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Language use and attitudes of young speakers of Skou, Tabla, and Biak in Jayapura

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia is home to over 700 languages, making it one of the world's most linguistically diverse nations. However, national language policy, migration, and globalization have increasingly shifted language use among youth toward Indonesian, raising concerns about the vitality of regional languages. This study examines language use and attitudes among youths from the Tabla, Skou, and Biak-speaking communities in Jayapura City, Papua—an area where intergenerational transmission of regional languages is weakening, and Indonesian is becoming dominant in most domains. Understanding these trends is crucial for informing language maintenance and revitalization efforts, as language is not only a means of communication but also a vessel of cultural identity and heritage. Using surveys, interviews, and observations with 125 respondents, the study reveals that while regional languages are still used in direct spoken interactions with older family members, their use is rare in written and digital communication and among peers. Indonesian is perceived as more prestigious, easier to learn, and more effective for daily life, leading to its dominance even among those who express pride in their heritage languages. The findings underscore the urgency of supporting regional language maintenance through documentation and education, as positive attitudes alone are insufficient to sustain active use. This research contributes to understanding the dynamics of language shift in multilingual Indonesia and highlights the need for targeted policies to protect linguistic diversity for future generations.

Keywords: Biak; language attitudes; language use; Skou; Tabla

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INTRODUCTION

Endangered languages are those whose usage is limited, particularly in domains excluding daily interaction with children. Typically, these languages are spoken only by adults or older individuals. Wurm (1998) argues that a language is considered endangered when it is no longer transmitted to younger generations (see also Bano et al., 2024; Pakendorf, 2024; Vetter, 2024). A language's vitality is at risk when children no longer acquire it

as their first language at home. In such cases, the language is spoken primarily by older generations and grandparents, while parents may understand it but do not actively use it. Languages with very small numbers of speakers face serious challenges to their survival (Huang, 2024; Saarela et al., 2025). Only a few languages with limited speaker populations manage to endure, as population size is regarded as the most important factor for a

*Corresponding author Email: mukh012@brin.go.id language's continued existence (Batool et al., 2025; Ibrahim, 2024).

Papua is the region with the highest linguistic diversity in Indonesia, home to 271 languages with speaker populations ranging from just a few dozen to tens of thousands. The vitality of these languages also varies. Languages with smaller numbers of speakers are more likely to be endangered. A limited speaker population is a valid indicator of endangerment (Alhazmi, 2024; Bano et al., 2024). Another indicator of language vitality is the extent to which the language is used by the younger generation. The active use of a language by young speakers greatly contributes to its vitality (Lindell et al., 2025).

Language use includes communication within the family, among friends, and in other social relationships. In addition to speaker numbers and intergenerational use, the survival of a language is also influenced by socio-political factors. These factors involve the power or dominance of certain groups, which can affect the entire culture of the dominated group, including their languages. Languages spoken by more dominant socio-political groups tend to influence, consciously unconsciously, the languages of less powerful groups (Kester & Buijink, 2023). Power dynamics are the main reason behind language shift or maintenance, as languages that coexist in the same community often compete with each other (Akhtar et al., 2025; Kulyk, 2024). This competition leads to the loss of less dominant languages (Akhtar et al., 2025; Kulyk, 2024; Zitouni, 2023).

The degree to which a language is endangered is also linked to the language attitudes of its speakers. Language attitude is defined as a construct underlying a person's feelings toward their own language or another language (Inan et al., 2024). It reflects individuals' mental positions or feelings in both their native language and other languages. Language attitudes are generally divided into two: positive and negative, indicating how speakers feel about a particular language. Speakers' attitudes may involve: 1) language variations, dialects, and language registers; 2) learning new languages; 3) certain minority languages; 4) language groups, communities, and minorities; 5) lesson languages; 6) use of certain languages; 7) parents in language learning; and 8) language preferences (Zitouni,

In the Indonesian context, language attitudes refer to speakers' perceptions and feelings toward their first language, Indonesian as the national language, and foreign languages. These attitudes can vary (Dewantara et al., 2025; Gunawan et al., 2025). In many cases, a growing positive attitude toward the Indonesian language will lead to a negative attitude toward the speaker's first language (Deliana et al., 2024; Sanulita et al., 2024). Similarly, a stronger preference for a foreign language can

diminish positive attitudes toward both the first language and Indonesian. Garvin and Mathiot formulated three manifestations of language attitudes, namely language loyalty, language pride, and awareness of the norm (Hayati et al., 2025; Rusdiansyah et al., 2024). Language loyalty manifests in the attitude of preserving the existence of a language. Language pride manifests in the attitude of being proud to use and develop a language. On the other hand, awareness of the norm manifests in the attitude of mindfully using a language according to its established linguistic rules (Goldshtein, 2024; Hayati et Mambetniyazova et al., 2024). In contrast, negative language attitudes represent a lack of enthusiasm and motivation to preserve a language (Susiawati, 2024; Wappa & Gilanlioglu, 2024). These attitudes can be influenced by some factors, such as geographical distance and barriers, jobs, parents' acculturation experiences, adaptation processes, efforts to avoid discrimination, and feelings of shame among children (Alsahafi, 2025; Deliana et al., 2024; Inan et al., 2024). Language attitudes play an important role in the survival of a language. Positive attitudes support language preservation, while negative attitudes tend to cause language abandonment and the adoption of more dominant languages (Grammon, 2021; Younus et al., 2023).

Greater attention needs to be given to language use and language attitudes to prevent language extinction. Based on the premise, the present study aims to describe the language use and language attitudes of speakers in Papua, Indonesia, particularly among young speakers in Skou, Tabla, and Biak-speaking communities. Skou is spoken in the border areas of Papua New Guinea, Tabla (also known as Tefera) has a small number of speakers, and Biak is spoken by a community characterized by high mobility. While Tabla and Skou are spoken in Jayapura, Biak is spoken on Biak Island and the surrounding islands. Language attitudes in this study are assessed based on the daily use of mother tongues, Indonesian, and foreign languages among young speakers. Skou (also known by several alternative names, including Sekol, Sekou, Sko, Skouw, Skow, Sukou, Te Mawo, and Tumawo) is spoken in villages in eastern Jayapura, Tami River, Sko-Yambe, Sko-Mabu, and Sko-Sai. As of 1999, Skou had approximately 700 speakers. It is classified under the Skou, Skou-Serra-Piore, Nuclear Skou, Skou group. Skou is used across all language domains and across generations. In addition to Skou, speakers also speak Indonesian, Papuan Malay, and the neighboring Vanimo and Wutung languages. Literacy rates in both the first and second languages are around 10%, indicating a high motivation for literacy development. Skou uses the Latin script, and its writing system has been developed through learning materials, such as

dictionaries and grammar books (Eberhard et al., 2024).

Tabla (Jakari, Tabi, Tanah Merah, Tanahmerah 2, Tefera) is spoken in 13 villages, including Bukia, Depapre, and Wari, and the northern, eastern, and western parts of Tanahmerah Bay in Jayapura. It is classified under East Bird's Head Sentani, Sentani, and Sentani Proper. It consists of several dialects, namely Yokari, Tepera, and Yewena-Yongsu. Yokari dialect is the most widely understood, with mutual intelligibility above 80%. It has a 30% lexical similarity with Sentani. Ethnologue notes that the speakers of this language reached 3,750 in 1990 (Eberhard, et al., 2024). However, despite having more speakers than Skou, Tabla is in an endangered (moribund) status. Like Skou, Tabla's speakers use Latin script. It is also noted that Tabla is different from Tanahmerah (Sumeri) spoken in Sumeri (Sumuri), West Papua. Efforts to document and revitalize the Tabla language have been undertaken by the Language Agency of Jayapura and the Jayapura Regency Government. It includes the compilation of a Tabla dictionary. This documentation effort is a significant step toward revitalizing Tabla, as it is categorized as an endangered language. The language's endangerment is due to both the limited number of speakers and the increasing influence of Indonesian on Tabla, which has contributed to its gradual decline.

Biak (other alternative names are Biak-Numfor, Mafoor, Mafoorsch, Mefoor, Myfoorsch, Noefoor, Noefoorsch, Nufoor) is spoken in Biak Numfor and Yapen Islands, including Mapia Island, Papua. Wurm (2000) states that it has 30,000 speakers. It is classified under Austronesian. Malayo-Polynesian, Central-Eastern Polynesian, South Halmahera-West New Guinea, West New Guinea, and Cenderawasih Bay. Biak consists of many dialects, including Ariom, Bo'o, Dwar, Fairi, Jenures, Korim, Mandusir, Mofu, Opif, Padoa, Penasifu, Samberi, Sampori, (Mokmer), Sor, Sorendidori, Sundei, Wari, Wadibu, Sorido, Bosnik, Korido, Warsa, Wardo, Kamer, Mapia, Mios Num, Rumberpon, Monoarfu, Yobi (Jobi), and Biak and Numfor (Eberhard et al., 2024).

Despite the growing body of research on language endangerment and vitality in Indonesia, there remains a notable gap in our understanding of how language use and attitudes are evolving among the younger generation in urban Papuan settings, particularly in communities characterized by high linguistic diversity and mobility. Most studies reviewed above have focused on speaker numbers and intergenerational transmission but have not systematically examined the interplay between language attitudes, identity, and actual language practices across different social domains in contemporary Papua. Furthermore, the influence of socio-political dynamics, migration, and educational policy on language preference and maintenance

among youth is still underexplored (Kester & Buijink, 2023; Akhtar et al., 2025).

Addressing these gaps is significant for both theoretical and practical reasons. Understanding the language choices and attitudes of young speakers in multilingual urban centers like Jayapura is critical informing effective language policy, revitalization strategies, and educational planning aimed at sustaining linguistic diversity and cultural heritage. By systematically describing language use and attitudes among the younger generation in Skou, Tabla, and Biak-speaking communities, this study seeks to provide nuanced insights into the factors influencing language maintenance and shift in one of Indonesia's most linguistically complex regions. The implications of this research extend to policymakers, educators. and community stakeholders concerned with preventing language extinction and promoting the continued vitality of regional languages in Papua.

METHOD

This study was conducted using a qualitative-descriptive methodology. The data used was primary data from questionnaires, interviews, and participatory observations. The questionnaires contained 145 questions covering seven domains, which were proposed by Fishman (1991). Questionnaires involved the points about language use and language attitudes of the speakers. There were 125 people involved as respondents in this study. They were young speakers of Skou, Tabla, and Biak who lived in Jayapura city. Participatory observations and interviews were employed to confirm the primary data.

Respondents

The subjects of this study are 125 young people from Skou, Tabla, and Biak who live in Jayapura city and the districts of Skou and Depapre. They have different backgrounds as described below.

- a) Biak's young speakers are those who lived in Jayapura for educational reasons or because they followed their parents to the city. Their frequency of visiting their hometown was low, about once every six months. However, their frequency of communicating with other family members was relatively high. Most of them lived, in the Biak community.
- b) Skou's young speakers occupied an area not too far from Papua New Guinea. Their communication with Papua New Guineans who crossed over to visit Indonesia was frequent. The interaction occurred in trade or family and customary events.

c) Tabla (other alternative names are Tefera, Tapera, and Depapre) young speakers lived in the Depapre district. This district can be reached by land or water transportation in 1.5 to 2 hours from Jayapura city. The young speakers who were selected as respondents in this study are described in Table 1 below.

Table 1

Group of Speakers and the Number of Respondents

No.	Language	Number of Speakers	Occupation
1.	Tabla (Tefera, Tepera)	40 people	student, university student, general (working or not working)
2.	Skou	44 people	student, university student, general (working or not working)
3.	Biak	41 people	student, university student, general (working or not working)
Total		125 people	- -

Data Collection

The data were collected in 2020 by employing the methods of questionnaire distribution, interviews, observations. The questionnaires distributed evenly to respondents selected through purposive sampling. This means that the respondents had to meet the criteria: (1) belong to specific cohorts in terms of age, gender, education level, and social class; (2) have parents from a similar language-speaking community; and (3) be born and raised (for at least five years) in the area studied. The questionnaire items were administered to the respondents alongside in-depth interviews. Observations were carried out during visits to traditional markets, public meetings, and schools. All data collection was conducted with the respondents' consent.

The language use was examined based on domains of use, interlocutors, and conversation topics. This approach aligns with Hymes' theory, which posits that language use depends on the concept of SPEAKING: setting, participants, ends, act sequence, key, instrumentalities, norms, and genre (Achmad, 2023; Bajwa et al., 2025; Taramen, 2021). For instance, the setting can be further detailed into language use domains (Xi et al., 2021). This study is based its analysis on Fishman's domains of language use (Diaz, 2022; Iyengar & Parchani, 2021)

& Parchani; Lear, 2021). The domains were categorized as (1) home or family, (2) neighbors, (3)

friends, (4) tradition/custom, (5) religion, (6) education, (7) government, and (8) transaction. Additionally, language use was analyzed in terms of participants based on role relationships (interlocutors), including parents, children, siblings, uncles/aunts, grandparents, and other relatives. Language use based on topics was divided into family, education, religion, traditions/customs, politics, and economy.

Average scores for language attitudes and language use were derived from the questionnaire data using a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5. The Likert scale is appropriate for quantifying language attitudes and usage, particularly in relation to acceptance and learning communities (Basta & Pejić, 2023; Jiang et al., 2023). For items related to language use, the scores were assigned as follows: Always = 5, Often = 4, Rarely = 3, Sometimes = 2, and Never = 1. For items concerning speakers' language attitudes, the scoring was: Strongly Agree = 5, Agree = 4, Uncertain = 3, Disagree = 2, and Strongly Disagree = 1. Based on these average scores, the study identified patterns of language use, language attitudes among the younger generation in Jayapura, and the vitality categories of their languages.

Based on the average obtained, the language use and attitude of respondents are categorized based on the following categories.

Table 2

The Language Use and Attitude of Respondents

No	Language Use		Language Attitude		
	Average	Category	Average	Category	
1	1.00—1.80	Never	1.00—1.80	Very negative	
2	1.81—2.60	Sometimes	1.81—2.60	Negative	
3	2.61—3.40	Rarely	2.61—3.40	Less positive	
4	3.41—4.20	Often	3.41—4.20	Positive	
5	4.21—5.00	Always	4.21—5.00	Very positive	

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION Language Use

A domain is a collection of interactional situations in which a particular language or specific speech variety is regularly used (Kusal et al., 2023; Schaeffer et al., 2023). In language behavior or language choice, a domain represents a theoretical construct that encompasses a set of interactional contexts, grouped according to shared spheres of experience and bound by common goals and obligations, such as those found in the family, neighborhood, religion, workplace, and education. In the regulatory context, language use is also governed by state policy, such as Presidential Regulation No. 63 of 2019, which mandates the use of the Indonesian language across all domains. This regulation influences the use of other languages, including regional and foreign languages. The following section presents the language use patterns of the three groups of language speakers across various domains.

Language Use in the Home Domain

Home is one of the primary domains where regional languages are used, as most interactions with older relatives take place in this setting (Kumar et al., 2021; Mbatha et al., 2023). Children are introduced to Indonesian through its use as the language of instruction in schools. The home domain plays a crucial role in the transmission of regional languages. Greater attention must be given to homes and communities to support language acquisition and to foster positive ideologies toward first languages (Birnie, 2022; Joo et al., 2024; Park, 2022). Consequently, the home domain can serve as a benchmark for assessing the vitality of a regional language.

 Table 3

 Language Use in the Home Domain

No.	Summary	Count	Sum	Average	Variance
1.	I use regional language to speak with my parents at home	125	376	3.01	1.81
2.	I use regional language to speak with my grandparents at home	125	326	2.61	2.26
3.	I use regional language to speak with my siblings (if any) at home	125	314	2.51	1.99
4.	I use regional language to speak with my uncle/aunt at home	125	302	2.42	2.04
5.	I use regional language to speak with my relatives at home	125	277	2.22	1.82
6.	I use regional language to speak with other children at home	125	190	1.52	2.38

Based on Table 3, the highest average occurs when direct communication is carried out with parents as interlocutors. Meanwhile, the lowest average occurs when the interlocutors are children. This means that in direct communication with parents, respondents tend to rarely use regional languages. This is also true when the interlocutors are grandparents. The use of regional languages will decrease further if the interlocutors have increasingly distant relationships or emotional ties and are younger. This happens, for example, with younger interlocutors. Despite having blood relations or close emotional ties, the use of regional languages tends to decrease.

An interesting observation is that regional languages tend not to be used or are never used in direct conversations with children. The decline in the use of regional languages or inter-generational transmission of regional languages has started to be seen in larger cities, including Jayapura. This means that inter-generational discontinuity has occurred among speakers in Jayapura.

In direct communication (spoken), regional languages are still used, although rarely. In communication through letters and digital media by SMS and WhatsApp, the frequency decreases further. This can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4Language Use in the Home Domain for Direct Communication by Letter and Text Message/ WhatsApp Chat

No.	summary	Count	Sum	Average	Variance
1.	I send my siblings text message or WhatsApp chat in regional language	125	221	1.77	1.58
2.	I send my parents text message or WhatsApp chat in regional language	125	205	1.64	1.44
3.	I send my relatives text message or WhatsApp chat in regional language	125	203	1.62	1.62
4.	I write letter to my parents in regional language	125	184	1.47	1.27
5.	I write letter to my siblings in regional language	125	182	1.46	1.10
6.	I send my uncle/aunt text message or WhatsApp chat in regional language	125	177	1.42	1.05
7.	I write letter to my grandparents in regional language	125	174	1.39	0.89
8.	I send my grandparents text message or WhatsApp chat regional language	125	173	1.38	1.09
9.	I write letter to my relatives in regional language	125	171	1.37	0.88
10.	I write letter to my uncle/aunt in regional language	125	169	1.35	0.92

In written communication, such as letters and digital media (SMS and WhatsApp), regional languages tend to be rarely or never used. Regardless of the interlocutor, regional languages are generally absent. This aligns with Cutler et al.'s (2022) observation that written communication typically employs the vernacular language, which, in this context, is Indonesian (see also Yulianti et al., 2024; Rosliani & Amanat, 2024).

In contrast, communication via telephone, regional languages tend to be used occasionally. However, the frequency of use further decreases when the interlocutors share only limited emotional closeness, as is often the case with uncles, aunts, or other extended relatives. When the emotional or familial bond is stronger—such as with parents, siblings, or grandparents, the tendency to use regional languages increases. This pattern is illustrated in Table 5.

 Table 5

 Language Use in the Home Domain for Direct Communication by Phone

No.	Summary	Count	Sum	Average	Variance
1.	I speak with my parents in regional language by phone	125	315	2.52	2.35
2.	I speak with my siblings in regional language by phone	125	260	2.08	2.38
3.	I speak with my grandparents in regional language by phone	125	250	2.00	2.11
4.	I speak with my uncle/aunt in regional language by phone	125	249	1.99	2.14
5.	I speak with my relatives in regional language by phone	125	228	1.82	1.87

The use of regional languages in direct communication by telephone with interlocutors, as shown in Table 5 indicates that the more distant the family ties between the respondents and the interlocutors, the more the use of regional languages decreases.

Language Use in the Neighbors and Friends Domains

Generally, the use of regional languages in communication within the neighbors and friends' domains depends on the ethnic background and age of the interlocutors. When speaking with older individuals from the same ethnic group, regional languages are more frequently used (Brouwer et al., 2024; Olko et al., 2024). However, the frequency tends to decrease when the interlocutors are younger. Among peers of the same age, regional languages such as Tabla, Skou, and Biak are occasionally used. Nevertheless, even in interactions with older or same-age peers from the same ethnic group, the younger generation of Tabla, Skou, and Biak speakers in Jayapura rarely use regional languages. Communication with neighbors from the same ethnic group is predominantly conducted in Indonesian. While regional languages are not absent, their usage falls into the rarely or very rarely category.

 Table 6

 Language Use in the Neighborhood Domain: Direct Communication

No.	Summary	Count	Sum	Average	Variance
1.	I use regional language to speak with elder neighbors from the same ethnic group	125	301	2.41	2.20
2.	I use regional language to speak with the same age neighbors from the same ethnic group	125	291	2.33	1.82
3.	I use regional language to speak with younger neighbors from the same ethnic group	125	253	2.02	1.89

In the neighbors' and friends' domain, the younger generation of Skou, Biak, and Tabla speakers demonstrates similar tendencies in their use of regional languages during private conversations. The frequency of regional language use remains relatively low across these groups. Most respondents indicated that they only sometimes use regional languages when interacting with friends from the same ethnic background. This suggests that even among peers of the same ethnicity, regional languages are rarely employed in everyday communication.

Moreover, several respondents reported that they never use regional languages in direct, spoken interactions with peers from the same ethnic group with whom they do not share a close personal relationship. This indicates that emotional closeness or familiarity plays a significant role in determining language choice. In the absence of such closeness, the use of regional languages tends to diminish, reinforcing the general pattern of limited usage in this domain among the younger generation.

 Table 7

 Language Use in the Friends Domain for Direct Communication with Interlocutors from the Same Ethnic

No	Summary	Count	Sum	Average	Variance
1.	I use regional language when I speak with my friend from the same ethnic group	125	283	2.26	2.21
2.	I use regional language when I speak with older friend from the same ethnic group	125	282	2.26	2.01
3.	I use regional language when I speak with younger friend from the same ethnic group	125	267	2.14	2.15
4.	I use regional language when I speak with the same age friend from the same ethnic group	125	250	2.00	1.55
5.	I use regional language when I speak with acquaintance from the same ethnic group	125	194	1.55	1.35

The level of emotional closeness with interlocutors significantly influences language choice. When interacting with close friends from the same ethnic group, the frequency of regional language use tends to be slightly higher compared to interactions with acquaintances or friends with whom there is little personal connection. This indicates that the strength of interpersonal relationships plays an important role in encouraging the use of regional languages in informal settings.

In addition to emotional closeness, the age of the interlocutors also affects language choice. Regional languages are still used in conversations with older peers, typically falling into the "sometimes" usage category. However, a notable distinction emerges when compared to interactions with younger or same-age friends. While both contexts fall under the same "sometimes" category, the average frequency of regional language use is higher in interactions with older peers than with same-age or younger interlocutors. This suggests that both age and relational proximity contribute to shaping language behavior among the younger generation.

Language Use Based on Interlocutors and Language Events

An individual's language choice is shaped by a variety of factors. Hymes, in his framework for understanding communicative competence, asserts that language choice is influenced by several key components, collectively referred to by the acronym SPEAKING: setting, participant, end, act, key, instrument, norms, and genre (Bajwa et al., 2025; Saydam & Çangal, 2022).

The setting pertains to the physical or social context in which the speech event takes place, while the participant refers to the individuals involved in the interaction, including both speakers and listeners. The end denotes the purpose or intended outcome of the communication. The act encompasses the specific actions carried out during the speech event, such as asking questions or giving instructions. The key involves the tone, style, or emotional coloring of the interaction, such as the level of formality or the speaker's attitude. The instrument refers to the medium through which the message is conveyed, whether it be spoken, written,

or transmitted through other channels. Norms encompass the social and cultural rules that govern the appropriateness of certain language behaviors in a given context. Finally, the genre identifies the type of communicative event, such as a conversation, lecture, prayer, or narrative.

Among these factors, the participants or interlocutors are often regarded as a central influence on an individual's language choice. The relationship between speakers, including their social roles, level of familiarity, and shared background, plays a crucial role in shaping the language or language variety selected for communication.

A person's language choice is determined by many factors. Hymes also argues that the person's language choice is influenced by, among others, speaking, which stands for setting, participant, end, act, key, instrument, norms, and genre (Bajwa et al., 2025; Saydam & Çangal, 2022). Setting refers to the place where the speech event occurs, and the participant refers to the interlocutors, while the end refers to the objective of the conversation. Hymes further described that act refers to the action in the speech event and key to, for example, the tone of voice, language register used, and manner of expressing messages. Instrument refers to the tool used to convey messages or the way the language event occurs, for example orally, in writing, or through other media. Norms refer to the norms that must be followed or adhered to by the people or parties involved in the speech event, and genre refers to the type of speech event occurring.

Based on Table 8, instruments and speech events play a significant role in influencing In this context, language choice. communication, whether conducted face-to-face or via telephone, shows the highest tendency for the of regional languages compared conversations centered on specific topics such as family, education, tradition/custom, economy, religion, politics, or letter writing. Informal face-toface or telephone interactions that are not focused (i.e., general everyday thematically conversations) exhibit the strongest inclination toward the use of regional languages. This trend is evident across all categories of interlocutors, including parents, siblings, grandparents, uncles/aunts, and other relatives.

Table 8 *Language Use Based on Interlocutors and Language Events*

No.	Language Event	Parents	Siblings	Grandparents	Uncle/Aunt	Other Relatives
1.	Talking at home	3.01	2.51	2.61	2.42	2.22
2.	Speaking by phone	2.52	2.08	2	1.99	1.82
3.	Conversation on family topic	2.21	1.85	1.83	1.77	1.64
4.	Conversation on education topic	2.08	1.74	1.79	1.74	1.62
5.	Conversation on tradition/custom topic	2.07	1.67	1.76	1.73	1.61
6.	Conversation on economy topic	2.01	1.64	1.68	1.65	1.60
7.	Conversation on religion topic	1.86	1.63	1.66	1.64	1.58
8.	Conversation on politics topic	1.75	1.57	1.46	1.45	1.57
9.	Writing letter	1.47	1.46	1.39	1.35	1.39

The variety of language and expressions used by an individual is influenced by factors such as the interlocutor, the context of the interaction, and the nature of the speech event (Culpeper & Tantucci, 2021; Kim et al., 2021). Similarly, Hymes emphasized that language use is contingent on the identity of the interlocutor (see Leung, 2022; Nasi, 2024). A closer examination of the data reveals that within the family domain, specifically during telephone conversations and discussions on family matters at home, the younger generation in Jayapura tends to use regional languages only occasionally. Another notable pattern evident in the table is that when the interlocutors are siblings, whether older or younger, regional languages are generally not used at all. This tendency reflects a language shift, wherein Indonesian has largely replaced regional languages in these interactions. Contributing factors to this shift include language practices within the domains of education and interactions with neighbors and friends.

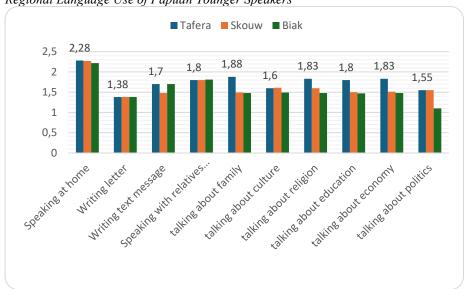
In direct or telephone communication, the highest frequency of regional language use occurs

with older interlocutors particularly grandparents, who generally use regional languages more frequently than Indonesian. In contrast, with sameage interlocutors, regional languages are used less frequently. This means that the frequency of regional language use with older people, namely their grandparents, is higher compared to younger/same-age interlocutors.

Another finding on the use of regional languages among the younger generation is identified from regional language use in written communication/letters. In written communication, the respondents tend not to use regional languages with interlocutors from all age groups.

Another notable observation is that emotional closeness influences language choice. The closer the emotional relationship, the higher the frequency of regional language use across all types of speech events and communication. This pattern applies consistently across all three respondent groups. The following graph illustrates the use of regional languages among the three groups of younger speakers.

Figure 1 *Regional Language Use of Papuan Younger Speakers*



Language Attitudes of the Younger Generation in Jayapura, Papua

Papua is the region in Indonesia with the highest number of regional languages, featuring a wide variety of grammatical structures. These languages are typically classified into two major groups: Austronesian and non-Austronesian (see Barlow, 2023). With a total of 428 languages, language contact is inevitable, particularly in urban centers such as Jayapura. Such inter-community contact is theoretically expected to influence the language attitudes of regional language speakers. Language attitude is defined as a construct underlying an individual's feelings toward their own language or another language (Inan et al., 2024). Although not directly observable, it is manifested through

language behavior (Grammon, 2021; Younus et al., 2023).

Language Attitudes of the Younger Generation of Papuans toward Indonesian

Language attitude represents a person's psychological assessment and stance toward a language, which is revealed through communication behavior. It is expressed in feelings, behaviors, and awareness when perceiving and using the language. Individuals with positive attitudes toward a language tend to demonstrate pride, willingly use it, and follow its norms. Conversely, a negative attitude leads to behaviors reflecting that negativity. A person's perception of a language reflects their language attitude.

 Table 9

 Papuan Younger Speakers' Perception of Indonesian

No	Summary	Count	Sum	Average	Variance
1.	In my opinion, Indonesian is what unifies Indonesia	125	560	4.48	0.46
2.	In my opinion, every good citizen must understand Indonesian	125	544	4.35	0.5
3.	In my opinion, Indonesian is a means of communication between individuals, family members, and people in public spaces such as offices, markets, etc.	125	539	4.31	0.46
4.	In my opinion, Indonesian should be the medium of instruction in education	125	537	4.3	0.6
5.	In my opinion, using Indonesian shows one's identity/national identity	125	535	4.28	0.67
6.	Indonesian should be used among citizens in public spaces to strengthen the national bond	125	535	4.28	0.57
7.	Indonesian is a means of supporting the development of national culture in Indonesia	125	534	4.27	0.52
8.	I believe that Indonesian can thrive like other languages as a means of communication	125	533	4.26	0.74
9.	Government should support the language use policy of Indonesian in public domain	125	511	4.09	0.74

A very positive attitude toward the national language (Tabla, Skou, and Biak) is shown by the younger generation. They agree with the statement: "In my opinion, the Indonesian language is what unifies Indonesia." This statement received the highest average score of 4.48, confirming that Indonesian indeed serves as a unifying force in Papua generally and in Jayapura more specifically. Several other statements likewise earned very positive responses from the younger generation in Papua:

- 1. "Every good citizen must understand Indonesian."
- 2. "Indonesian is a means of communication between individuals, family members, and people in public spaces such as offices, markets, etc."
- 3. "Indonesian should be the medium of instruction in education"
- 4. "Using Indonesian shows one's identity/national identity"

- 5. "It is used among citizens in public spaces to strengthen the national bond"
- "It is a means of supporting the development of national culture in Indonesia"
- 7. "Indonesian can thrive like other languages as a means of communication were given or received very positive scores from the younger generation in Papua."

Respondents also perceive Indonesian proficiency as prestigious and indicative of intellectual ability. This aligns with Aitchison's perspective that language communities tend to adopt high-status languages that offer social and economic benefits (Grenoble & Osipov, 2023). In other words, there is a positive language attitude toward such a "higher" language, which is used, but this may also lead to language shift and potentially threaten native languages.

Table 9

Perception of Indonesian Proficiency

No	Summary	Count	Sum	Average	Variance
1.	Indonesian is as important as regional and foreign languages in national context	125	508	4.06	0.72
2.	Indonesian proficiency indicates the intellectuality level of its user	125	483	3.86	0.70
3.	It is easier to express feelings in Indonesian than in regional and foreign languages	125	471	3.77	0.55
4.	Proficiency of Indonesian carries certain prestige	125	439	3.51	0.85
5.	Indonesian is more dignified compared to regional and foreign languages	125	418	3.34	0.70

Language serves as a powerful symbol of nationalism: it can indicate whether a community constitutes a nation or remains an ethnic group. When nationalism is consciously embraced, a dominant language often emerges and, over time, may displace other coexisting varieties. Conversely, in smaller ethnic communities, regional languages function as symbols of identity.

Language Attitudes toward Regional Languages

The younger generation demonstrates highly positive attitudes toward regional languages, with average scores ranging from 4.31 to 4.58. However, one statement did not receive such strong approval: "In my opinion, regional languages should be the medium of instruction in primary education in regions where the regional language is the main means of communication."

Table 10

Language Attitudes of Younger Generation toward Regional Languages

No	Summary	Count	Sum	Average	Variance
1.	Every good citizen should understand his/her regional language	125	573	4.58	0.44
2.	In my opinion, regional language shows one's identity	125	561	4.49	0.69
3.	In my opinion, regional language is a means of communication between individuals, family members, and society of a region	125	559	4.47	0.46
4.	Local government should support the preservation of regional language within the region of its speaking community	125	559	4.47	0.67
5.	Regional language should be used by family members at home to strengthen the family bond	125	550	4.4	0.52
6.	In my opinion, regional language can be a supporting medium of regional culture development in Indonesia	125	546	4.37	0.69
7.	I believe that regional language can be developed as a means of	125	539	4.31	0.54
8.	In my opinion, regional language is what unifies local	125	539	4.31	0.85
	In my opinion, regional language should be the medium of instruction				
9.	in primary education in regions where the regional language is the main means of communication	125	506	4.05	0.8

Looking at the practical use of regional languages, it seems that these highly positive language attitudes are not matched by active efforts to preserve them. In many cases, a very positive language attitude toward a regional language does not translate into proactive preservation. True language preservation requires loyalty: even if a language has a small number of speakers, strong loyalty can protect it from extinction (Romanowski, 2021).

Beyond recognition, the younger generation's practical attitudes toward their regional languages manifest in their communication choices. Young speakers often do not feel pressured to use Indonesian because its vocabulary is more convenient than that of their local languages. Media influences, such as radio, television, and social networks, also make using Indonesian effortless. The following is a description of how the younger generation perceives the practical use of regional languages in everyday communication.

A less positive score was given to the statement that regional-language vocabulary is

easier to learn than that of Indonesian and foreign languages. This suggests that regional languages are perceived as more difficult. This perception leads to their limited use, particularly in writing. Speakers often find regional languages harder to write due to mismatches between pronunciation and spelling. Consequently, they never use regional languages for written communication, whether in letters, WhatsApp, or SMS.

The fact that the younger generation never uses regional languages in written form suggests a concerning condition in terms of language vitality. It indicates the absence of a writing tradition in regional languages among younger-generation Papuans. This lack of documentation accelerates the threat of language extinction.

On a national level, the younger generation of Tabla, Skou, and Biak speakers holds Indonesian in very high regard. They believe that Indonesian is as important as regional and foreign languages in the national context. Another reason for their preference is that Indonesian is perceived as easier to learn than regional languages. In contrast, Tabla, Skou, and

Biak are seen as structurally complex and phonetically challenging, making them harder to use in communication. Moreover, information conveyed in Indonesian is considered easier to understand.

Table 11

Perception of Younger Generation of Regional Language Use in Daily Communication

No.	Summary	Count	Sum	Average	Variance
1.	I'm proud of having good proficiency of regional language	125	543	4.34	0.5
2.	Regional language is as the same important as Indonesian language	125	488	3.9	0.89
	and foreign languages in local context				
3.	Regional language shows someone's intellectuality level	125	478	3.82	0.78
4.	Regional language proficiency elevates my prestige	125	478	3.82	0.98
5.	It is easier to express feelings in regional language than in	125	462	3.7	0.86
	Indonesian language and foreign languages				
6.	It is easier for me to understand the information about regional	125	463	3.7	1
	culture conveyed in regional language				
7.	Regional language is more prestige than Indonesian language and	125	429	3.43	1.12
	foreign languages				
8.	It is easier to learn the vocabulary of regional language compared to	125	422	3.38	0.93
	Indonesian language and foreign languages				

Table 12

Perceived Ease of Learning and Understanding Indonesian

No	Summary	Count	Sum	Average	Variance
1.	It is easier for me to absorb information conveyed in Indonesian	125	533	4.26	0.44
2.	I am proud of having good proficiency of Indonesian	125	521	4.17	0.62
3.	The vocabulary in Indonesian is easier to understand than in regional and foreign languages	125	513	4.10	0.53

The findings from Tables 11 and 12 reveal a complex relationship between pride in regional language proficiency and the practical realities of language use among younger speakers in Jayapura. While many respondents express pride in their ability to speak their regional language and identity recognize its importance for intellectuality, this positive sentiment does not consistently translate into frequent or functional use. Regional languages are perceived as less prestigious and more difficult to learn-especially in written form-compared to Indonesian, which is seen as easier to master and more effective for absorbing and conveying information. This reflects a broader trend in multilingual contexts, where positive attitudes toward minority languages often coexist with low actual use, particularly when a highprestige language like Indonesian dominates public and private domains (Romanowski, 2021; Cutler et al., 2022; Hayati et al., 2025).

Conversely, Indonesian is highly valued for its role as a unifying national language and is perceived

as both prestigious and practical. Respondents report greater ease in learning Indonesian vocabulary, understanding information, and expressing themselves in Indonesian than in their regional or foreign languages. This practical advantage, coupled with institutional support and societal attitudes, reinforces Indonesian's dominance in both formal and informal communication. The preference for Indonesian, especially among the youth, aligns with national language policy and broader societal trends, contributing to the ongoing displacement of regional languages in daily life (Yulianti et al., 2024; Pakendorf, 2024). Without active efforts to enhance the prestige, learnability, and functional domains of regional languages, the trend toward language shift and endangerment is likely to continue.

These perceptions manifest in their actual language choices across different communicative contexts. Table 13 (not shown here) summarizes respondents' reported choices (Indonesian, regional, or foreign languages) in various communication scenarios

Table 13

Comparison of Language Use Choice of Papuan Younger Speakers in Various Communication Forms

No.	Summary	Bahasa Indonesia	Local Language	Foreign Language
1.	I love helping people who have difficulty in understanding Indonesian/regional/foreign language	4.14	3.73	3.34
2.	I love writing messages (SMS/WhatsApp/social media) in Indonesian/regional/foreign language to family or	4.11	3.42	3.20
3.	I use Indonesian/regional/foreign language every time I communicate with family or relatives in public	4.10	3.64	3.29
4.	I prefer reading books in Indonesian/regional/foreign language	4.06	3.66	3.16
5.	I prefer greeting foreigner with Indonesian/regional/foreign language to responding directly in foreign language	3.54	3.07	3.40

Indonesian received the highest score compared to regional and foreign languages from younger speakers in terms of the affective aspect. The affective aspect refers to a person's emotional response (pleasure or displeasure) that influences their behavior toward a language. Based on this, it can be said that among the three languages, the younger generation in Jayapura, Papua, has the strongest emotional attachment to Indonesian. The function and role of Indonesian as the national language have been effectively fulfilled. It has become the language of daily communication, a common language, or lingua franca in Papua.

The increasing use of Indonesian has displaced regional languages. It can be said that the positive language attitude toward Indonesian corresponds inversely with the frequency of regional language use. Indonesian is preferred by younger speakers for its role in facilitating communication among speakers of different linguistic backgrounds. Less positive scores were given to statements such as: "Regional languages are not more dignified than Indonesian and foreign languages," and "Regional language vocabulary is not easier to learn than that in Indonesian and foreign languages."

The affective attachment to Indonesian, as shown in Table 13, reinforces its role as the primary language of identity and daily life among younger Papuans. This finding aligns with national trends of language shift in Indonesia, where regional languages are increasingly confined to symbolic or ceremonial roles (Hayati et al., 2025; Akhtar et al., 2025). The lower scores for regional and foreign languages highlight the urgent need for revitalization strategies that go beyond fostering positive attitudes to actively promoting use in diverse communicative contexts (Wurm, 1998; Pakendorf, 2024).

This indicates that regional languages are perceived as less prestigious and more difficult to learn. To address this issue, efforts must be made to enhance the dignity among young speakers, as a frequent mismatch between pronunciation and spelling.

CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that Indonesian, serving as the national language, lingua franca, and daily means of communication, has impacted regional languages. The use of Tabla, Skou, and Biak by younger speakers is declining. Moreover, the domains in which these regional languages were once used have shifted to Indonesian; factors such as language domain, topic of conversation, and interlocutor are no longer strong determinants. This indicates a weakening of the mother tongues among younger speakers of Tabla, Skou, and Biak, undermining their language vitality.

Indonesian has begun to supplant regional languages among Jayapura's younger generation, owing to its perceived higher prestige. In contrast, Tabla, Skou, and Biak are viewed as difficult to learn, partly because of discrepancies between pronunciation and writing. Indonesian is generally perceived as easier to learn. Therefore, further study and initiatives are needed to enhance the prestige and learnability of regional languages in writing. Comprehensive documentation of linguistic features is urgently needed.

In general, the erosion of regional languages among young Papuans stems from influences such as the dominant role of Indonesians, migration, globalization, and a multilingual social environment. This aligns with Tondo's framework, which identifies factors including dominant languages, bilingualism or multilingualism, globalization, migration, inter-ethnic marriage, natural disasters, and calamities, neglect of one's ethnic language, regional-language infrequent use, economic educational pressures, and policies. These challenges can be addressed by developing regionallanguage resources, implementing documentation efforts, and integrating these languages into educational curricula. Young speakers of Skou, Tabla, and Biak show positive attitudes toward both Indonesian and their native language. This positive attitude is manifested in their perception. However, these attitudes are not reflected in their communicative practices. They actively use Indonesian across various speech events and interlocutors, but despite holding perceptions of regional languages, they seldom use them even within the family or ethnic community. Indonesians have thus become their primary medium of everyday communication. In fact, a positive attitude toward a language should manifest both in pride/positive perception and a willingness to use the language in active ways.

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