Authenticity, ownership, authority and age:

Standard language ideology in the Moluccan migrant community in the Netherlands

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1 Introduction

In the last few decades, several academics have observed the Ambon Malay heritage language in the Netherlands deviate from homeland Ambon Malay due to continuous exposure with the dominant Dutch language and Dutch-like features adaption (Moro 2018: 296). Moreover, Van Engelenhoven and Florey remark regarding endangerment and linguistic composition, 'remaining speakers of approximately twenty-five languages indigenous to the Moluccas' among the Moluccan migrants in the Netherlands, whereof at least three of these language: Amahei, Kamarian and Seruan are both 'locally and globally endangered' (2001: 195). However, there have been increased community initiatives regarding language renewal and maintenance, like the launch of TotaalMoluks (2024), an application and platform that supports language learning and maintenance for Moluccan Malay (MM), the heritage language variant of Ambon Malay.

Beside documentation, language ideologies and attitudes have been increasingly called for as necessary components in the policy and planning regarding renewal and vitality of endangered languages in multilingual environments. Indeed, 'changing language attitudes, beliefs or ideologies is often seen as the first step in the process of language revitalization efforts' (O'Rourke 2015: 271). Dołowy-Rybińska and Hornsby further argue that 'positive attitudes towards a minority language may inspire activists and community members to act against language shift'(2021: 110). Moreover, Sallabank (2013) signals a global shift in language ideologies for the best 'in favor of 'saving' endangered languages, at grassroots, academic, official and right up to intergovernmental levels' (66). While closely linked, language ideologies and attitudes differ, as ideologies operate subconsciously but can become apparent through 'attitudes towards a given language or language variety' (Dołowy-Rybińska and Hornsby 2021: 106).

Van Engelenhoven has observed a significant language folklore and ideology popularized by the RMS government for political symbolic purposes, the group campaigning for independence of the South-Moluccas, that stated that the people of the South Moluccas were 'one people with a shared single origin, culture, and a single language' perpetuated through the belief that this unified language comes from the mythological Nunusaku mountain on Seram islands where all life comes from (Van Engelenhoven 2022: 1). Van Engelenhoven duped this the 'Alifuru concept', while Alifuru first held negative and derogatory connotations regarding 'mountain people' of Seram islands, the community in the Netherlands have reclaimed this term to encourage a pan-Moluccan identity (Florey and

Ewing 2010: 164-165). This concept has the earmarks of a standard language ideology, that pertains to the beliefs of there being one superior variety of language (Dołowy-Rybińska and Hornsby 2021).While the accompanied attitude might be positive as people may feel proud of their language and claim theirs is the oldest and/or unique while campaigning for unity, here, it may contribute to a monolingual ideology, by reduction of language diversity.

Despite the Alifuru concept of a homogenous people, Van Engelenhoven asserted that the Moluccan diaspora enjoys ethnolinguistic diversity of which the Central Moluccan enjoy a hegemony (2002). Moreover, 'it was a known fact within the community that Malay was not the original mother tongue for everybody' and regarding the Central Moluccans, 'there were families where an indigenous language was still remembered, albeit fragmentarily'(Van Engelenhoven 2001: 301). This Alifuru concept was further bolstered in the mid-1960s by the RMS after the relocation of the Moluccan diaspora to permanent quarters in the Netherlands after their initial arrival in the beginning of the 1950s and 'the elimination of the final pockets of resistance on Seram Island and the execution of the RMS president Chris Soumokil' (Van Engelenhoven 2022: 1).

Much later on in the 80's, Dutch language policy demanded clarity regarding the one language that the Moluccan diaspora spoke. The choice fell to Moluccan Malay, an umbrella term that covered 'all variants brought along by the first generation of Moluccans, shaped into an individual language by the second and third generations'(2002: 8). Consequently, Moluccan Malay hegemony was further asserted through language policy, thus arguably furthering the RMS-ideology of monolingual people, Van Engelenhoven comments in agreement with Rinsampessy that the RMS 'has ceased to be the community's focal point' after the 80's, collaborated by the government in exile commenting on tv that their main goals had shifted from liberation to 'the economic and social well-being of the fellow-Moluccas in Indonesia' (Van Engelenhoven 2001: 303). Moreover, van Engelenhoven shows that later on the Alifuru concept has had various other effects, being the drive 'for the rebirth of the Nusalaut language in the Moluccan community in the Netherlands, albeit diverting completely from its original typology', but also leading to language and identity concealment and cultural disagreement of the Southwest Moluccan group within the Moluccan diaspora (Van Engelenhoven 2022: 12). This was further strengthened by 'grouping of the residences according to religious conviction' (Van Engelenhoven 2002: 29).

Another interesting ideological observation is made regarding to ownership, expressed through previous language (and identity) concealment outside the indigenous community in some first generation Letinese, Meher and Oirata people of the Southwest Moluccas (migrated

to the Netherlands) negatively impacting language maintenance (Van Engelenhoven 2001: 207, 300). This too, parallels Dołowy-Rybińska and Hornsby's description of ideology of authenticity related to ownership, who state that when people view that language is 'owned' by certain/native speakers, they become the authority on what is seen as 'authentic' effectively gatekeeping and 'exerting ownership over speaker identity, privileging their position as authentic speakers' leading to tension between speakers and learners (2021: 107-108).

All in all, these observations in ideology and attitude pertain to different groups in the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands and different language speakers. As Kroskrity points out, ideologies and attitudes differ within and across groups, making the Moluccan community in the Netherlands a complex network of overlapping and differing ideologies and attitudes, which makes language maintenance in such a landscape much more complex (2018). Van Engelenhoven mentioned the decentering of the RMS and language revival efforts of Nusalaut, leading to questioning the current status quo within the Moluccan diaspora of ownership, authority and language attitudes abetted by standard language ideology, possibly fueled by the Alifuru concept, which may be interesting to investigate with an eye on benefitting language maintenance in the immediate future. For example, more awareness for actors involved in maintenance could lead to more consciously negotiating and addressing the concepts of authenticity and legitimacy with the community, preventing language ideology tensions and further language decline. Additionally, this author seeks to investigate if the factor age plays a role due to older members of the Moluccan diaspora being influenced by Dutch standard language ideology due to language policy along with Moluccan Malay standard language ideology also promoted by RMS-ideology. The aim of this paper is to see to what extent Moluccan Malay language speakers in the Moluccan diaspora express or agree with certain language attitudes that indicate the existence of a standard language ideology.

Research Question

To what extent do members of the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands express agreement with language attitudes that indicate the existence of a standard language ideology?

2 Theoretical framework

Section 2.1 discusses the overarching concepts of ideology of authenticity and anonymity, and the continuum of new speakerness. The following section 2.2 will discuss common empirical research, these are minority language communities whose circumstances have commonalities with the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands and can indicate potential effects of ideologies and attitudes. Thereafter, in section 2.3, the matter of population, language policy and age will be raised. Finally, this leads to 2.4 where the research gap, the problem statement and research rationale will be stated.

2.1 Authenticity, anonymity and the continuum of new speakerness

As mentioned, this section discusses the concept of standard language ideology, ideology of authenticity and anonymity, ownership, authenticity, authority, social control and tensions with new speakers. Finally, it will situate aforementioned concepts further in the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands.

Besides the aforementioned ideology of authenticity there is the ideology of anonymity, which Dołowy-Rybińska and Hornsby assert to be the contrary of authenticity. Whereas for authenticity 'membership is not evaluated by how 'local a speaker sounds', anonymity focusses more on 'how well or how often they use the language' (2021: 107). As the ideology of anonymity is more universalist, 'including all members of a speech community, however they may have acquired the language', it is equally available to speakers or potential speakers (107). Dołowy-Rybińska and Hornsby connect anonymity to the ideology of standard language because 'some users of a particular language actively avoid using dialectal or local forms and instead use the standard variety' which leads to promoting 'a shift away from an 'authentic' or 'native speaker' identity and towards a 'civic' identity' (107). This civic identity might in turn be lent for the construction of a 'cosmopolitan, modernized identity' (107). Moreover, Dołowy-Rybińska and Hornsby assert that as a consequence of these opposing ideologies, tensions between speakers may arise. More specifically, speakers and (potential) new speakers. As Moluccan Malay (MM) is an umbrella term, it is not readily apparent what a speaker might define as authentic or the standard language. First generational MM speakers may define the authenticity of this language different then say, second or later generational speakers to whom the language may be regarded to be an established fact, not a language born out of circumstances.

Furthermore, the idea of a standard and authentic language is further complicated by the fact that Sallabank asserts that in language attitudes when looking to second language learners, the distinction between integrative and instrumental attitudes are of importance (2014: 62). This distinction was specified by Gardner and Lambert (1972), who defined instrumental attitudes (or orientation as they named it) as 'a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a foreign language' and integrative attitudes as 'a desire to be like representative members of the other language community' (1972: 14). Sallabank then points to Baker who recommends 'that language planners exercise discretion in which orientations they invoke' and that 'research in second language learnings has found that a small portion of success attributable to an integrative orientation' (Sallabank 2014:62). Sallabank comments that this discretion when provoking language attitudes is important because for example, 'young people see a minority language as old-fashioned' (2014:62). Do younger members of the Moluccan diaspora see MM differently than the elder members?

Altogether, it is important not only to assess prevalent ideologies and attitudes found in existing speakers regarding the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands, but also (potential) new speakers. Besides Dołowy-Rybińska and Hornsby, O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013) point out that when new speakers in minority-language contexts come into play, it 'can generate tensions over ownership and legitimate rights to the language' (2013: 288). O'Rourke and Ramallo focus on unforeseen consequences and mention tensions between 'newcomers and existing speakers' (287). Henceforward, this paper will make use of O'Rourke and Rammalo's definition of new speakers, in which they refer to Grinevald & Bert (2011) and Piller (2002) who point out that 'new speakerness in minority-language contexts can include a continuum of speaker types, ranging from second language learners with limited competence [..] right up to expert L2 users, whose level of proficiency in the language is such that they can 'pass' as so called native speakers (2013: 288). In the context of language speakers in the Moluccan diaspora, this paper will refer to new speakers as speakers who have not acquired the language as a child as a result of intergenerational transmission, in which new speakers proficiency very much exists on the mentioned continuum.

In addition, O'Rourke and Ramallo remark on how the values of authenticity and its arguable opposite anonymity come to play in an environment with new speakers. The authors point to Woolard (2008), who emphasizes the connection of authenticity and sense of identity, which 'can in turn constrain the acquisition and use of a minority language as a second language by a larger population, who may see themselves at risk of not sounding sufficiently

natural or real compared with native speakers (2013: 290). In reaction, they comment that McEwan-Fujita (2010) states the possible emergence of social closure, an identity control mechanism, that may lead to 'sometimes deterring them [new speakers] from using it altogether' (2013:290). Moreover O'Rourke and Ramallo assert that in language revitalization, the introduction of a minority language 'in domains and spaces from which it was previously absent, can be seen as an attempt to give it the same value of anonymity as a public language' and that 'the development of a standardized form also builds on such an attempt (2013: 291). Have developments regarding standardization challenged the initial Moluccan migrants authority? Not only has standardization been attempted regarding MM, its use in social domains has arguably changed in the last decade through globalization and the digital domain, showing how relevant this remark of O'Rourke and Ramallo is regarding the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands. Online platforms that introduce acquiring MM imply the introduction and use of a standardized form, which unintentionally may lead to challenging the MM speakers' authority and invite tensions between speakers and potential new speakers. This may even inadvertently lead to the identity control mechanism of social closure, much like Van Engelenhoven already observed regarding minorities within the Moluccan diaspora (first generation Letinese, Meher and Orata people of the South Moluccas) who exerted ownership via language concealment.

In addition, O'Rourke and Ramallo assert that the standard variety may also present a challenge to the authority of traditional native speakers 'whose language variety is doubly stigmatized' because this variety 'represents a powerful filter for social mobility' (291). Interestingly, O'Rourke and Ramallo argue that in the case of Standard Galician, new speakers have access to formal domains such as education, public administration and media - making social class 'more important in determining linguistic authority than nativeness' (291). The majority of descendants of Moluccan migrants in the Netherlands have mostly acquired Dutch as a first language, arguably leading to more access to formal domains and thus opportunity regarding upwards mobility than initial migrants. However, this may include both speakers who do acquire MM from their parents through intergenerational transmission and those who do not, but became (potential) new speakers later on in life. Would social class and/or higher education for members in the Moluccan diaspora therefore be more important in determining linguistic authority than their parents or initial migrants?

Another point applicably to the Moluccan diaspora is made by Dołowy-Rybińska and Hornsby who remark that the 'areas where the language is traditionally spoken are often perceived as repositories for the language where people can experience it in its 'natural'

environment and access an authentic language-learning experience to become 'real' speakers (2021: 108). Seeing as the initial Moluccan migrants were displaced from the Moluccan islands to the Netherlands, the area that is regarded as 'the natural' environment may be slightly different. While the Moluccan islands could still be perceived as the area of authentic language experience, the Moluccan migrants' new placement in the Netherlands creates a second immediate area that becomes a placeholder for the original area. As the Moluccan community is a minority in the Netherlands, living communities and social networks themselves arguably become the immediate areas perceived as repositories for the language in the Netherlands. It stands to reason then that the oldest L1-speakers, initial migrants from the Moluccan islands and potentially any speakers native to the Moluccan islands new speakers of members of the Moluccan diaspora come in contact with would automatically be perceived as the authentic speaker in the Netherlands. This leads us to the subject of language domains and social networks regarding the Moluccan diaspora.

2.2 Empirical research

2.2.1 Dutch-like features, positive attitudes and social networks

In a study on social-psychological factors predicting Dutch-like features among heritage speakers of Ambon Malay in the Netherlands, Moro (2018) found that attitude (motivation) to be a significant factor influencing the frequency of such features. Note that Moro's approach of attitude does not pertain to the before specified definition of language attitude but is closer to motivation in this context. She concluded that 'heritage speakers with a strongly positive attitude retain homeland Malay-like features, while heritage speakers with only a mild positive attitude use Dutch-like features more frequently' (408). This may indicate how different speakers react when constrained by an idea of language authenticity and ownership. Do highly motivated/positive attitude speakers value homeland features as legitimacy of authenticity higher than mildly positive speakers? Therefore regarding the allowance of Dutch-like features as less authentic, sustaining a purist view? Or is something else at play?

Additionally, Moro found that it is the social network or 'the place where the speaker lives, taken here as a proxy for social network' that was the most important factor for innovation of heritage speakers, as those living outside Moluccan wards tended to be more innovative and having 'the highest rate of Dutch-like features' (407, 408). Moro argues that the reason for this could be that those living outside the wards may have fewer language

contact opportunities with other Ambon Malay speakers and due to higher mobility are likely exposed to 'new (linguistic) information' and passing them on (407).

The LSEM comments that after the development of Moluccan wards between fifties and sixties, more younger families settled outside of the Moluccan wards. According to the LSEM the younger members of the Moluccan diaspora with a non-Moluccan partner preferred settling outside the wards because of privacy reasons and less social control of the community (79). Nevertheless, a majority of members focused on the wards, settling near the wards, to go to the community space of religion and spend leisure time within the community. This element of social control relates to the concepts of ownership and authority.

I argue that in addition to the factor of language contact opportunities, it stands to reason that heritage speakers are less constrained by social control, the ideology of authenticity and the idea of ownership when they are in a setting where the dominant language ideology of their Moluccan ward cannot directly exert ownership over their speaker identity or authenticity. Simply said, there is less change of language disagreement and tensions between speakers when risking deviating from 'authentic' language, thus more opportunity for innovation. In a way, speakers that are more innovative, are more so when moving towards a space where there is more room for an ideology of anonymity.

2.2.2 Dialect, speech or language?

Klara Bilic Meštric and Luciyes Šimičic comment that speakers largely do not perceive Arbanasi as a proper language but prefer to name it a dialect or a speech. They argue that this is due to mainly three factors: '(a) a high level of 'mixing' with other language, (b) a high degree of variability in both grammar and vocabulary, c) a lack of written tradition accompanied by the absence of standardization' (Olko and Sallabank 2021: 118). The authors assert that this intersects with the ideology of language as 'abstract, stable, pure, countable entities with clearly defined borders; at the same time, this belief sees all other language varieties as less valuable' (118). Moreover, because languages are 'often equated with standardized and written varieties, many believe that Arbanasi, not having been written down, cannot be accorded the same rights as developed national languages' (118). The authors add that to their knowledge, intergenerational transmission is not taking place between children and parents.

2.2.3 Internalized negative ideologies by community members

Justyna Olko discusses negative ideologies, internalized and imposed by external actors regarding Nuhuatl, a language spoken in several Mexican states. Olko reports that 'intergenerational language transmission has drastically been weakened or has broken down entirely over the last few decades' due to an ideology of racism and school policies, in which Spanish was the dominant and national language (Olko and Sallabank 2021: 124-125). As a result of discrimination and several forms of violence, 'negative ideologies were internalized by community members' which is confirmed by Nahau speaker(s) who attest that they were 'mocked and discriminated against because of her origin, even by members of her new family who are themselves speakers of Nahuatl'(125). While the heritage language itself gained negative connotations, *indios* were associated with being uncivilized. This helped along by Nahua people often being from isolated and often mountainous communities, which strengthened the image of a rural and uncivilized people (125). The word *indios* became a 'derogatory term for Indigenous people that goes back to the early colonial period, as the lowest, most disadvantaged, and backward social group' (125). This is in line with the Alifuru concept, in which Alifuru held a negative connotation of 'mountain people', which too can be associated with rural and uncivilized people. However, where the Moluccan diaspora has reclaimed the term, the Nahua people have not regarding 'indios'.

Consequently, Nahau speakers experienced feelings of denigration or shame. To avoid these negative encounters, speakers 'take efforts to hide their ethnic characteristics in order to avoid mistreatment', such as the language or ways of dressing as obvious identity markers (125). Much like South-West Moluccan speakers observed by Van Engelenhoven, we encounter a negative effect of monolingualism: language and identity concealment and arguably cultural disagreement. To what extent do members of the Moluccan diaspora experience negative emotions of denigration and shame when speaking their language, or in the case of this particular paper, MM? Are there any effects of these negative emotions prevalent in the same trough language and identity concealment?

Not surprisingly, Olko reports that 'members of native communities situate Nahuatl at the very bottom of the language hierarchy' (126). Where do members of the Moluccan diaspora situate MM in the language hierarchy? In addition, Olko argues that Nhuatl's domain is currently limited to several spaces such as 'family, and agriculture, as a lower status tongue of campesinos (peasants)' (126). Additionally, communications are often limited to 'themes of agriculture and communication with workers who often come from more mountainous communities' (125). Olko argues that altogether, the discussed attitudes 'are closely linked to

a deep denial of the reasons for language shift, especially in the generation of speakers who decided not to speak Nahuatl to their children' (126). Is this a factor regarding people who do not partake in intergenerational transmission regarding MM?

Further, Olko asserts that there remains silence regarding the reasons and circumstances of the language shift. Those who do transfer Nahuatl to their children or 'speak it occasionally to their grandchildren' point blame partially to children and grandchildren 'who refuse to speak the heritage language' (126). What's more, there are elder speakers who right out deny what has happened and 'declare there was no pressure or discrimination, just everybody in the neighborhood started to speak Spanish' (126). Olko argues that the erasure of previously discussed negative experiences through discrimination and shame, 'fits well into a widely shared image of modernization and peaceful transition for a 'better status'' (126). This desire for social mobility is a commonly discussed topic when discussing the marginalization of minority languages, in which the minority languages often are ignored in favor of hegemonic languages 'to pursue a path to a higher social position than their parents', in this case 'by learning English' (126). This resembles the previously discussed concept of instrumental attitude coined by Gardner and Lambert (1972). Additionally, due to school policies and the hegemonic language 'children who acquire their heritage tongue at home usually learn at school and/or in the community that it has no value' (126). Sadly, Olko reports that the majority of these speakers 'will never go back to speaking the mother tongue' (126). Likewise, the Moluccan diaspora underwent imposition of language education policy geared towards Dutch. Van Engelenhoven argues the existence of resentment between Southeast Moluccan soldiers of Keise origin and those of Central Moluccan origin, which was arguably worsened by such policy (2002). Therefore, it may be feasible that some members of the Moluccan diaspora may experience similar effects of internalized negative language ideologies.

2.3 Age

Altogether, it can be argued that initial migrants and their (grand)children that underwent most pressure to integrate into Dutch society might be the group that is most likely to express agreement with MM standard language ideology. Marking this period, taking into account the maximum age being that of someone that went to school in 1979 (knowing that only in 1985 primary education began mandatory from the age of five, before that from six), that person would be at maximum born in 1973. In 2024, this person would be around 51 years old. This

puts the age bracket of the target group most likely to express standard language ideology pertaining MM to anyone above 51 years old. This person can be an initial migrant or any descendent (most likely child or grandchildren, but not greatgrandchildren excluded if predecessors had children at a young age). Consequently, we will not state that any generation is most likely to express agreement, but that participants in the age range of 50 and upwards might be more likely to express strong (dis)agreement with language attitudes pertaining to standard language ideology. For convenience, the members with age fifty and upwards will be referred to as the A-group, while the members of the Moluccan diaspora between 0 and 50 years old will be the B-group. Nonetheless, as language attitudes and ideologies might differ across groups and on an individual basis, age might not be the only deciding factor, but it will be interesting to see whether there is any relation between age and standard language ideology regarding MM.

2.4 Research Gap

Initial Moluccan migrants and (grand)children of around 50 years and older in the Netherlands (A-group) have undergone the hegemony of Dutch standard language ideology through language policy along with the influence of the Alifuru concept trough RMS-ideology that promotes a 'one language, one people' policy, resembling Moluccan Malay standard language ideology. This group has undergone two heavily competing language ideologies at the height of tensions between the Moluccan diaspora and Dutch state during the 60's and 70's. The unexpected consequences of these language ideologies may influence the strength of language attitudes, language decisions and intergenerational transmission. Furthermore, these may express themselves in the concepts of authority, authenticity, ownership and language concealment. Consequently, the strong influence of these ideologies in the so-called A-group, may lead to tensions between speakers. One questions to what extent age plays a role in language attitudes pertaining to standard language ideology and what role authenticity, ownership, authority and concealment play with regards to language attitudes of Moluccan Malay standard language ideology. What's more, this leads us to the overall research question that questions to what extent the Moluccan diaspora's members currently express agreement with standard language ideology.

Aims and Objective

The aim of this paper is to explore language attitudes pertaining to standard language ideology with regards to the categories discussed in the theoretical framework of Moluccan Malay in the Moluccan diaspora. This leads to the following objectives below.

- To determine whether strong language attitudes pertaining to standard language ideology of Moluccan Malay with regards to the categories 1) ideology of language with defined borders, 2) monolingual ideology, 3) perceived correctness of the language and 4) integrative attitude, 5) internalized negative language ideology are more prevalent among the age of 50 and higher (A-group) of the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands.
- To determine how the concepts and relations of authenticity, ownership, authority and are expressed with regards to language attitudes of Moluccan Malay standard language ideology.

Research Question

To what extent do members of the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands express agreement with language attitudes that indicate the existence of a standard language ideology?

Sub question 1

To what extent does age play a role in expressing language attitude agreement, pertaining to standard language ideology in the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands?

(variables: age and standard language ideology)

Sub question 2

What role do authenticity, ownership, authority and concealment play with regards to language attitudes of Moluccan Malay standard language ideology?

(variables: authenticity, ownership, authority, concealment, language attitudes)

Hypothesis 1

Members of the A-group express and display stronger agreement or disagreement of Moluccan Malay standard language ideologies than the B-group with regards to the ideology of language with defined borders, monolingual ideology, perceived correctness of the language, integrative attitude.

- 1.1 Members of the A-group express and display stronger (dis)agreement of language attitudes in the category ideology of language with defined borders than the B-group.

- 1.2 Members of the A-group express and display stronger (dis)agreement of language attitudes in the category monolingual ideology than the B-group.

- 1.3 Members of the A-group express and display stronger (dis)agreement of language attitudes in the category perceived correctness of the language than the B-group.

- 1.4 Members of the A-group express and display stronger (dis)agreement of language attitudes in the category integrative attitude than the B-group.

- 1.5 Members of the A-group express and display stronger (dis)agreement of language attitudes in the category internalized negative language ideology than the B-group.

Variables: age (A-group and B-group) and 5 categories of standard language ideology: the ideology of language with defined borders, monolingual ideology, perceived correctness of the language, integrative attitude and internalized negative language ideology.

3 Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodological approach to the above discussed research aims. This chapter is structured accordingly: research philosophy, type and approach, research strategy, sampling strategy and finally data collection and analysis techniques.

3.1 Research philosophy, type and approach

Due to the limitations of time and size of this research, an ethnographic research strategy is ruled out, leading to a cross-sectional study. This study is done with an eye on the research philosophy of pragmatism and to a smaller extent interpretivism. Pragmatism will be the most suited approach in this research, as this study uses a mixed-method approach combining elements of quantitative and qualitative data. The mixed method approach will be particularly useful as the qualitative data (interviews) can contextualize quantitative findings (survey). Moreover, the sample size of the qualitative data has a smaller sample size and thus may be balanced out by the expected larger data from the quantitative findings. In addition, the mixed method approach may strengthen conclusions through triangulation. However, this study focuses on understanding behavior of the Moluccan diaspora and recognizes the importance of individual experiences while making use of interviews. An interpretivist view will lend

understanding through the social context surrounding these interviews. The conducted research will make use of the established theory from the theoretical framework in chapter two. Therefore, this study is deductive in nature - even though a framework regarding standard language ideology specifically regarding the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands is relatively new and unexplored.

As stated, this study uses a mixed-method approach combining elements of quantitative and qualitative data, being partially based on Sallabanks (2014) two step approach, adjusted to fit the specific context of the Moluccan migrant community: a self-administered statements survey using the Qualtrics platform after which the researcher-administered follow-up interviews will be conducted with a smaller segment of respondents from the first questionnaire, to see if some respondents will give 'different answers from their questionnaire ones', as was the case with Sallabanks research, which may eschew or clear up the overall view of attitude and ideology (2014:70). Moreover, these interviews hope to give more insight into participants' choices with the statements as well what motivates language acquisition and renewal and what positive and negative attitudes lie below the surface, much as O'Rourke (2022) advises in *researching language attitudes in multilingual communities*. Altogether, the survey and researchers-administered follow-up interviews are focused on identifying current language ideologies and attitudes in the M migrant community.

3.2 Self-administered survey

A large part of the questions and statements in the self-administered questionnaire-based attitude statement survey and researcher-administered follow-up interviews will be based on the discussed theoretical framework, such as Klara Bilic Meštric and Lucija Šimičic regarding Standard language ideology, internalized language trauma based on Olko and positive emotions based on Soung-U Kim. Altogether, this leads to the survey statement being separated in two parts: (i) information on the questionnaire and consent form, followed by questions about demographic characteristics of the participants and (ii) statements about language attitudes/ideologies and use of the language. When participants are asked to choose an answer regarding a statement, they are prompted to answer the question with a choice between six levels of agreement ranging from mild (dis)agreement to neutrality, which are numerically coded (0 - 6) for later analysis. The sixth choice is the added 'not relevant' category, which may be chosen by the participant if they think the statement is not relevant to their situation.

Before informing the respondent, participants will be asked to fill in a captcha to ensure that they are human and not bots. While bots might still be a risk even after filling in a Captcha, going through each participant's answer manually will ensure a two-step safety against such risks. In accordance with O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013), the participants of the survey and the interview will all be informed that the interviewer is interested in finding out about their experiences as language speakers within the Moluccan community, their use of language(s) and their views on language(s) more generally (293). Thereafter, they will be questioned on demographics, in this part participants will be asked about Moluccan ancestry to exclude those who do not belong to the target and sample group. Moreover, this part asks what language the participants learned as a child, if they learned MM and if they plan to learn it (or have learned) if not. In total 7 questions are asked and 2 more about motivation regarding learning MM in the future if a respondent answers not to have learned Moluccan Malay from parents (see Appendix 1 Q8 - Q9). These questions refer to the following: name, age, number of Moluccan grandparents, Moluccan ancestor arrived as migrants in the Netherlands, MM as L1, possible motivation to learn MM as L2 speaker, total L1 languages and L2 languages learnt (appendix 1). Next, before seeing the statements, the participants are informed of potentially seeing a question that they are not (very) familiar with or think they have no opinion on. They are asked to respond to the question anyway.

In the second and main part of the survey, the statements are separated into five categories and five corresponding blocks in Qualtrics (appendix 1). To make sure the distribution of statements is balanced, statements will be balanced out by a counterpart statement. If the statements are either negative they will be balanced by a positive counterpart and vice versa. In addition, statements on MM are balanced out by statements on the Dutch language, not only taking away the focus on the target language but also to compare attitudes of the target group regarding the hegemonic language Dutch with the minority language MM. This leads to a total of 47 statements. If participants point out at the beginning of the survey that besides MM they speak another Moluccan language, this may indicate that they are part of a minority group within the migrant community. Thus, attitudes from the non-hegemonic group within the migrant community (in which Central Moluccans are hegemonic) regarding Dutch and MM can be considered, more so in any potential follow-up interviews.

The sequence of the five blocks are randomized as well as the statements within each block to ensure attention on each statement topic. Block 1 contains 8 statements and concerns itself with statements on the use (frequency, maintenance) and intergenerational transmission. Block 2 contains 17 statements and is arguably the most important categorization: standard

language ideology with statements on the ideology of language with defined borders and language (dialect, language or variation) and the 'correct' usage of language. One statement focuses on how free respondents feel to discuss the correctness of the language with others, which is geared to potential tensions between speakers and new speakers, but also relates to authority, ownership and legitimacy, concealment and authenticity within the community. Block 3 contains 8 statements and focuses on questions of respondents language education and policy and monolingual ideology, with one statement tying into RMS-ideology related to the Alifuru concept (one language, one Moluccan people). Next, block 4 contains 8 statements with regards to identity and integrative and instrumental attitude. Finally, block 5 contains 6 statements and is focused on internalized negative language ideology and trauma (based on Olko) balanced out with positive statements that tie into the former category. At the end of the questionnaire, participants are asked to leave their email address if they would like to be approached for the researched-administered follow-up interviews.

3.3 Researcher-administered follow-up interviews

The goal of the follow-up interviews is to provoke language attitude statements, which will be useful to possibly contextualize qualitative survey results. The interview will be semi-structured, as it will be predetermined what questions are to be asked and in what order. While the order and number of questions will be fixed, additional questions can be asked regarding clarification or when the researcher feels that the topic should be discussed in more depth as it contributes to contextualization or may provoke strongly expressed language attitude statements. Only when an interviewee has already answered a later question explicitly, a question may be skipped. While the phrasing is largely set, it is set in such a way that the interviewer can modify the question based on the previous question. For example, if the interviewee has commented in a previous answer that they teach MM to their children, the interviewer may ask later on what their motivation was instead of if they plan to teach their children the language.

3.4 Sampling strategy

While the questionnaire will be distributed online using the Qualtrics platform for the sake of practicality through the immediate availability of statistical tools, there may be an age difference in who the survey may reach online, causing under coverage bias. Therefore, to minimize this differences in the population sample, the researcher-administered follow-up interviews on a small scale, spread across age groups, further minimizing ascertainment bias. This involves selecting participants on the basis of age who have indicated that they are

available to be approached for a follow-up interview. Thus, this involves stratified random sampling to balance age groups. The survey is spread online throughout social media platforms and groups such as 'Woorden van het Moluks Maleis' and 'Ik heb hart voor Moluks erfgoed. want..' on Facebook, who can specifically address people of the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands. Participants are encouraged to refer others to the questionnaire, making use of snowball sampling. Before taking the survey participants are informed how they qualify to participate. If a participant not in the target group still fills it in, they are filtered out by the demographics questions.

To determine the ideal sampling size, the sample size calculator from Qualtrics, that is based on largely known Cochran's formula, is used (Qualtrics, "Sample Size Calculator."). According to the calculations of CBS the population of the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands which included initial migrants, children and grandchildren, came around 71000 in the year 2018 (CBS, "Samenvatting - Molukkers in Nederland."). Although this sample size would have changed around the time of this research in 2024, this number is taken as a baseline of the population size. With a confidence level of 95%, population size of 71000 and a margin of error with 5% an ideal sample size would come to be 383. According to data from CBS, around 23200 members of the Moluccan diaspora were 50 years and/or older and 38800 were younger. Consequently, the ratio of A-group and B-group in the population data from 2018 is established to be around 1,67 (38800/23200).

Seeing as time is a constraining factor and the Qualtrics survey cannot not be kept online indefinitely, limitations are not wholly unexpected. Still, the findings of the survey together with the interviews will still be able to give an indication and understanding of how a sample of the Moluccan diaspora expresses agreement with standard language ideology. The survey and interview together will increase the credibility of these findings significantly through triangulation.

3.5 Data collection and analysis techniques

The quantitative data from the survey will be collected by Qualtrics. In preparation for the analysis, duplicates and incomplete responses will be removed. Incomplete responses will have been triggered by questions that filter out participants that do not belong to the desired target group. For analysis, the statistical tools in Qualtrics are used to analyze the data. Qualtrics makes use of different analysis tools suited to both qualitative and quantitative data gained from the survey. The focus will lay with the quantitative data to measure the extent of agreement relevant for the research question. Particularly the Qualtrics tabulation tool Statis

IQ will be suited here, as it has the tools for descriptive and inferential statistics. Moreover, Stats IQ has the ability to find relationships between variables (age and agreement) using correlation and chi-square. This is highly suited for testing the research questions that concern itself with the variable age and level of agreement. The qualitative data from the follow-up interviews will be transcribed by hand, while making use of thematic analysis that complement the categories of the language attitudes and contextualizes the quantitative data. Hereafter the results chapter will follow, displaying the quantitative data relevant for the research questions and hypotheses. Relevant quantitative data will be shortly displayed with experts from transcriptions to contextualize any significant or surprising finding. The findings are sorted according to the categories of standard language ideology to answer the research question and hypothesis.

4 Results

Both quantitative and qualitative results that are postulated in this section are the ones relevant to address the final research question: to what extent do members of the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands express agreement with language attitudes that indicate the existence of a standard language ideology? Sub question 1 focused on the role between age and the five categories of standard language ideology. The overall hypothesis regarding sub question 1 was that members of the A-group express and display stronger MM standard language ideologies' agreement than the B-group with regards to the ideology of language with defined borders, monolingual ideology, perceived correctness of the language and integrative attitude. Sub question 2 focused on the relation between the concepts of authenticity, ownership, authority and concealment with regards to MM standard language ideology language attitudes'.

In this section, relevant results will be presented per standard language ideology category at the time. In each category, the quantitative data will first be presented using descriptive and inferential statistics in order to answer sub question 1 in this chapter. Thereafter, the qualitative data of the follow-up interviews are shown to contextualize and understand any significant or diverging survey results with comprehensive qualitative data and to answer sub question 2 and the research question in the discussion chapter. Before the five standard language categories, presented under language attitudes, an overview of the sample demographics is given to understand the representativeness of the sample.

4.1 Survey results: quantitative data

In total 124 participants were registered to have partaken in the survey on the Qualtrics platform. However, only 65 of these respondents were determined to have completed the survey while 30 participants partly answered the survey and the rest of the data was deemed invalid. To maximize statistical significance, participants who's progression showed to be 80% or more were included in the statistical analysis, leading to approximately 62 - 67 appropriate participant data. This number did not fulfill the required ideal sample size that was established 383. Despite these numbers not being able to represent the population, the data can still be used to understand the current sample group in which a hegemony of the A-group is observed, as discussed in next paragraph. This can be used to see if this age group expresses stronger (dis)agreement as expected.

During finalizing results in Qualtrics, it became apparent that through a technical undetermined problem participants were not able to see or fill in Q12. On the upside, this question was not visible for any participant, meaning that the completed survey results are consistent. Another technical problem on Qualtrics led some participants to not complete the survey, as they were only shown a select amount of questions of the survey. These incomplete answers are not included in the overall results and discussion.

4.3 Interview results: qualitative data

In total 8 participants of the survey took part in the follow-up interview, who will be referred to as participants 1 - 8. No identifying characteristics will be mentioned to honor the anonymity of the participants, therefore participants will be referred to as they/their and not gendered pronouns (s)he. Interviewee 8 was the youngest interviewee between 20 and 30 years old, followed by interviewee's 1, 2 and 6 who were between 40 and 50 years old, Interviewee 5 was between 50 and 60 years old, Interviewee 7 between 60 and 70 years old and finally interviewee 3 and 4 were between 70 and 80 years old. Their responses relevant to the data, hypothesis and RQ will be discussed along with the quantitative data from the language attitudes to contextualize the findings. Out of all 8 interviewees, only interviewee 6 says that they have not acquired MM as a child or later in life. All other respondents comment to have either acquired it as a child or having learned it as an adolescent.

4.4 Overview of Sample Demographic

Age distribution Q5 revealed a hegemony of the A-group, as 70,1% was older then fifty and 29,9% younger. This too led to an A/B-group ratio of 0,43 which was not representative of the

population data from CBS with a ratio of 1,67. In table 1, the age distribution of the participants is presented. The results show centrality between 50 and 70 years old (n = 67 mean = 55,3 median = 55). Out of all participants in total, the age of participants ranged from 20 to 80 years with no respondents in the categories of 10 years and younger or 80 years and older, see below in figure 1.
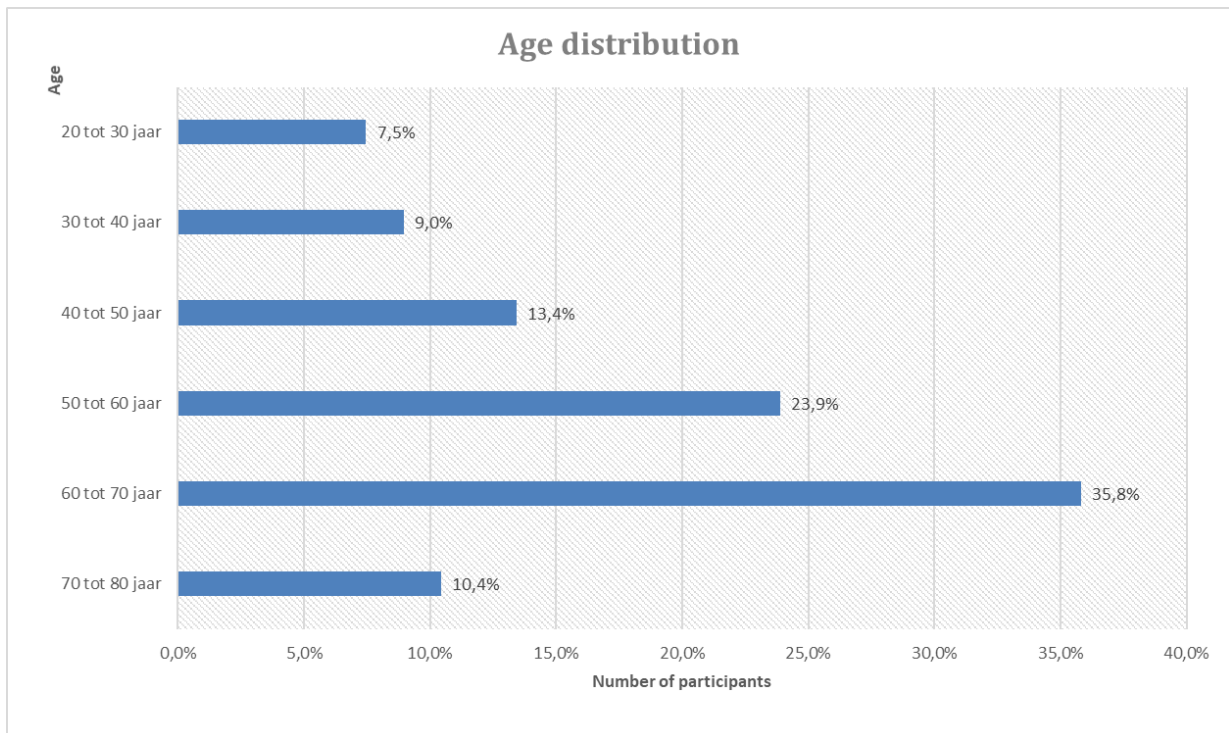
Age distribution

Age	
20 tot 30 jaar	7,5%
30 tot 40 jaar	9,0%
40 tot 50 jaar	13,4%
50 tot 60 jaar	23,9%
60 tot 70 jaar	35,8%
70 tot 80 jaar	10,4%

Number of participants

Figure 1. Age distribution of sample group.

Q8 Moluccan Malay L1 speaker distribution

The results of MM L1 speaker distribution Q8 (n = 63 mean = 1,7 median = 2) suggest a high percentage of L1 MM speakers (yes = 65,1% no= 31,7% unsure= 3,2%). Interestingly, 3,2% (n = 2) was unsure whether they learned MM as a child or not. Analysis using Chi-square revealed no significant relation between age and L1 speaker distribution (p = 0,0220). The two outliers that filled in unsure were respectively between 30 and 40 years old and between 20 and 30 years old. No statistical significant relations were found between age and Q8 (p = 0,678).

Q9 - Q10 Moluccan Malay potential new speaker L2 distribution and motivation

Most participants answered that they did plan to or already acquired MM or were either unsure showing high motivation Q9 (ja = 54,5% unsure= 27,3% no= 18,2%).

MM L2 speaker motivation results fell into three overlapping categories: 1) wanting to speak in Indonesia, the Moluccan islands or Malaysia, 2) communicating with family and 3) identity and roots. Active maintenance and use of the language Q18 centered around high levels of frequency even though there was no statistically significant relation found between age and maintenance or hearing, writing and speaking. When these categories were coded according to age, results did not indicate a compelling difference between motivational reasons among age groups.

4.5 Language attitudes

4.5.1 Ideology of language with defined borders Q22 - Q26

The results of Q22 - Q26 show similarities of high percentages regarding either strong agreement or disagreement with language attitudes about language with defined borders (n = 62). Interestingly, Q22, Q24 and Q26 all show that the sample group's majority express disagreement regarding the statement that MM is not a proper language because of X. Q25 (mean = 2 median = 2) mirrors this statement in meaning and results, and showed a majority agreement that MM is a proper language (totally agree = 44,4%, somewhat agree= 25,4%, neither agree nor disagree = 15,9%, somewhat disagree= 7,9%, totally disagree = 4,8%).

While Q22, Q24, Q25 and Q26 all show low dispersion and high centrality regarding either strong agreement or strong disagreement, Q23 (mean = 2,8 median = 3) shows a division and indication of dichotomy between strong agreement and strong disagreement (figure 2).
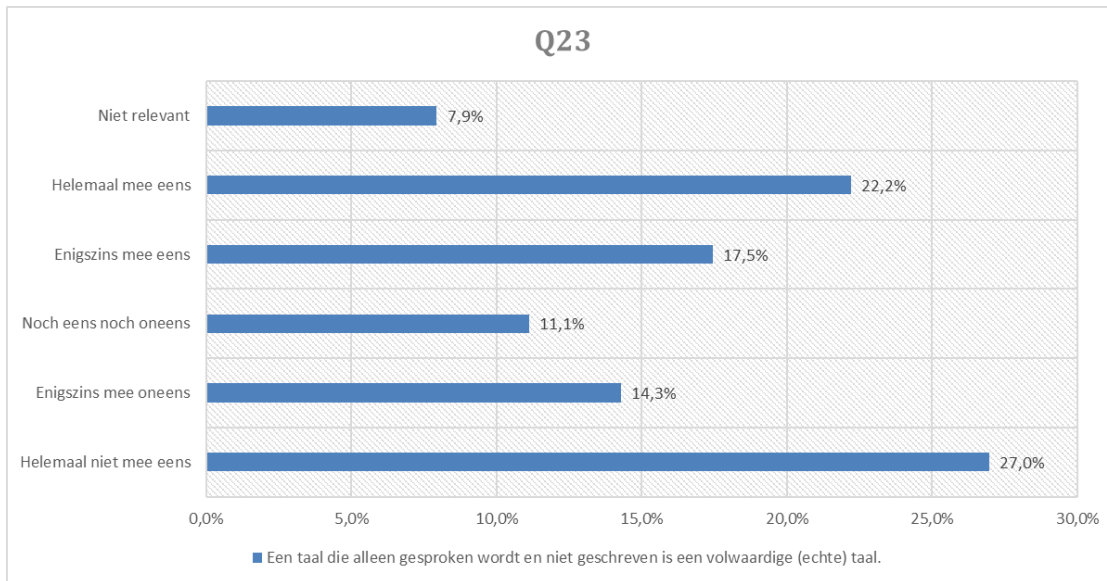
Figure 2. Amount of agreement (y-axis, 0 – 5 top to bottom) with language attitude statement Q23, showed by percentage of participants (x-axis).

Q22 shows more centrality regarding strong disagreement (mean = 3,8 median = 4) altough mild agreement or mild disagreement come closely after (totally disagree = 49,2%, somewhat agree = 20,6%, somewhat disagree = 15,9%, neither agree nor disagree = 9,5%, totally agree = 3,2%, niet releavant = 1,6%). Likewise, Q24 shows high percentage of strong or mild disagreement (mean = 4 median = 5) with lower percantes of agreement (totally disagree = 54%, engiszins mee oneens = 20,6%, somewhat agree = 11,1% neither agree nor disagree = 9,5%, irrelevant = 3,2% totally agree = 1,6%). On top of that, correlation analysis indicates a relation in the form of negative correlation between age and Q22 (p = 0,00449), as well as age and Q24 (p = 0,0325). However, no statistically significant relation was found between age and Q23 (p = 0,199), Q25 (p = 0,685) or Q26 (p = 0,615) .
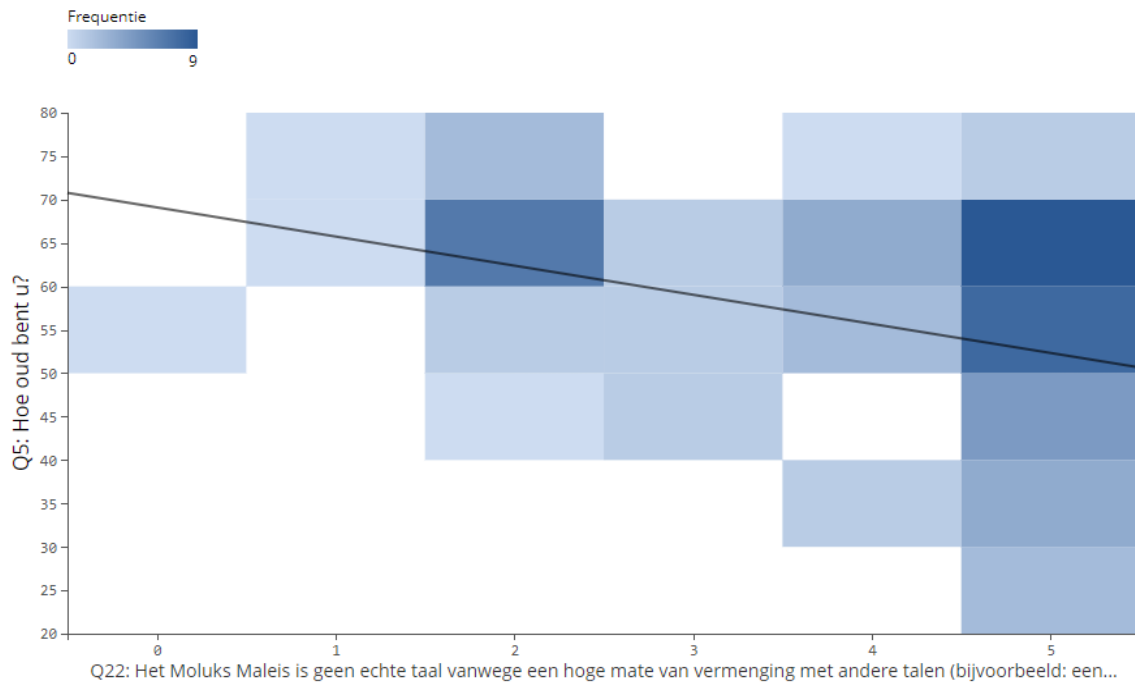
Figure 3. Negative correlation between age Q5 on y-axis and on x-axis above Q22.
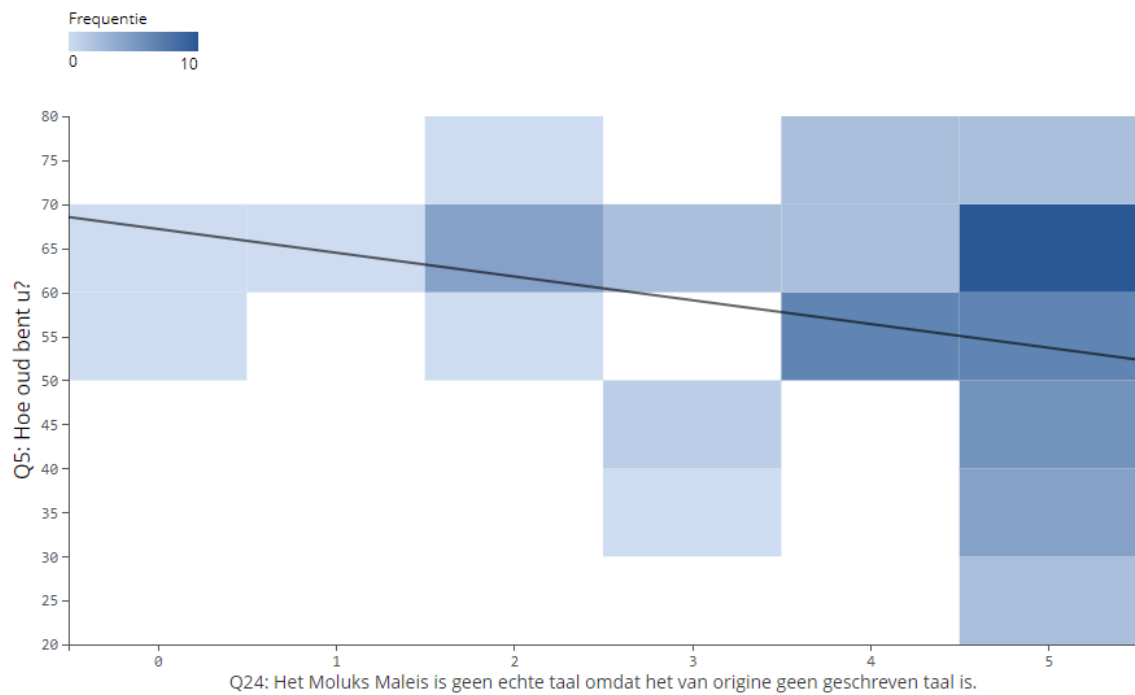

Figure 4. Correlation age Q5 on y-axis and on x-axis Q24.

Researcher-administered follow-up interviews: differences between heritage and homeland language.

Almost all interviewees stress the differences between the current language(s) spoken on the islands and the heritage language in the Netherlands. Some use the example of MM and Ambon Malay, while others also refer to regional languages and to a lesser extent Bahasa Indonesia. Interviewee 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 assert that the differences are due to pronouns and intermingling with Dutch. They also assert that Ambon Malay has developed itself throughout time, while MM in the Netherlands has stagnated, still using words from the arrival of the initial migrant that now have different connotations and meaning in Ambon. An exception is Interviewee 4, who asserts that MM and Ambon Malay are the same while the differences are between MM and Bahasa Indonesia. He credits the differences to where it is spoken, a difference in high and low register, as well as having the juxtaposition of a rural and more elegant character.

However, when asked if MM and homeland languages from the Moluccan island are on equal standing, answers differ. For example, Interviewee 1 answers a definite 'no' when asked if these two are on an even standing in their perception and comments that MM used in the Netherlands is more of an informal nature. In accordance with interviewee 1, interviewee 3 gives the definite answer 'no' to question 16. However, unlike interviewee 1, interviewee 3 only reveals that they perceive this as an unequal standing because of their own unequal language capabilities in these languages. Interviewee 2 does neither confirm nor deny an equal standing of heritage and homeland language. However, they do comment that language development has halted since the 50's in the Netherlands, while in contrast it would have been developing on the Moluccan islands. Moreover, interviewees assert that some languages are valued higher than others. Interviewee 8 asserts that for example Bahasa Tanimbar (spoken on the Tanimbar islands) is valued higher, as Moluccans associate this language with their ancestors, which is seen as culturally important.

Another interesting point to be raised, is that interviewee 5 observes that more people of the younger generation, by which he indicates people around 20 years old, use more features and words from Ambon Malay in their MM use, such as personal pronouns.

4.5.2 Monolingual ideology and Alifuru concept Q44 - 46

The results of Q44 - Q46 show (n = 62) that for each question a high percentage of the sample expresses strong agreement with monolingual attitudes. The results of Q44 (mean = 1,8 median = 2) and Q45 (mean = 1,9 median = 2) show low dispersion and centrality regarding

strong agreement. It appears that the majority of the sample group, more than eighty percent, expresses agreement with MM uniting the community Q44 (totally agree = 43,5% somewhat agree= 40,3%, neither agree nor disagree = 11,3%, somewhat disagree= 1,6% totally disagree = 3,2%), which is more agreement than the importance that as many people as possible speak MM Q45 (totally agree = 43,5%, somewhat agree= 27,4% neither agree nor disagree = 22,6% somewhat disagree= 4,8% totally disagree =1,6%).

In contrast, the 'one people, one language' statement Q46 (mean = 2,5 median = 2) showed high variety and high dispersion. The results of Q46 are more centered on neutrality and agreement, although opinions vary largely (figure 5). No statistically sigfniciant relations were found between age and Q44 (p =0,342), Q45 (p =0,607) or Q46 (p = 0,891).
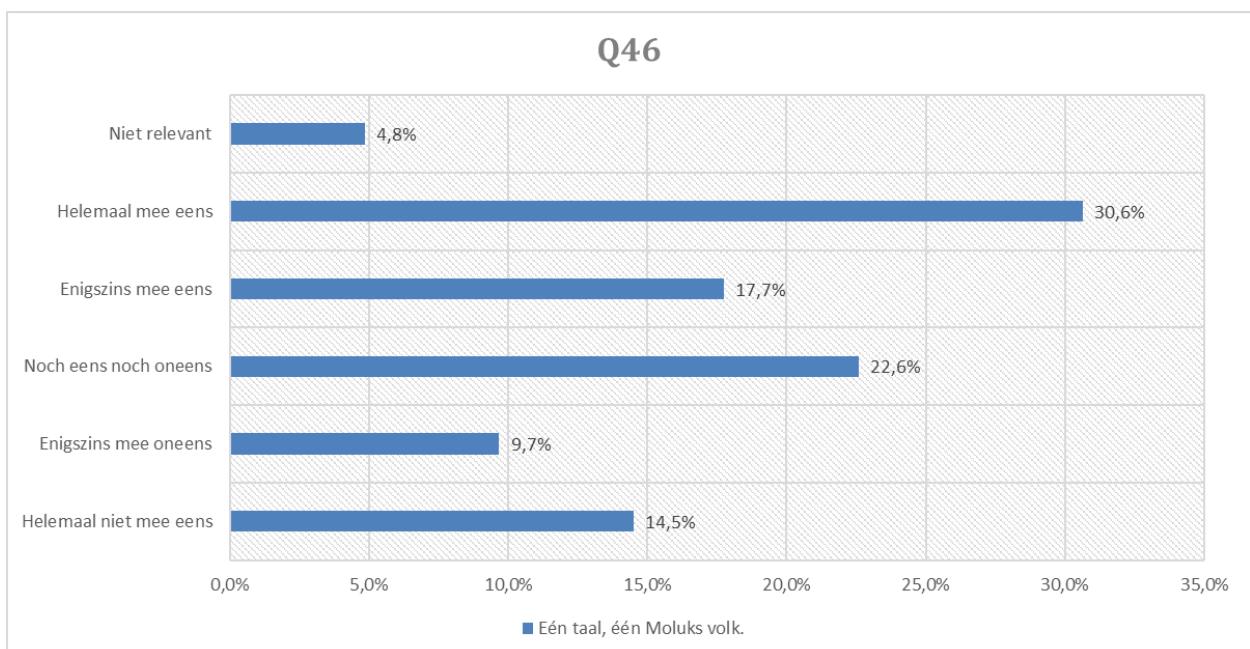

Figure 5. Amount of agreement (y-axis, 0 – 5 top to bottom) with language attitude statement Q46, showed by number of participants (x-axis).

The results of Q56, Q57 and Q58 (n = 62) all show a low dispersion and high centrality around ranging from strong agreement to neutrality, with the biggest group expressing strong agreement with the positive statement. While Q56 (mean = 1,5 median = 1) has no disagreement at all (totally agree 35,5% somewhat agree = 27,4% neither agree nor disagree = 19,4%), Q57 (mean =1,7 median = 1) and Q58 (mean =1,6 median = 1) show similar results of higher agreement and lower neutrality with outliers (n = 1) at disagreement (Q57:

totally agree = 45,2%, neither agree nor disagree, 24,2%, somewhat agree= 21%, irrelevant = 8.1%, somewhat disagree = 1,6% Q58:). No statistically significant relations were found between age and Q56 (p = 0,112), Q57 (p = 0,525) and Q58 (p = 0,388).

Researcher-administered follow-up interviews: wat betekent de zin 'een volk een taal' voor u? Interviewees answer to their interpretation of the 'one people, one language' line leads to very individual answer but several commonalities. Interviewee 4, 6 and 8 raise the point of a single language as a tool for communication. Interview 4 emphasizes that they experience the statement to give him a feeling of togetherness because he can communicate with everyone from the Moluccan islands. However, while interviewee 6 asserts that the statement resonates and that it can be handy to have the same communication tool, they do not think it is necessary that people speak one language to feel as one people. They emphasize one people and one common language, and room for individual differences. Interviewee 8 associates the statement with Indonesian independence, and sees the motto as promoting Bahasa Indonesia, something that is outdated in their opinion, even though a common communication tool would be useful. Interviewee 1, 2 and 7 doubt the relevancy of the statement. Interviewee emphasized that the Moluccan community (diaspora and homeland) are made up of 1000 islands and 100 ethnicities and that they are all small parts of a big whole. Interviewee 7 asserts that the community (the diaspora) wants to be one people, but that they aren't anymore. Otherwise, there wouldn't be different churches and various political parties. They say that they hope they are one people, but they do not believe this to be true. They assert that seeing as there people of the younger generation who do not speak the language at home, this shows that the rule is not applicable. Interviewee 2 doubts the relevancy of the statement as well, but elaborates differently, pointing to languages. They comment uncertainty that the Malay spoken on Maluku is a dialect and not a language, more a deviation.

4.5.3 Perceived correctness of the language and speaker freedom Q29 - Q38
The results of the category perceived correctness of the language showed a difference in attitude towards correctness of MM and Dutch. Statements of Q29 - Q38, include 5 statements in which each statement regarding MM has a twin statement regarding Dutch (n = 63). The results of Q29 - 38 show a high difference in results within pairs between the same statement towards MM and Dutch, such as the pairs of Q33 - Q34, Q35 - Q36 and Q37 - 38. In contrast, there were large similarities in results and attitudes within pairs Q29 - Q30 and Q31 - Q32 regarding the same statement towards the two languages.

What stands out is that the amount of people expressing the statement to be not

relevant for their situation was fairly stable among Dutch (either 2 or 3 people) while greatly varied regarding MM (Q29:1 person, Q31: 8 people, Q33: 6 people Q35: 8 people and Q37: 14 people). There was a lower amount of people in this category when the statement was about what participants found important Q29 or what they thought about language usage generally Q33 - not specifically MM or Dutch, while the amount was quite higher about statement with personal use of MM such as Q31, Q33, Q35 and Q37.

In the case of finding trying to speak the language more important than incorrectness Q29 (mean = 1,9 median = 1) regarding MM, an overwhelming majority expressed agreement, showed that the biggest group largely agrees with valuing the effort to speak either language over correctness (totally agree = 50,8%, somewhat agree = 22,2%, somewhat disagree = 12,7% neither agree nor disagree = 9,5% totally disagree = 3,2% irrelevant = 1,6%). Regarding Dutch Q30 (mean = 2,1 median = 2), the group expressed a similar sentiment, even though there is much less difference between mild and strong disagreement than the former question (totally agree = 44,4% somewhat agree = 20,6% neither agree nor disagree = 14,3% somewhat disagree = 7,9% totally disagree = 9,5%). No statistically significant relations were found between age and the importance of the effort to speak over correctness regarding MM Q29 (p = 0,232) and Dutch Q30 (p = 0,386).

Both Q31 (mean = 3,1 median = 3) and Q32 (mean = 3 median = 3) are about feeling irritability when perceiving language incorrectness, showing very high variety and high dispersion. Nonetheless, their patterns are similar. The attitude most chosen, expressed disagreement with feeling annoyed when noticing incorrectness in language towards both MM and Dutch. Interestingly, towards MM Q31, only the smallest group strongly agreed while the biggest either strongly disagreed, expressed neutrality or mild agreement. Notably, mild disagreement was not as high despite the biggest group strongly disagreeing (totally disagree = 31,7% neither agree nor disagree = 22,2% somewhat agree = 17,5% somewhat disagree = 12,7% irrelevant = 12,7%). No statistically significant relations were found between age and irritability towards incorrect use of MM Q31 (p = 0,905) and Dutch Q32 (p = 0,0889).

Q34 (mean =1,6 median = 1) showed low dispersion and centrality among strong and mild agreement with having a clear picture of what the correct way is to use the Dutch language, as was expected with the majority being Dutch L1 speakers (totally agree = 33% somewhat agree = 31,7% neither agree nor disagree = 6,3% totally disagree = 4,8% irrelevant = 4,8%). Regarding Q33 (mean = 2,7 median = 3) the results show high variety and high dispersion, even though the biggest group expresses mild agreement with having a clear

picture of the correct way to use MM (somewhat agree = 25,5% totally disagree = 19% neither agree nor disagree = 17,5% somewhat disagree = 15,9% totally agree= 12,7% irrelevant = 9,5%). No statistically significant relations were found between age with having a clear picture of what the correct way is to use MM Q33 (p = 0,149) and Dutch Q34 (p = 0,832).The sample group expressed more doubt and insecurity towards the use and correctness of MM then towards Dutch. In addition there was higher variety among answers regarding MM, while the statements regarding Dutch showed low dispersion and high centrality as is expected from L1 speakers. What's more, the majority of the sample group expressed agreement in often experiencing doubt of using MM correctly Q35 (mean = 2,3 median = 1), the largest two groups expressed mild or strong agreement with often experiencing doubt regarding the correct usage of MM. Still, the results do not show total low dispersion, as the other bulk of participants express neutrality or mild to strong disagreement with feeling doubt (figure 6). No statistically significant relations were found between age and feeling doubt about the correct usage of MM Q35 (p = 0,703) and Dutch Q36 (p = 0,108).
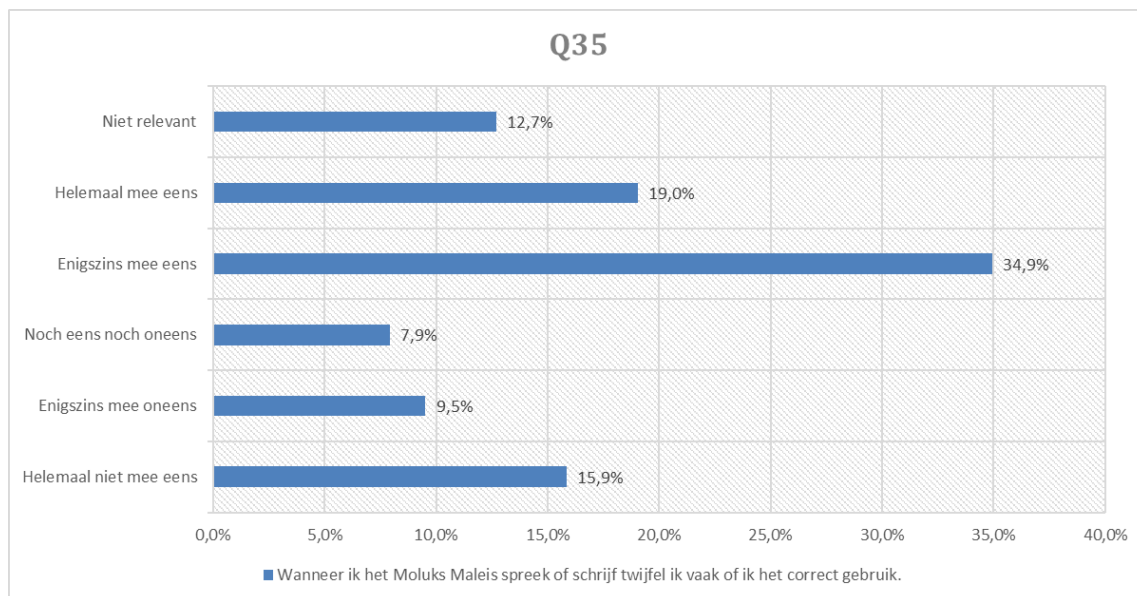

Figure 6. Amount of agreement (y-axis, 0 – 5 top to bottom) with language attitude statement Q25, showed by number of participants (x-axis).

However, with the statements of feeling free to discuss the correctness of the language regarding MM Q37 (mean = 2,1 median = 2) there was no clear centrality and (dis)agreement, showing high variety. There is an almost equal distribution among the categories except for mild disagreement (irrelevant = 22,2% somewhat agree = 20,6% totally agree = 19,% totally disagree = 15,9% neither agree nor disagree = 15,9% somewhat disagree = 6,3%). Regarding

Dutch Q38, once again low dispersion and centrality is found regarding mild to strong agreement with an individual feeling free to discuss the correctness of Dutch with others, in line with Dutch L1 speakers as was the case with Q36 and Q34. No statistically significant relations were found between age and an individual feeling free to discuss the correctness of the language with others regarding MM Q37 (p = 0,620) and Dutch Q38 (p = 0,665).

Altogether, the majority of the sample group expressed agreement with finding trying to speak the language more important than incorrectness Q29 regarding MM. So too, did the majority of the sample group express agreement in often experiencing doubt of using MM correctly Q35. While the highest group disagreed with feeling irritability when perceiving language incorrectness Q31, the results showed high variety and no clear centrality among the sample group. Likewise, high variety was found regarding the statement of having a clear picture of what the correct way is to use MM Q33 and feeling free to discuss the correctness of the language Q37. Finally, no statistically significant relation found between age and Q29 - Q38, therefore hypothesis 1.3 was not confirmed.

Researcher-administered follow-up interviews: voelt u zich onzeker over het (correct) gebruiken van Moluks Moleis?

Interviewee 1, 4, 7 and 8 report that they do not feel insecure about the correctness or the use of MM because of their frequent use of the language and/or because of frequent visits to the Moluccan islands. Interviewee 2 asserts even though they do not feel insecure anymore, but did in the past, that they sometimes do doubt correctness. Interviewee 2 asserts that they actively use the language more after an internship in the Moluccan Islands, because the fear they felt beforehand of saying something incorrectly has gone away. Interestingly, Interviewee 2 remarks that this internship was a turning point in speaking Malay. During an internship Interviewee 2 had to do two presentations in a local hospital in the Moluccan island, at the beginning and end of an internship. In both instances they chose to let her aunt translate the presentation, even though they report that their fluency in Ambon Malay had improved during the internship and that they would have been able to have done the presentation. After the last presentation the director of the hospital asked why they did not do the presentation in 'Malayu' because they (Interviewee 2 and the staff observing the presentation) all spoke Malayu, and since then, Interviewee 2 asserts that they chose to speak Malay whenever they could, even when their language fluency was not as high as the others.

Interviewee 3 and 5 comment that from time to time they do experience insecurity

about correctness. Interviewee 3 ascribes this due to infrequent use of MM. Moreover, Interviewee 3 comments that when talking with family or speakers on the Moluccan islands, they have experienced situations in which their use of a word or expression is laughed at by homeland speakers. However, they report not to experience insecurity through these experiences, but are able to see the humor in them. Interviewee 5 does not point to a specific cause of insecurity, they assert that they sometimes have to think about certain words and that they have to get used to abbreviations that the younger generations use.

4.5.4 Integrative attitude Q47 - 54

In the category integrative attitude (n = 63), much like the previous category, most pairing statements showed very different results regarding the same statement with MM and Dutch. However, the sample group overall demonstrated a remarkably large amount of agreement regarding the statement that MM Q49 (mean = 1,4 median = 1) and Dutch Q50 (mean = 1,6 median = 1) is a part of an individual's identity. This pairing showed a remarkable similar result, almost to the point of being identical. Both displayed high centrality around mild to high agreement. For MM Q49, more than eighty-five percent in total express agreement with the language being part of the participants identity (totally agree = 57,1% somewhat agree = 28,6% irrelevant = 6,3% somewhat disagree = 3,2% neither agree nor disagree = 3,2% totally disagree = 1,6%). No statistically significant relations were found between age and MM Q49 (p = 0,228) and Dutch Q50 (p = 0,782) being part of an individual's identity.

The results of Q54 (mean = 1,4 median = 1) demonstrated that a large majority of the sample group agreed with the instrumental attitude towards Dutch, agreeing that the language can advance an individual's careers. In contrast, more than half of the sample group expressed neutrality and disagreement regarding this instrumental attitude of MM Q53 (median = 2,9 median = 3). In the case of MM Q53, there are notably low percentages of mild (dis)agremeent and strong agreement, while the biggest groups express strong disagreement, neutrality or choose the not relevant category (totally disagree = 34,9% irrelevant = 23,8% neither agree nor disagree = 22,2% somewhat agree = 7,9% somewhat disagree = 6,3% totally agree = 4,8%). No statistically significant relations were found between age and MM Q53(p = 0,999) and Dutch Q54 (p = 0,393) advancing a participant's career.

In addition, the results of Q27 (mean = 2,0 median =2) demonstrated that there is high agreement among the sample group that MM has as much worth as Dutch showing low dispersion surrounding strong and mild agreement (figure 7). In contrast, there was high

variety in agreement regarding MM having more value for an individual than Dutch Q28 (mean = 2,7 median = 3), showing high dispersion (figure 8). No statistically significant relations were found between age and the concept of value or worth as MM Q27 (p = 0,431) and Dutch Q28 (p = 0,449).
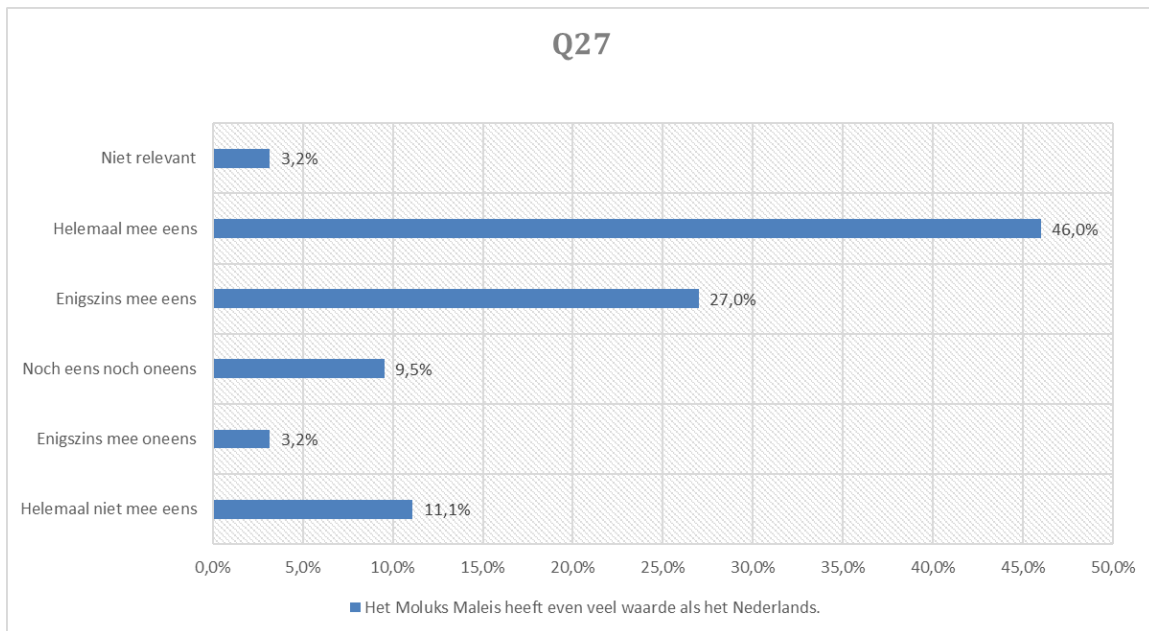

Figure 7. Amount of agreement (y-axis, 0 – 5 top to bottom) with language attitude statement Q27, showed by number of participants (x-axis).
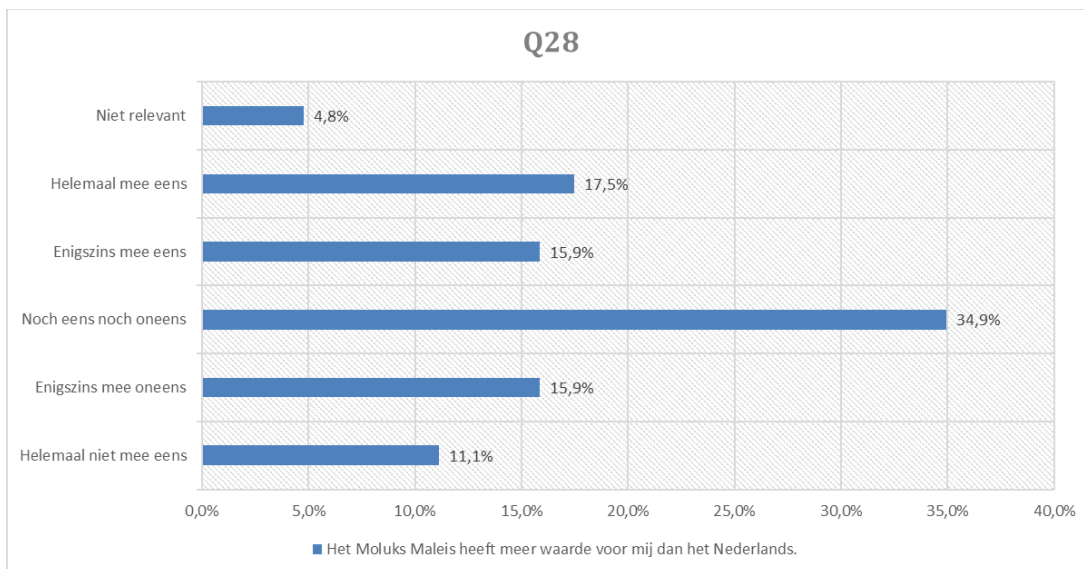

Figure 8. Amount of agreement (y-axis, 0 – 5 top to bottom) with language attitude statement Q28, showed by number of participants (x-axis).

The results of Q48 (mean = 1,7 median = 1) showed that most of the sample group agreed that it is important to speak Dutch to be part of the community, while more than half of the sample group expressed agreement towards this statement with regards to MM Q47 (mean = 2,4 median = 2) , there was more variety in levels of agreement than with Dutch (somewhat agree = 34,9% totally agree = 20,6% neither agree nor disagree = 14,3% totally disagree = 12,7% somewhat disagree =11,1%) irrelevant = 6,3%). No statistically significant relations were found between age and the importance of speaking MM Q47 (p = 0,827) or Dutch Q48 (p = 0,731) to be part of the community.

The results of Q51 (mean = 1,5 median = 1) demonstrated that almost the whole sample group agrees that MM makes an individual feel a connection with their culture (totally agree = 60,3% somewhat agree = 28,6% totally disagree = 3,2% irrelevant = 3,2% neither agree nor disagree = 3,2% somewhat disagree = 1,6%). Notably, this sentiment regarding Dutch Q52 (mean = 2,4 median = 2) was quite different, showing high variety in agreement towards this statement. No statistically significant relations were found between age and a participants experiencing a connection between culture and MM Q51(p = 0,606) and Dutch Q52 (p = 0,373).Altogether, the results of integrative and instrumental attitude showed that among the sample, there is a high agreement that MM is part of someone's identity and gives them the feeling of a connection to their culture. In contrast, disagreement and neutrality were expressed regarding MM capabilities of advancing career, an instrumental attitude. Finally, there was no statistically significant relation found between age and the relevant questions, therefore hypothesis 1.4 was not confirmed.

Researcher-administered follow-up interviews: not instrument attitude but survival
Interviewee 4 comments that Bahasa Indonesia is higher in hierarchy than Ambon Malay in Indonesia, because those who want to advance (status and career-wise) need to speak BI. When asked if he sees it the same way for Dutch and MM in the Netherlands. Other interviewees comment on the acquirement of Dutch not specifically out of instrumental purposes but because their parents deemed it necessary for survival in Dutch society or that they see maintenance of Dutch necessary because of involvement in Dutch society.

4.5.5 Internalized negative language ideology Q55, Q59, Q60
The results of internalized negative language ideology show that while among the sample group most do not express agreement with internalized negative language ideology attitudes,

there is a percentage who does. Interestingly, in all statements, the results showed low dispersion and high centrality, additionally the biggest group expressed strong disagreement across all three. As for regrets about not taking part in intergenerational transmission Q55 (mean = 2,2 median = 2), the category of no relevancy was actually the highest, followed by strong disagreement and low percentages regarding all other categories (figure 9).
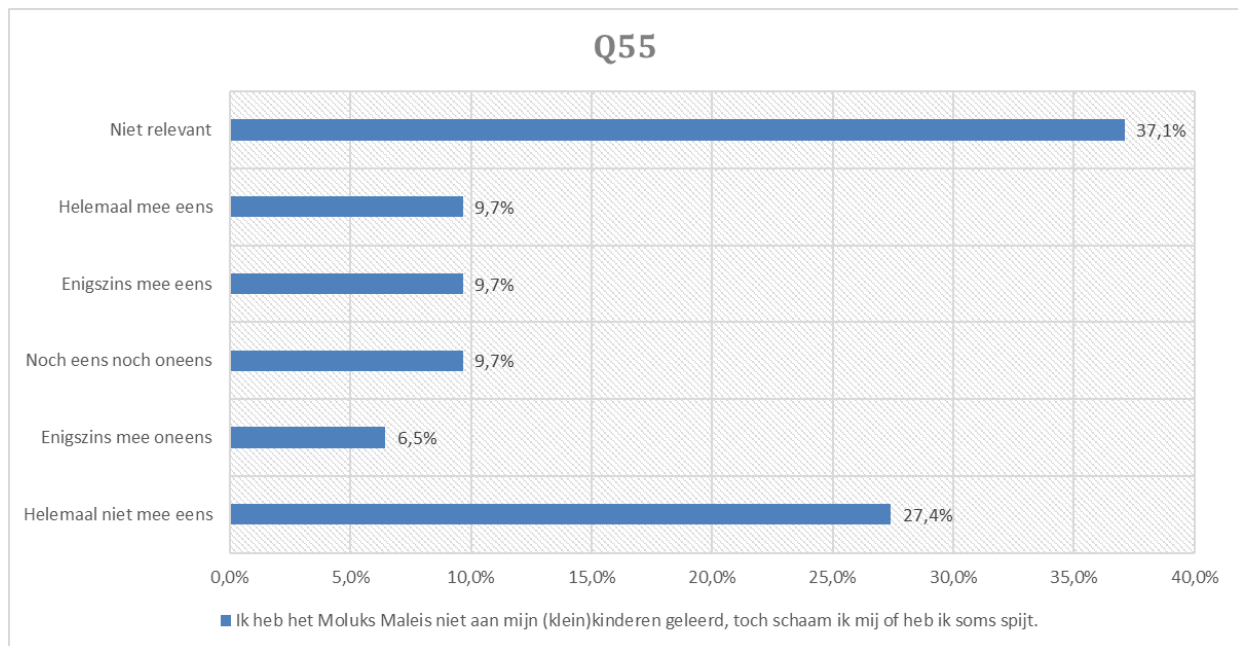

Figure 9. Amount of agreement (y-axis, 0 – 5 top to bottom) with language attitude statement Q55, showed by number of participants (x-axis).

Statement Q59 (mean = 3,9 median = 5) regarding wanting to forget MM and the desire that the next generation does not use the language showed an overwhelming strong disagreement (totally disagree = 74,2% somewhat disagree = 3,2% neither agree nor disagree = 3,2% irrelevant = 19,4%). Q60 (median = 3,5 mean = 5) showed a strong likeness to the previous statement regarding low dispersion. What's more, the majority expressed strong disagreement with MM usage causing only problems (totally disagree = 58,1% irrelevant = 22,6% neither agree nor disagree = 11,3% somewhat disagree = 6,5% somewhat agree = 1,6%). What is maybe more interesting is that one participant expressed mild agreement. No significant statistical relation was found between age and Q59 (p = 0,756), Q60 (p = 0,737) and Q55 (p = 0,195). The results of Q8, show that 41 participants learned MM as a child, meaning that the remaining 26 participants either learned it later in life or did not, the amount of people

choosing the not relevant to the situation option varied highly across the questions pertaining to internalized negative language ideology, between 23 and 12.

Researcher-administered follow-up interviews: shame and negative feelings
Interviewee 1 comments that he would be severely ashamed of speaking MM when on Ambon. This comment is placed in the context of Q16, asking whether the participants find that the languages they speak (in interviewee 1's case MM and Ambon Malay) is on equal footing. When asked what positive and negative associations participants experience, five answers regarding negative experiences fall under negative language associations. Interviewee 1 asserts again that they would find it cringe-worthy to, for example, write a letter in MM as spoken in the Netherlands to Ambon. They also assert that because of Indonesian language policy, standard Bahasa Indonesia influences Ambon Malay which they point out as negative. However, they also observes contra movements regarding regional languages. Interviewee 2 comments that while they do not have personal negative associations, they thinks that not understanding language could be a negative experience for people who did not grow up with learning the language, while it should be a part of them. Interviewee 4 adds that the only negative association they have is when they do not understand Church-Malay during mass. Interviewee 5 commented that when they refer to going to the Moluccan islands as 'pulang', a word used to indicate someone is going home, and others ask why they do not refer to it as vacation, that they find that a negative association. While interviewee 3 does not have a negative language association, their answer is possibly juxtaposed to interviewee 5. Interviewee 3 comments that they experience their cultural values from a Dutch identity being more pronounced when they visits the Moluccan Islands, namely being quite direct and planning oriented. They find then that they feel a discrepancy between himself and those around him on the Moluccan islands, which gives him a sense of not belonging. Interviewee 7 asserts that the only negative point is when certain phrases are used during demonstration. Meaning that they find it hypocritical that certain people only use these words and are 'active' during these demonstrations, but do not display the same vigor during the rest of the year.

4.6 Concluding summary
Hypothesis 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 were not confirmed as there was no statistical significant relation found between age and monolingual ideology, perceived correctness or integrative attitude. Nevertheless, because the sample size was not sufficiently large, this does not disprove the hypothesis but makes the hypothesis flawed. However, Q22 and Q24 did show a negative

correlation between age and agreement partly confirming hypothesis 1.1. Both questions included statements asserting that MM is not a proper language because of X reason, to which the majority expressed mild to strong disagreement. Thus with regards to sub-question 1, the quantitate results indicate that there is a relation between age and ideology of language with defined borders relevant to this sample group. In the next section, the discussion, the larger implications of both quantitative and qualitative results with regards to the research question will be discussed.

5 Discussion

In this section, the implications of both quantitative and qualitative results will be discussed in relation to sub question 2 and to answer the research question that asked to what extent members of the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands express agreement with language attitudes that indicate the existence of standard language ideology.

      In the previous section, correlation analysis showed a negative correlation between age of the sample group and language attitude agreement regarding statements Q22 and Q24 pertaining to ideology of language with defined borders. This answers sub question 1 and partly confirmed hypothesis 1.1. However, because the sample was not sufficiently large, this resulted in a flawed hypothesis.

5.1 Interpretation findings

The quantitative results showed that while the majority of the sample group disagrees strongly with MM not being defined as proper language because it is not originally a written language Q24, the sample shows quite different results regarding the statement Q23 that a language (in general, not Dutch or MM) that is only spoken and not written is a full-fledged (real) language. The results of Q23 showed a division and indication of dichotomy between strong agreement and strong disagreement. Q24 followed a similar reasoning, yet the response indicates that the sample group only feels especially strong agreement when this reasoning is directed towards MM in particular which suggests standard language ideology to an extent. What's more, while the majority of the sample groups agrees with the statement labelling MM a language, they also express insecurity regarding the correctness of the language Q35. Furthermore, there is no majority agreement and high dispersion regarding having a clear image of what the correct MM usage is. If the standardization rules of MM are abstract and unclear, how strong then can MM standard language ideology be?

While the large and strong agreement on labeling MM as a proper language is striking, the majority of the interviewees from the sample group answers also suggest that they consider the homeland and heritage speakers and language to be unequal, rating the homeland higher in hierarchy. MM is sometimes regarded as a more informal, simple or underdeveloped form due factors such as Dutch-like features and perceived stagnation (for example outdated connotations) when compared to the homeland. In contrast, Ambon Malay or other native speakers from the Moluccan Islands are currently seen as the authority on the language, ascribing the homeland language more authenticity and thus the native speakers more ownership than the diaspora. This is exactly the concern that was raised when discussing Moro's study (2018) in the theoretical framework (2.2.1). Moreover the idea that MM somehow has less value or range lower in the hierarchy then the homeland language due to Dutch-like features and perceived stagnation, are reasonings Meštric and Šimičic mention that could lead to speakers not labelling their language as a 'proper language' and potentially stop intergenerational transmission between children and parents (2.2.2 Dialect, speech or language). Moreover, the results of Q55 regarding having regrets of not undertaking intergenerational transmission, shows that around twenty seventy percent of the sample group strongly disagrees. As seen with the results from Q22 - Q24 some participants of the group expressed agreement or neutrality with MM not being a proper language, which shows that there are potential seeds for this no intergenerational transmission scenario among the whole of the Moluccan diaspora. However, the majority of participants that did not learn MM from their parents showed motivation to do so, meaning that this scenario of no intergenerational transmission at all is unlikely at this stage.

To come back to Ambon Malay and the matter of authority, this is further emphasized by the observations of interviewees that younger people aged around 20, are seen to use features such as personal pronouns from Ambon Malay instead of MM. Additionally, Moro pointed out that regarding Ambon Malay speakers in the Netherlands who used less Dutch-like features, also had more language opportunities as well as their social network being made up by a high amount of other speakers and the factor of enjoying living near or in a Moluccan Ward. The interview with interviewee 5 suggest that speakers that are adapting more Ambon Malay features within MM are also surrounded by a higher social network made up by other speakers and likewise are motivated to travel to the Moluccan islands and enjoy more language opportunities. However, does that not lead to a gap and potential speaker disagreement between those who do not adapt Ambon Malay features and those who keep using MM in its current form? How will speakers handle this disagreement? Will speakers

adapt to the authority of Ambon Malay, due to it being the homeland language and being perceived more current and developed?

It would be likely that Ambon Malay speakers have always been seen as having authority and ownership over authenticity besides the initial migrants. However, the distance between homeland and heritage speakers led to the initial migrants having the hegemony authority and thus ownership of authenticity in the diaspora. Nonetheless, as the initial migrants grow older and their number become smaller and the increasing opportunity to digitally communicate or visit the Moluccan islands have increased, an authority shift to homeland speakers has occurred. At least suggested to have been, among some groups and individuals. While it would stand to reason that speaker authority would fall to the next oldest speakers, this may now be a shared authority with Moluccan diaspora speakers who speak or use features of Ambon Malay. Consequently, tensions may arise during this shared authority, between speakers who have different ideas of which speaker embodies authority or ownership. Would younger speakers who adapt more Ambon Malay features enjoy more authority or ownership in a group setting? How will speakers negotiate this shift? This suggests that to an extent, the relation of language hierarchy, authority and age do play a role with regards to standard language ideology.

Another interesting result regarding authority can be raised. In the theoretical framework (2.2.1) I argued that, in response to Moro's assertion that speakers furthest from the ward and having a less dense social network and opportunities who have to use more innovation and use of Dutch-like features, it stood to reason that these speakers are less constrained by social control. I further elaborated that the hegemonic MM standard language ideology was less prevalent, so other speakers could not excerpt ownership over a speaker's identity where a certain idea of authenticity of the language was established. This can be found back in the answer of interviewee 2. The decision of interviewee 2 to continue to speak Malay whenever being in a position to do so, instead of Dutch after het internship, can be seen as the consequences of gaining a so-called speaker permission from a native speaker (the hospital director) that is seen by interviewee 2 as an authority on the language. After the native speaker asserted that they all spoke Malayu, interviewee 2 was confirmed to be a member of the Malayu speaking community, taking away interviewee 2's fear of incorrectness and inauthenticity. Looking back at the survey results that showed that many speakers experience insecurity and have no real image of what the correct way to use MM is, it stands to reason that new speakers will choose security by choosing to adopt a clear standardised form Ambon Malay or adopting Ambon Malay features. This both challenges and strengthens

MM language ideology. Adaptation of Ambon Malay may secure more speaker security and thus more speakers, which could boost intergenerational transmission. However, speakers may see this transition at the cost of cultural heritage associated with the MM language as it has been spoken the last seventy three years. What's more, the hegemony of Central Moluccans within the Moluccan diaspora would be once again emphasized by the use of Ambon Malay, which would then still lead to exemption and cultural disagreement between Central Moluccans and descendants of Southeast Moluccan soldiers as Van Engelenhoven noted (2.3).

What then, should be made of the results regarding large agreement with monolingual attitudes if the MM standard language ideology is challenged, evolving and MM speakers do not all have a clear idea of its correct use? A closer look actually suggests that the agreement with these statements complement the evolving idea of MM standard language ideology. The results of Q44 showed that MM was largely perceived by the sample group to unify the diaspora, however Q45 showed that not as many deemed speaking MM as necessary to be part of the community Q45. It would stand to reason that if people are not certain about how to use the language or even do not use or know the language, they still can feel and be regarded as part of the community. While the sample group expressed overwhelming agreement with language being part of one's identity, an integrative language attitude (2.1), the results of Q45 may suggest that a Pan-Moluccan identity values language, but is not a condition. Interviewee's interpretation of the 'one people, one language' further collaborates this, as interviewee's acknowledge cultural and linguistic diversity, which also counters monolingual ideology.

Nevertheless, one interviewee thought differently. Interviewee's 7 interpretations regarding the statement 'one people, one language' suggest that they think that a common identity of one people is lost when members do not speak the language and do not take part in intergenerational transmission. However, the results from Q45 suggest that not all of the sample group might agree with that sentiment. Further, the results of Q27 and Q28 showed that there is no overall agreement and high variety on MM having more worth than Dutch, but there was agreement on the languages having equal value. Consequently, this suggests that while the sample group expresses positive attitudes and proudness towards their language, there are no indications that this contributes to a prevalent monolingual ideology in the sample group, which will be supported by the discussion of the following paragraph.

This bring us to the discussion of the Alifuru concept and the 'one people, one language' statement Q46.The negative correlation found between age and labeling MM as a

proper language Q22 and Q24, would further suggest that the Alifuru concept lives strongest among the sample group of older members. However, there is no such correlation found regarding the 'one people, one language' statement Q46. Interviewees acknowledged the historical background of the statement and one even expressed emotional connection to it. Nevertheless, the overall interviewee results of how participants interpret the 'one people, one language' statement and the answers regarding L2 speaker motivation suggest that MM is often foremost regarded as a common tool to communicate. Further, the high dispersion of Q46 and interview answers together suggest many members of the sample group doubt the current relevance of the statement. As Rinsampessy and Van Engelenhoven (introduction) mentioned that this concept headspeared by the RMS has shifted after the 80's, the overall continued emotional connection from some participants and high variety of agreement with this statement from the sample group, shows that the statement does resonate to a certain degree. Some interviewees go so far as to adapt the statement to something they agree with (a diverse people, united by a common language while there are many more other languages), suggesting that they accommodate themselves in order to still be able to agree with the statement to a certain extent. This might be done because it pertains to MM, and thus the speaker's identity, not because they would agree with the statement when it would be about languages in general, as was the case with Q22 - Q23 as discussed previously. If so, that would indicate standard language ideology. While this adjustment or accommodation seems small and insignificant, it might look different in light of the results of negative language ideology. As seen, the results show that the majority of the sample group displayed disagreement wanting to forget the language Q59 and that speaking Molucan Malay only caused problems Q60. Q55 showed more dispersion, showing that people feel both agreement, neutrality and disagreement with feeling regret about not partaking in intergenerational transmission. One person expressed mild agreement with the statement that speaking MM only caused problems Q60, which might result in this person stopping (or already having stopped) speaking the language and not undertaking intergenerational transmission. Whether this is an outlier or a symptom of a larger group of people feeling the same in the population, remains the question. However, The qualitative results showed further that some participants did have varied other negative associations with MM in certain situations. 7 people were neutral regarding Q60. Could this also indicate that some participants choose to conceal their internalized negative language ideology or adjusted their response to accommodate what they thought the Pan-Moluccan identity, or MM standard language ideology would demand they answer?

6 Conclusion

This study achieved the research aim of exploring language attitudes pertaining to standard language ideology with regard to the five discussed categories. The study determined that strong language attitudes pertaining to standard language ideology of MM were more prevalent among the age of 50 and higher (A-group) of the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands regarding disagreeing that MM is not a proper language Q22 - Q24. Secondly, the study determined that there are indications of a possible authority and ownership shift. This suggests a language hierarchy with Ambon Malay at the top, collaborated by the shrinking initial migrants' group and that some sample group participants experience insecurity and have no clear image of what the correct way is to use the language.

Sub question 1: to what extent does age play a role in expressing language attitude agreement, pertaining to standard language ideology in the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands?

The quantitative key findings suggested a correlation between age and agreement, indicating that the older participants were more likely to express more disagreement with the MM not being a proper language Q22 and Q24. Q25 showed that the majority of the sample group agreed with Mollucan Malay being labelled as a proper language.

Sub question 2: what role do authenticity, ownership, authority and concealment play with regards to language attitudes of Moluccan Malay standard language ideology?

Both survey findings and interviews show that members of the sample group experience insecurity regarding the correct usage of the language. The suggestions of an emerging prevalent language hierarchy in which MM is subservient to Ambon Malay, may be caused by the shrinking group of initial migrants and the need to solve this language insecurity. Homeland speakers and those who adapt the language or features of it, would fill the gap of authority and thus claim ownership. This is further exemplified by one MM L2 participant experiencing speaker validation from homeland speakers. This would however maintain Central Moluccan language hegemony among the Moluccan diaspora and thus possibly maintain language and identity concealment of and cultural disagreement with any Southwestern members.

Research Question: to what extent do members of the Moluccan diaspora in the Netherlands express agreement with language attitudes that indicate the existence of a standard language ideology?

As stated with sub question 1, older members of the sample group were more likely to express more disagreement with MM not labelling as a proper language. While participants showed strong positive feelings regarding the language, a large attitude of neutrality towards MM being of more value than Dutch suggests no feelings of language superiority and thus no monolingual ideology. Furthermore, the results and interpretations regarding the 'one people, one language' statement and language motivation regarding L2 speakers indicate that Molucan Malay is largely thought (by the sample group) of as a common communication tool. The majority of the sample agreed that the language is an important part of their identity and brings feelings of connection to their culture, showing an integrative attitude. In contrast, there was largely neutrality and disagreement with instrumental attitude. Although, interviewees emphasized that adopting Dutch was more thought by initial migrants with a survivalist attitude, which toes instrumental attitude towards Dutch which participants largely agreed to. Moreover, there was high variety regarding having a clear image of what the correct way is to use MM. Participants expressed experiencing insecurity regarding the correctness of the language. Finally, the majority of the sample group expressed disagreement with internalized negative language attitudes. However, the existence of participants expressing neutrality or agreement with negative attitudes and examples of negative association with languages from interviewees suggest that there might be indication that some members have internalized negative language attitudes to the point of not taking part in intergenerational language transmission.

6.1 Acknowledgements of limitations

The ideal sample size of 383 was not reached with a sample size of useful data between 62 and 67 (124 originally, including irrelevant and not useful data). When looking at age distribution, there was an hegemony of the A-group: 47 participants (70,1%) above the age of fifty and 20 participants under the age of fifty B-group (29,9%). This was found not to be representative of the population when looking at the CBS data. This lack of sample volume was further helped along by the time limitation. Despite the insufficient sampling size, the behavior of the current sampling group and its implications regarding, authority, ownership and language hierarchy can be useful to have understanding of what to expect regarding the

population and can be used for further studies related to these concepts, standard language ideology or the of. More so, because besides Van Engelenhovens observations, standard language ideology studies focused on MM are scarce. Nonetheless, this study is hopefully a stepping stone to what may be a growing field of interest and contributes to an understanding of language behavior and attitude of the Moluccan diaspora.

Moreover, the hegemony of the A-group was particularly useful to observe whether or not their (dis)agreement was strong. The Qualtrics error that led to no participant being able to see Q12 was fortunately a consistent error across all participants and did not directly impact the hypotheses or research question as it was not a question about language attitude pertaining to standard language ideology but language acquisition. There was however one regret but useful mistake to learn from. In hindsight, Q6 led to excluding members of the Moluccan diaspora who do not have Moluccan ancestry but are involved. For example, at least two interviewees reported that others or themselves personally had a spouse who spoke MM with ranging backgrounds (Dutch, Indonesian or born in former Dutch colony Dutch East Indies).

6.2 Recommendations for implementation and future research
Due to the time horizon of this study, a cross-sectional study was carried out. However, it would benefit the understanding of the change and constants of language ideology and attitudes regarding the Moluccan diaspora if future research had the opportunity for a longitudinal study. Furthermore, to see if MM is indeed predominantly situated subservient to Ambon Malay, a new survey with a statement similar to Q27 and Q28 could indicate an authority and ownership shift to speakers (including new speakers) who employ Ambon Malay features or language.

Data regarding language use, maintenance and transmission was not discussed in depth due to time limitations and the need to discuss data only relevant to the RQ and hypothesis, but would prove interesting to be explored more in depth in itself as it may be useful for language planners to understand language use and intergenerational transmission.

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