundanese
MERTUA (Parents-in-law)	[mɛrtua]	1—7, 9—11	Betawi
	[mitoha]	8	Sundanese

In some literature, the suburban dialect is also referred to as Betawi Ora. The word ‘*ora*’ in Javanese means ‘not’; thus, the use of ‘*ora*’ shows the influence of Javanese on the Betawi *Ora*. The word ‘*ora*’ becomes one of the distinctive features of the suburban dialect of Betawi Ora. The other Betawi dialect uses negation words such as ‘*nggak*’ or ‘*kagak*’ meaning ‘not’. Information in some literature shows that some speakers still use ‘*ora*’ in Curug, Bojongsari (11) and Limo (5) although the frequency of use is very low (or very rarely used). In this present study, the lexicon ‘*ora*’ was found only in Bojongsari subdistrict (11). Thus, based on the data, the suburban dialect of Betawi used by the indigenous people of Depok is not Betawi Ora except for the data found in Bojongsari (11). Therefore, it can be concluded that there are two types of suburban dialects used by the people in Depok: the suburban Betawi subdialect and the suburban Betawi *ora* subdialect. This is in line with Muhadjir’s opinion of the two subdialects in Depok [11].

Another language used by the indigenous people of Depok is Sundanese. Based on interviews with informants in Tapos subdistrict (8), the type of Sundanese used

Table 7. Term of Address with Three of Four Data Variants

Glos	Data Variants	Area	Languages
ADIK PEREMPUAN AYAH/IBU (Elder Brother of Father/Mother)	[ɔ̃ncɪŋ]	1—5, 9—10	Betawi
	[ɔ̃nce]	6—7, 11	Betawi
	[bibɪ]	8	Sundanese
KAKEK (grandfather)	[ɔ̃ŋkoŋ]	1, 3—7, 9—10	Betawi
	[bapa ² tuwa]	2, 11	Javanese
	[akɪ]	8	Sundanese
ABANGNYA AYAH/IBU (Elder Brother of Father/Mother)	[ɔ̃ncan]	1, 9	Betawi
	[bapa ² gɔ̃de]	2, 6, 11	Javanese
	[ɔ̃nde]	5, 10	Javanese
	[uwa]	3—4, 7—8	Sundanese
NENEK (grandmother)	[nencʔ]	2, 6, 11	Indonesia
	[ɔ̃ma ² tuwa]	9	Javanese
	[naɪ]	1, 3—5, 10	Betawi
	[ninɪ]	8	Sundanese
	[uwa]	7	Sundanese

in Depok belongs to the substandard Sundanese dialect or the Northern dialect which is mainly used in Bogor region. The Sundanese dialect in Depok has been heavily contaminated by Indonesian language which certainly threatens its existence, in other words the Sundanese dialect in Depok is in the brink of extinction.

7 Multilinguality in the Center of Depok

The center of Depok Municipality is in Pancoran Mas subdistrict (2). Pancoran Mas and Beji subdistricts are two regions whose indigenous language is the most difficult to be traced by researchers. For example, one of the developing villages in Beji subdistrict (2) is Tanah Baru. At present Tanah Baru is surrounded by rows of luxurious real estates surrounding the area of Tanah Baru. The only thing separating Tanah Baru with the real estates is a river. The highway in front of Tanah Baru area is very crowded because it is an alternative route to and from Sawangan in order to avoid taking the longer route if they go through Pancoran Mas. Apparently, this situation has affected the language of the indigenous people of Tanah Baru. Eventually, they are forced to adapt to the use of Indonesian language in daily communication, and apparently this threatens the existence of the local indigenous language which is very rarely used.

The location of University of Indonesia (UI) in Beji subdistrict also has enormously significant effects on the existence of the local language. UI Depok campus started operating in Beji in 1988, and in no time the business of boarding houses and rented houses for its students flourished in Beji area. Empty plots of land were no longer use for gardening or farming. Instead, they were turned into rented houses. For about two decades, UI students who came from all over Indonesia lived together with the indigenous Beji people who provided boarding rooms or rented houses for the students. This situation also attracted traders from outside Depok to take the opportunities by

opening their businesses and living in the area. At present, the boarding houses and rented houses are challenged by the apartments built near the campus. The arrivals of settlers who live together with the indigenous people forces the indigenous people to stop using their indigenous language because now they always use the 'lingua franca', Indonesian language, to communicate with the settlers in their daily activities.

In the neighboring subdistrict, Pancoran Mas (2), the evidence found in the area, especially along the street of Margonda, the main street in the center of Depok, shows more evidence that the area is a multilingual region. Margonda street is already full of commercial buildings, malls, hotels, apartments, restaurants, schools, universities, hospitals, workshops, and other public facilities. In this Margonda area, the settlers come not only from all over Indonesia, but also from foreign countries in Europe and Asia. Most of them are university students from UI and other universities near the area. This obviously creates a multilingual atmosphere throughout Margonda area. Moreover, the mobility in this area is high with several means of transportation such as commuter trains and public buses. The recent development of two new toll roads in Depok might contribute to an increase in mobility, and it might lessen the traffic in Margonda area. Indeed, Margonda is the center of Depok, and Margonda is like a showcase of the rapid developments in Depok. Of course, the language varieties in the area are example of a multilinguality situation in which people can be heard speaking in Indonesian, Betawi, Sundanese, Javanese, and other local languages in Indonesia alongside foreign languages such as English, Japanese, Korean, Arabic, Turkish, and many others.

8 Conclusion

The description and analysis of the data has shown that Betawi language is used in 10 out of 11 subdistricts in Depok. Therefore, the usage area of Betawi terms of address is the most extensive in Depok. This proves that most inhabitants in Depok is from Betawi ethnic group although a very small percentage of inhabitants in Depok speak Sundanese with a smaller usage area. Consequently, the identity of Depok people has a tendency toward the identity of Betawi people with some influences from the identity of Sundanese people.

Administratively, Depok belongs to West Java Province whose people speak Sundanese and practice Sundanese culture. Nonetheless, the identity of Depok people tends to be closer to the identity of Betawi people in culture and in language. Sundanese people living in Depok has also metamorphosed into Betawi people. For instance, most people in Tapos subdistrict (8) used to speak Sundanese which has a high probability to die out. Most of the lands in Tapos have been exploited to build housing estates and other public facilities. This might influence the use of language when the indigenous people need to adapt to the language of the settlers, and this has really happened. Only people from two out of seven administrative villages in Tapos who retain the use of Sundanese. Even in Tapos administrative village, the capital of Tapos subdistrict, the people are using Betawi language with a slight influence from Sundanese. It is more likely that the two administrative villages in Tapos would lose their Sundanese, especially because the developments in the area are increasing.

Based on the data, people in 6 subdistricts (Bojongsari, Cilodong, Limo, Pancoran Mas, Sukmajaya, and Tapos) speak four languages: Indonesian, Betawi, Javanese, and

Sundanese. Lexicons from the four languages are used either side by side or mixed in an utterance.

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