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Phonological Variation and Workplace Language Use among the Duano Community in Kampung Laut, Jambi

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Abstract

Languages in minority communities are usually eroded by the language of the majority group. Language and economic lifestyle are closely related in determining the use of language when communicating in the workplace. The purpose of this study was to explore the Duano language in Sabak using a phonological approach and describe the economic lifestyle of the Duano tribe in Sabak. The kind of research was qualitative; data collection techniques were observation, interviews, recording, and documentation, and the data analysis technique was descriptive. The findings of this study were: First, the phonology of the Duano Sabak language, resulting from their phonological differences, totals 40 data. The Duano lexicon in these two observation areas contains 41 maps, with 18 maps for the two-lexical difference, 17 maps for the three-lexical difference, 3 maps for the four-lexical difference, and 3 maps for the five-lexical difference. Second, the economic lifestyle of the Duano people in Sabak tends to favor work over sitting at home. They worked as fisherfolk not under duress but with permission from their husbands. They worked from morning to evening to support the family economy so their children could eat and go to school.

Keywords: Duano language, economic lifestyle, sea tribe, kampung Laut

1. Introduction

The Duano tribe is a Malay ethnic group found only in two countries, namely Indonesia and Malaysia. This tribe resides on the island of Sumatra in Indonesia and the West Coast of Johor in Malaysia. The Duano tribe has several names commonly used among village communities and researchers, namely *Desin Dolak*, *Orang Laut*, and *Orang Kuala*. Meanwhile, in Johor, Malaysia,

there are *Orang Laut Duano*, *Orang Asli*, *Orang Kuala*, *Desin Dolaq*, *Desin Duano*, and *Dossin Dolaq* (Rozelin et al., 2021). The Duano sea tribe used to live and settle at sea in boats. They lived in the boat, socialized with their group, and adhered to animistic beliefs. Then, the Indonesian government initiated empowerment by creating special housing for the Duano group, where their houses were built on the beach not far from the sea. The Duano tribe's house is built on stilts, so when the sea tide rises, the water underneath the house will cause it to shake.

The Duano tribe currently resides on land, both in Jambi and in several parts of the Riau Archipelago, where they engage in adaptation, socialization, and assimilation. Assimilation into culture and adopting new religions occurred among all the Sea Tribes (Sea Tribe, Duano Tribe, Mantang Tribe, Barok Tribe, Mapor Tribe, Galang Tribe, and Bajau Tribe) when they transitioned from life at sea to life on land. Of course, the adaptation process was not easy for them; at times, they felt uncomfortable, lacked confidence, and harboured distrust toward outsiders (Rachmat, 2022; Andaya, 2019), and Maryam (2018). With the attention from the government at that time, as well as the good communication established between the Duano tribe and the village community, life in terms of economy, education, and health began to improve. The livelihoods of the Duano people in Sabak are not all fishermen; some also work part-time at fishmongers, cleaning fish to be made into salted fish. The development of the Duano language in Jambi is experiencing very concerning growth. The development of the Duano language in Sabak, based on research findings (Rozelin et al., 2021; Rozelin et al., 2023), falls into the category of an endangered language. This happens because the second and third generations no longer want to use the Duano language, whether they are in the school environment, home environment, or within the nuclear family.

For several generations, the sound of crashing waves has been the heartbeat needed by the Sea Tribe. Their lives depend on the sea; for decades, they have lived off the bounty of the Indonesian archipelago's natural wealth. Then, when modernization occurred throughout Indonesia, the transformation of the sea nomads' lifestyle began to change. The stilt houses built by the government along the coastline shifted the lifestyle pattern from the sea to the land. The settled lifestyle on land certainly affects the coastal community, including education, economy, language, religion, and culture. The map of the coastal community's life, which used to be based on the moon and fish migration, is slowly changing to religion, working as laborers or fishermen, and language. The shift in language in everyday communication directly changes the direction of the language of the younger generation of the Duano tribe. In schools and on social media, Indonesian has emerged as the primary tool for social interaction, while regional languages are only used in small circles, causing the specialized maritime vocabulary inherited from their ancestors to begin to fade. Vocabulary for wind directions, fish names, and traditional boat-making techniques is slowly disappearing from daily conversations because modern lifestyles no longer require them. Although the transition to life on land brings new access to healthcare and education services, it cannot guarantee the economic stability of their lives, in accordance with the saying that language lives through the lifestyle of its people.

One of the causes of the shift in the Duano language is the low level of society's education. Initial surveys related to economic lifestyle showed that the economic life of the Duano community in Kepri is much more established compared to the Duano community in Jambi. This is what will be further investigated regarding the mindset and worldview of the Duano tribe in Jambi as a focal point, particularly related to economic lifestyle. In addition to examining the kinship relations of the language through dialectometry techniques, this research also discusses the economic lifestyle of the Duano tribe. Economic lifestyle encompasses livelihoods. The livelihoods of the Duano tribe in Jambi, especially in Kampung Laut Sabak, mostly involve fishing, whereas in the Riau Archipelago, their livelihoods have become very diverse, ranging from fishermen and employees to traders.

This happens because the worldview and life perspectives of these two groups have already diverged. The Duano tribe in Jambi still considers that education is not important; helping their parents catch fish is more important. This worldview is different from that of the Duano tribe in Kepri, who consider education to be the main thing that can help their children live a better life in the future. The Duano language is very important to study because the number of speakers is gradually decreasing. The Jambi Language Office (2017) stated that the Duano language in the Jambi region falls into the category of endangered languages, with only 80 families speaking it in 2020. This is in line with the research conducted by Rozelin & Azlan (2019), Rozelin et al. (2021), and Mega Sari et al.(2023), who found that the number of Duano language speakers in the sea tribe community is concentrated only among the older generation and the second generation. The difference in findings in this article compared to other articles is that it examines the extent to which language and economy can influence phonological language change in the Sea Nomad community. So, the problem formulation is: how the development of the Duano language in Sabak is phonologically? and how does the economic lifestyle affect the workplace language use of the Duano tribe in Sabak?

2. Literature Review

2.1 Dialectology

Dialectology is one of the branches of linguistics that discusses dialects or subdialects within the same language community, where the features of the data are applied on a map. Dialectology, according to Patriantoro (2023), and Rozelin & Fauzan (2020), is the science that studies the relationship of language kinship within the same language family. A dialect is a variety of language distinguished from other varieties, characterized by specific pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar (Reza, 2024). Additionally, a dialect is a variety of language found in a specific geographical area and within a particular social context. Furthermore, dialectology also addresses issues of language migration and history through demographics, although the analysis is not as deep as historical studies (Jalaluddin, 2018).

Dialectology is a branch of linguistics that studies language variation based on geographical regions, also known as the study of dialects. This study discusses the differences and similarities in grammar, syllables, and phonology among various isolek of one or more languages. Dialectology studies aim to map the idiolect of a language by creating a language map (isogloss file) that shows the geographical boundaries of an area based on linguistic phenomena (Katabek, 2023). This study helps linguists delve into language features such as lexical differences and phonological differences that are spread across a region. Dialectology is also capable of recording linguistic diversity or documenting existing language variations before the vocabulary becomes extinct or changes due to the influence of a dominant language. In addition, this study also analyzes the distribution of isolek or dialects (Rozelin et al., 2024; Reza, 2024). Linguistic experts can reconstruct the history of a language; the migration of speakers reflects the history of separation or contact between speaker communities.

Dialectology researchers or dialectologists usually collect data directly in the field by interviewing native speakers in various regions. Researchers use questionnaires that contain lists of vocabulary (for example, Swadesh basic vocabulary) or predetermined sentences. The collected data is then analyzed to find patterns that will be calculated through dialectometry (Saddhono et al., 2021). So, it can be concluded that the study of dialectology is the science of how language varies as a result of communication contact, the number of dominant speakers, and the relationship between language and its speaker community.

2.2 Phonology

Phonology is one of the branches of linguistic science that studies the sounds of language or the sound system of words in a language, the process of word formation, and their changes. Phonology studies the sounds of language in general, which also includes the study of phonemes. A phoneme can be defined as the smallest unit of language that has meaning, meaning a phoneme is a unit that functions to distinguish meaning. Then, a phoneme that does not distinguish meaning can also be defined as an allophone. Therefore, a phoneme that functions to distinguish meaning aims to determine the phonemic structure of a language and create a practical orthography in the spelling of a word.

In phonetics, the mechanism of human speech sound formation is usually studied, where air expelled from the lungs exits through the oral and nasal cavities. Phonetics also examines how the outgoing air encounters obstacles at various points of articulation, such as passive articulators or base articulators, and active articulators, which are physiological organs capable of moving to touch passive articulators. Air that exits the lungs without significant obstruction will produce vowel sounds. Subsequently, air from the lungs that encounters obstruction in the oral cavity, or other parts at the back of the oral cavity, is referred to as consonant sounds (Lass, 1991). In the phonological study, the researchers will also examine the vocabulary that has persisted and the vocabulary that has undergone innovation due to communication contact with external community groups. Subroto (2013) states that innovation is vocabulary that has undergone changes from its proto-language, while a relic is vocabulary that has survived from the proto-language to the present day. So, this research will examine the innovation and relic of a sound in a word.

2.3 Economic Lifestyle

Lifestyle is a reflection of human thot patterns, a reflection of human worldview and perspective. The narrower the socialization space of a community group, the simpler the lifestyle they lead. Economic lifestyle is also related to the standard of living in society, where, in sociolinguistic studies, there are upper class, middle class, and lower class. According to Veal (2006), an individual's lifestyle is not the same as a group's lifestyle; an individual's lifestyle can adopt from a group's lifestyle. This occurs when an individual tries to adapt to the group. An individual's lifestyle can also develop away from the group's lifestyle according to the new environment they encounter or a new activity they engage in. The lifestyle that will be examined in this research is the economic lifestyle of the Duano ethnic group in Jambi, related to income and business activities, which gender group is more dominant, and how the lifestyle patterns of the Duano ethnic group in these two regions.

Furthermore, Veal (2006) explains that there are several patterns of economic lifestyle, including: a) status-based consumption, at this stage, spending is driven by the desire to show social status, luxury, or follow trends (Keeping up with the Joneses). Often involves the purchase of expensive branded goods that quickly lose value (depreciation). b) Value-Based Consumption: this stage of spending focuses on quality, longevity, and the value obtained. Prioritizing purchases that align with life goals (for example, spending a lot of money on education or travel, but being frugal with clothing).

The next stage, c) the Paycheck-to-Paycheck pattern, is when all or almost all of the income is spent to meet basic needs and desires before receiving the next paycheck. This often occurs regardless of income level (it can also happen with high incomes). Intentional Frugality, consciously reducing expenses in non-prioritized areas to allocate funds to specific goals (e.g., saving, investing, or paying off debt). This research will analyze the three patterns mentioned.

2.4 Duano Tribes

The Duano tribe, located in Kampung Laut, Sabak, has an area of 37.56 km² and a population of 4,460 people. The fishing village's residents come from various islands, including Java, Kalimantan, Sumatra, and Sulawesi. Most of them are not transmigrants but rather migrants. One of the residents of Kampung Laut is the indigenous people known as the Duano Tribe. The number of Duano people in Kampung Laut is 80 households, consisting of 335 individuals (Sapitri et al., 2022).

The majority of the Duano tribe's livelihood is as fishermen who depend on nature for their sustenance. In its development, the Duano tribe built a settlement on the coast of Kampung Laut as a stopover when going to sea, but because they felt comfortable in their new place, Kampung Laut, they chose to settle there until their descendants today. The economic growth of the Kampung Laut community generally experiences ups and downs because most of its residents earn a living as farmers, fishermen, and traders. The number of Duano tribe members who are fishermen is around 40 people out of the total Duano tribe population. Their work as fishermen experiences ups and downs because the income they receive is determined by the season. When the sea enters the big wave season, their income will decrease. This is the reason why Duano women work, which is to help the family's economy. The Duano tribe are traditional fishermen whose work relies heavily on physical strength or labor, thereby neglecting the education level of their descendants.

The Duano tribe generally has dark skin because they are always exposed to the harsh sun. The jawline also shows a character that is tenacious and tough. The Duano tribe has traditions and culture similar to other tribes in the Fishermen's Village, but currently, their culture is starting to fade due to cultural contact. Their traditions are being replaced by the more dominant traditions of other tribes, and sometimes their cultural practices, such as dances for the manongkah event, are performed by children from other tribes instead of Duano children. If we look at the population, the Duano community is smaller compared to the local population, making them a minority group among the other Malay communities. As a result, their culture is gradually becoming less used (Suhaimi, 2021). Another interesting aspect is that, in recent years, they, as a minority group, have been striving to preserve their language and culture within the nuclear family.

3. Research Methods

3.1 Research Design

This article used a descriptive qualitative design to describe data related to phonology and economic lifestyle. According to Ugwu (2023) and Mohajan (2018), qualitative research is related to the perspectives present in society, presenting data descriptively to understand initial assumptions that will be tested through exploration and analyzed descriptively in a study. Qualitative research is a type of research that aims to describe phenomena experienced by research subjects, whether in the form of perceptions, experiences, motivations, and actions. This research presents and describes in word form within the context experienced naturally (Nasution, 2023). The descriptive approach is carried out to provide a specific depiction of an object. The purpose of this approach is to present facts and characteristics about a community or society as a whole. So, this research uses a descriptive approach with the aim of identifying and explaining the conditions occurring in the field. Next, this type of analysis seeks to uncover the factors that influence language changes due to an individual's economic lifestyle.

Qualitative research is a type of research that focuses on understanding the meanings, experiences, behaviours, perceptions, and views of individuals or groups in their natural context. This research aims to obtain a comprehensive and holistic understanding, not to test hypotheses or measure variables statistically (Fadli, 2021). Qualitative research is conducted in real environments

or within the communities or societies we study. The researcher acts as an enumerator in the collection and analysis of data. The researcher communicates directly with the informants. Qualitative research usually focuses on questions of how and why a phenomenon occurs, revealing and interpreting the meaning inherent in each event and action in society (Rachman, 2024). The research process is inductive; data is collected and then examined or analysed further. So, qualitative research is capable of exploring the depth and complexity of human social life.

Qualitative research attempts to describe the Duano language phenomenon, economic lifestyle, and lifestyle in depth. Amruddin et al. (2022) state that quantitative research is data that uses numbers, where the data obtained will use specific formulas or statistical methods, and the results of these statistical tests will be presented to find the desired relationship.

3.2 Participants

This research was in Sabak region as observation points, with choosing 10 informants. The informant was a person who always accompanied the researchers in data collection or a person who explained a word clearly and in detail to the researchers. The researchers asked for words list one by one using Indonesian and sometimes Malay language. Zaim (2014) explained the requirements for an informant, which include: 1. male or female, 2. aged between 20-50 years (not senile), 3. proud of their language, 4. cultural quality, 5. psychological quality, 6. alertness. The most important requirement for an informant was that they were able to understand Malay or Indonesian, so that during the interview, the informant knew and understood what the researchers were asking. In selecting informants, the researchers used a purposive sampling technique. This technique provided equal opportunity for all informants to be chosen (Fadli, 2021). Purposive sampling was a non-probability sampling technique where the researchers deliberately selected informants based on specific considerations deemed most relevant and aligned with the research objectives to be carried out.

3.3 Instruments

The informants were asked 200 Swadesh words for phonological case and 20 questions about economic lifestyle using recording. After 200 vocabulary words were collected, the data were sorted and adjusted according to IPA phonemes. Data collection techniques consist of interactive and non-interactive techniques (Zaim, 2014). Interactive techniques are conducted through interviews, recording, observation, and also recording. Then, the non-interactive technique uses a questionnaire (WordList-200 from Swadesh) and 20 questions about economic lifestyle. The data collection techniques in this study are observation, interviews, and documentation (Judijanto & Wibowo, 2024). The data were classified into three categories: zero difference, lexical difference, and phonological difference. The answer from informants for economic lifestyle were collected and described at result by the researchers.

3.4 Data Analysis

Then, the techniques for analysing the data are the series technique of equal comparison of subject matter (HBS), the series technique of comparative distinction (HBB), and the series technique of equal comparison of main topics (Mahsun, 2017). The data analysis technique was carried out after data was obtained from all informants.

4. Results and Discussion

The Duano language lexicon experiences quite a variety, from phonological differences to mappings that show vocabulary starting to be influenced by Malay, Banjar, Bugis, and Javanese. Observing the economic lifestyle of the Duano tribe in Sabak, especially among the Duano women,

many work outside the home. In terms of their economic lifestyle, they tend to prefer working rather than just sitting at home. They work as fish laborers not out of compulsion but with the permission of their husbands. They work from morning until evening with the aim of helping the family's economy so that their children can eat and go to school. If there is extra money from their wages as fish laborers, they usually save it for their children's needs such as new clothes, school supplies, and household items. The influence of language on the economic lifestyle of the Duano tribe in Sabak, specifically in Kampung Laut, is that they use two languages when communicating at the workplace. They use Malay when communicating with the boss or with fellow fish laborers from the Banjar, Bugis, Javanese, and other ethnic groups. Then, they use the Duano language at their workplace when the conversation partner is also from the Duano tribe. So, language has an influence on the economic lifestyle in the workplace, aiming to make it easier for them to get jobs and improve their family's economy.

A language family is a depiction that a group of languages may be definitely or very likely descended from a single ancestral language, or it could be that these languages belong to the same language family because they show closer kinship relationships. This relationship can be analyzed using comparative techniques that focus on cognate similarities and regular, systematic sound change patterns from the proto-language to its descendant languages. This article examines phonological sounds, phonological variations, and correspondences that appear in the vocabulary of the Duano language. The data were taken from 10 informants. Phonological correspondences are obtained from phonological difference data analyzed by distinguishing syllables from the 10 informants. After the data were obtained, the next step was to classify the total amount of data to differentiate which correspondences have more than one. Based on 200 vocabulary items asked to 10 informants, the result of the phonological differences amounts to 40 data. The presentation is as follows:

4.1 Phonological Rules

Table 1: Principle of Phonological Difference

NO	NO	Malayo-Polynesia*	Indonesian	Phonological Rules		
1	5	lakaw/panaw	Berjalan	ə˜i		
2	15	tuqelaŋ/tuqelaŋ	Tulang	u˜o		
3	17	qatay (qatey)	Hati	h˜Ø		
4	20	taqu	Tahu	h˜Ø		
5	31	ipen/nipen	Gigi	h˜Ø		
6	34	taŋis	Menangis	m˜ŋ		
7	36	luzaq	Meludah	m˜Ø	ə˜Ø	
8	37	kaen	Makan	e˜Ø		
9	38	mamaq	mamah/ kunyah	ŋ˜k˜m	u˜a	ɲ˜m
10	40	inum	Minum	u˜i		
11	43	taliŋa	Telinga	e˜ə	u˜a˜o	
12	45	mata	Mata	u˜a		
13	47	ma-huab	Kuap	ŋ˜k		
14	48	tiduR/tuduR	tidur	e˜Ø		
15	49	qinep	berbaring	e˜Ø	b˜Ø	
16	56	anak (bahi)	anak (kecil)	e˜ə	d˜Ø˜g	
17	57	qasawa/bana	suami	e˜ə		
18	59	t-ina	ibu	i˜m	b˜a	u˜ʔ
19	60	t-ama (bapa-q)	bapak	b˜Ø	a˜u	p˜w
20	62	qatep	atap	u˜a˜ə		
21	63	ŋajan	nama	u˜a˜ə		
22	66	hiket	ikat	k˜Ø		

23	69	qanup (buRaw/buRew)	buru	e~Ø	m~Ø	
24	70	panaq (timbak)	tembak/ panah	t~n		
25	72	palu (kena)	pukul	p~m		
26	73	takaw	curi	e~i		
27	75	m-atay (matey)	mati	e~ə	n~l~r	
28	76	ma-qudip	hidup	h~Ø		
29	79	kahiw	kayu	o~a	k~Ø~l	
30	81	ma-tazem/tazim	tajam (mata parang)	a~ə		
31	84	mula (tanem)	tanam	u~a		
32	85	piliq	pilih	p~m	e~i	
33	88	peReq/peRes	peras	e~ə		
34	89	gemgem (pegeŋ)	genggam (pegang)	p~g~m	ŋ~Ø	ŋ~m
35	92	buka	buka	a~ə~e	ʔ~Ø	
36	93	tutu/bayu/tuktuk	menumbuk (padi)	m~Ø	e~Ø	t~n
37	98	qiteluR/qateluR	telur	u~o	r~ʔ	
38	105	ikuR	ekor	e~u		
39	106	hulaR/nipay	ular	a~o	r~Ø	
40	107	kalati/qali-wati (qulej)	cacing (tanah)	e~i		

Table 1 shows the results of comparing the phonological differences of the Duano language from Kampung Laut. The obtained data were compared with each other to find the phonological rules. Based on the collected data, it was found that there are 46 phonological sound patterns consisting of 25 variations and 21 correspondences. The 21 correspondence data consist of several identical variations but are counted as 1 correspondence, so the 21 correspondences come from 46 data. Each data entry that falls into the variation group consists of only one pattern; if more than one pattern enters the co-informancy group. The meaning of the symbol ≈ is correspondence. Data that falls under the correspondence section means more than one (1) gloss or pattern. The correspondence can have one pattern, two patterns, and there are also those with three patterns. Example data that falls into the realm of variation is as follows:

Table 2: VARIATION [ə]~[Ø]

NO.	GLOS (NO.)	Informant	Variation	
1	MELUDAH (36) PM*luzaq	[məludah]: 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,9 [ludah]: 8,10	K[-ə-]K-~K[-Ø-]K-	[ə]~[Ø]

The variation [ə]~[Ø] in Table 2 has one pattern, namely K[-ə-]K-~K[-Ø-]K-, which is positioned in the middle of the word. The variation [ə]~[Ø] also includes the antepenultimate. The sound [-ə-] is preceded and followed by a consonant, while the sound [-h-] is also preceded and followed by a consonant. In the data, the word [məludah] was used frequently by 8 informants.

Table 3: VARIATION [ŋ]~[k]~[m]

NO.	GLOS (NO.)	Informant	Variation	
1	KUNYAH (38) PM*mamaq	[ŋuɲah]: 1,2,4,5 [kuɲah]: 3,6,9,10 [mamah]: 7,8	[ŋ]V-~[k]V-~[m]V-	[ŋ]~[k]~[m]

The variation [ŋ]~[k]~[m] in Table 3 has one pattern, namely [ŋ]V-~[k]V-~[m]V-, which is positioned at the beginning of the word. The variation [ŋ]~[k]~[m] also includes the anteantepenultimate. This variation [ŋ]~[k]~[m] occurs at the beginning of the word and is

followed by a vowel. The words [ŋuŋah] and [kuŋah] are two words that have the same number of informants, meaning both words are widely used when the Duano tribe engages in communication.

Table 4: VARIATION [u]˜[i]

NO.	GLOS (NO.)	Informan	Variation	
1	MINUM (40) PM*inum	[munʊm]: 1,2,3,4,5,7,8,9 [minʊm]: 6,10	K-[u]K-˜K-[i]K-	[u]˜[i]

The variation [u]˜[i] in Table 4 has one pattern, namely K-[u]K-˜K-[i]K-, which is positioned in the middle of the word. The variation [u]˜[i] also includes the penultimate. This variation [u]˜[i] is in the middle of the word, preceded and followed by a consonant. In the data, the word [munʊm] is frequently used by informants in communication. The number of informants is 8 people.

Table 5: VARIATION [u]˜[a]˜[o]

NO.	GLOS (NO.)	Informan	Variation	
1	TELINGA (43) PM*diŋa/*dəŋər	[teliŋu]: 1,2,5,8 [teliŋa]: 3,4 [teliŋo]: 6,7 [təliŋo]: 9	-K[u]˜-K[a]˜K[o]	[u]˜[a]˜[o]

The variation [u]˜[a]˜[o] in Table 5 has two patterns, namely -K[u]˜K[a]˜K[o] and another pattern [e˜ə] that falls under the informant. The position of the syllable in the word falls into the realm of the final ultima, which is at the end of the word. The variation [u]˜[a]˜[o] is at the end of the word, preceded by a consonant. The word [teliŋu] is widely used by informants in communication, while the word [teliŋo] is used by only one informant. There is a possibility that this word is influenced by the Malay language, which also uses the word [teliŋo] in communication.

Table 6: VARIATION [ŋ]˜[k]

NO.	GLOS (NO.)	Informan	Variation	
1	KUAP (47) PM*ma-huab	[ŋuap]: 1,2,9 [kuap]: 3,4,5,6,7,8,10	[ŋ]V-˜[k]V-	[ŋ]˜[k]

The variation [ŋ]˜[k] in Table 6 has one pattern, namely [ŋ]V-˜[k]V-. The syllable position in the word falls into the penultimate realm at the beginning of the word. This variation [ŋ]˜[k] is followed by a vowel. In the data, the word [kuap] is frequently used by informants in communication. The number of speakers is 7.

Table 7: CORRESPONDENCE [h] ≈ [Ø]

NO.	GLOS (NO.)	Informant	Variation	
1	HATI (17) PM*qatay (qatey)	[hati]: 1,2,3,4,5,6 [ati]: 7,8,9,10	[h]V-˜ [Ø]V-	Penultima
2	TAHU (20) PM*taqu	[tau]: 1,2,7,9 [tahu]: 3,4,5,6,8,10	-V[h]V˜-V[Ø]V	Ultima
3	GIGI (31) PM*ipen/nipen	[ləpu]: 1,2,3,4,5,8,9 [ləpuh]: 6,7,10	-V[h]˜-V[Ø]	Ultima Final
4	HIDUP (76) PM*ma-qudip	[idup]: 1,2,3,4,5,9,10 [hidup]: 6,7,8,	[h]V-˜[Ø]V-	Penultima

The correspondence [h] ≈ [Ø] in Table 7 has three patterns: the data HATI and HIDUP have the same pattern, which is [h]V-~[Ø]V-; the data TAHU have the pattern -V[h]V~-V[Ø]V; and the data GIGI have the pattern -V[h]~-V[Ø]. The positions of these data fall into the realms of penultimate, ultimate, and final ultima. If observed further, it will be seen that the correspondence [h] ≈ [Ø] can be preceded and followed by a vowel. The word [hati] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [ati]; the word [tahu] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [tau]; the word [ləpu] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [ləpuh]; and the word [idup] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [hidup].

Table 8: CORRESPONDENCE [e] ≈ [Ø]

NO.	GLOS (NO.)	Informant	Variation	
1	MAKAN (37) PM*ma/kan	[eŋkan]: 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8 [ŋkan]: 9,10	[e]K-~ [Ø]K-	Penultima
2	TIDUR (48) PM*tiduR/tuduR	[ɲit]: 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9 [eɲit]: 10	[e]K-~[Ø]K-	Penultima
3	BERBARING (49) PM*qinep	[baʀiŋ]: 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,10 [bebarŋ]: 9	K[e]K-~[Ø]K-	Antepenultima
4	BURU (69) PM*qanup (buRaw/buRew)	[memburu]: 1,2,4 [buru]: 3,5,6,7,8,9,10	K[e]K-~ [Ø]V-	Antepenultima
5	MENUMBUK (93) PM*tutu/bayu/tuktuk	[menumbu?]: 1,2,3,4,5,6,9,10 [tumbu?]: 7,8	K[e]K-~[Ø]K-	Antepenultima
6	DIMANA (181) PM*i-nu	[keremu]: 1,2,3,4,7,8,9,10 [ko na? temu]: 5 [temu]: 6,	K[e]K-~[Ø]K-	Antepenultima
7	HITUNG (196) PM*ihap (qituŋ)	[hitʊŋ]:1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8 [behitʊŋ]: 9,10	K[e]K-~[Ø]K-	Antepenultima

The correspondence [e]≈[Ø] in Table 8 has three patterns. The data MAKAN and TIDUR have the same pattern, which is [e]K-~[Ø]K-, with the data positioned in the penultimate group. The correspondence [e]≈[Ø] is followed by a consonant syllable. The data BERBARING, MENUMBUK, DIMANA, HITUNG have the same pattern, which is K[e]K-~[Ø]K-. All the data fall into the antepenultimate category where the syllable [e] and the syllable [Ø] are followed by a consonant. Then, the data BURU has the pattern K[e]K-~[Ø]V-, this data has a pattern almost identical to BERBARING, the only difference being that the syllable [Ø] ends with a vowel and not a consonant. Both words belong to the antepenultimate group. The word [eŋkan] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [ŋkan]; the word [ɲit] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [eɲit]; the word [baʀiŋ] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [bebaʀiŋ]; the word [buru] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [beburu]; the word [menumbu?] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [tumbu?]; the word [keremu] is used more frequently in communication compared to the words [ko na? temu] and [temu]; and the word [hitʊŋ] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [behitʊŋ].

Table 9: CORRESPONDENCE [u] ≈ [a]

NO.	GLOS (NO.)	Informant	Variation	
1	KUNYAH (38) PM*mamaq	[ŋuɲah]: 1,2,4,5 [kuɲah]: 3,6,9,10 [mamah]: 7,8	K[u]K-~K[a]K-	Penultima
2	MATA (45) PM*mata	[matu]: 1,2,3,5,6,7,8,9,10 [mata]: 4	K[u]~K[a]	Ultima Final
3	BAPAK (60) PM*t-ama (bapa-q)	[uwa?]: 1,2,5,7,8,10 [bapa?]: 3,4,6,9	K[u]K-~K[a]K-	Penultima
4	TANAM (84) PM*mula (tanem)	[tanum]: 1,2,3,5,6,7,8 [tanam]: 4,9,10	K[u]K~K[a]K	Ultima
5	KECIL (152) PM*dikiq/kedi	[dita?]: 1,2,3,4,5,9,10 [ditʊk]: 6,7,8	K[u]K~K[a]K	Ultima

The correspondence [u]≈[a] in Table 9 has three patterns. The data KUNYAH and BAPAK have the same pattern, which is K[u]K-~K[a]K-, with the position of the data falling into the penultimate group. The correspondence [u]≈[a] in the data is both ended with a consonant syllable. The data TANAM, KECIL has the same pattern, which is K[u]K~K[a]K. Both data fall into the ultima realm where the syllables [u] and [a] are followed by a consonant. Then, the data MATA has the pattern K[u]~K[a], this data falls into the final ultima realm where the syllables [u]≈[a] are preceded by a consonant. The words [ŋuɲah] and [kuɲah] are used more frequently in communication compared to the word [mamah]; the word [matu] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [mata]; the word [uwa?] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [bapa?]; the word [tanum] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [tanam]; and the word [dita?] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [ditu?].

Table 10: CORRESPONDENCE [o] ≈ [a]

NO.	GLOS (NO.)	Informant	Variasition	
1	KAYU (79) PM*kayuʔ	[koyu]: 1,2,4,5 [loyu]: 3 [oyu]: 6,7,8 [kayu]: 9,10	K[o]K-~K[a]K-	Penultima
2	ULAR (106) PM*hulaR/nipay	[ular]: 1,2,3,4,6,7,8,9,10 [ulo]: 5	-K[o]K~-K[a]K	Ultima
3	DAHAN (113) PM*daqan	[dahan]: 1,2,3,6,7,8,9,10 [pohon]: 4,5	K[o]K-~K[a]K-	Ultima
4	BUNGA (116) PM*buŋa	[buŋa]: 1,2,3,6,7,8,9 [buŋo]: 4,5,10	-K[o]~-K[a]	Ultima Final
5	TUA (162) PM*ma-tuqah	[tuo]: 1,2,3,8,9,10 [tua]: 4,5,6,7	-V[o]~-V[a]	Ultima Final

The correspondence [o]≈[a] in Table 10 has four patterns. The data KAYU and DAHAN have the same pattern, which is K[o]K-~K[a]K-, with these data positioned in the penultimate and ultimate groups. Both data are preceded and followed by consonants. The data ULAR has the pattern -K[o]K~-K[a]K. This data falls into the ultimate realm where the syllables [o] and [a] are preceded and followed by consonants. Next, the data BUNGA has the pattern -K[o]~-K[a], which falls into the final ultimate realm where the syllable [u]≈[a] is preceded by a consonant. Finally, the data TUA has the pattern -V[o]~-V[a], which is in the final ultimate position and the syllable [u]≈[a]

is preceded by a vowel. The word [koyu] is used more frequently in communication compared to the words [loyu], [oyu], [kayu]; the word [ular] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [ulo]; the word [dahan] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [pohon]; the word [buŋa] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [buŋo]; and the word [tuo] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [tua].

Table 11: CORRESPONDENCE [ŋ] ≈ [Ø]

NO.	GLOS (NO.)	Informant	Variation	
1	KUTU (108) PM*kutu	[kutu]: 1,2,3,6,7,8,9,10 [tuŋ]: 4,5	-V[ŋ]˜-V[Ø]	Ultima Final
2	GENGGAM (89) PM*gemgem	[geŋgam]: 1,2,3,4,6,7,8 [pegaŋ]: 9,10	-V[ŋ]K-˜-V[Ø]K-	Penultima
3	APA (188) PM*apa/-anu	[ayiŋ]: 1,2,3,7,8,10 [apə]: 4,5,6 [apo]: 10	-V[ŋ]˜ -V[Ø]	Ultima Final
4	ALIR (123) PM* qaliR/qaluR/saliR (qiliR)	[aliʀ]: 1,2,3,5,6,8,9 [ŋaliʀ]: 4,7,10	[ŋ]V-˜[Ø]V-	Penultima

The correspondence [ŋ] ≈ [Ø] in Table 16 has three patterns. The data KUTU and APA have the same pattern, which is -V[ŋ]- ˜V[Ø], and these data fall into the final ultima group. Both of these data are preceded by a vowel. The data GENGGAM has the pattern -V[ŋ]K-˜-V[Ø]K-. This data falls into the penultimate realm where the syllable [ŋ] and the syllable [Ø] are preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant. Then, the data ALIR has the pattern [ŋ]V-˜[Ø]V-, this data falls into the penultimate realm where the syllable [ŋ] ≈ [Ø] is only followed by a vowel. The word [kutu] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [tuŋ]; the word [geŋgam] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [pegaŋ]; the word [ayiŋ] is used more frequently in communication compared to the words [apə], [apo]; and the word [aliʀ] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [ŋaliʀ].

Table 12: CORRESPONDENCE [m] ≈ [ŋ]

NO.	GLOS (NO.)	Informant	Variation	
1	MENANGIS (34) PM*taŋis	[tamis]: 1,2,3,5,6,7,8,9,10 [taŋis]: 4	-V[m]V-˜-V[ŋ]V-	Ultima
2	GENGGAM (89) PM*gemgem	[geŋgam]: 1,2,3,4,6,7,8 [pegaŋ]: 9,10	-V[m]˜-V[ŋ]	Ultima Final
3	MALAM (167) PM*beRŋi	[bəreŋ]: 1,2,3,6,7,8,9,10 [beRem]: 4,5	-V[m]˜-V[ŋ]	Ultima Final

The correspondence [m]≈[ŋ] in Table 12 has two patterns. The data MENANGIS has the pattern -V[m]V-˜-V[ŋ]V-, and its position falls into the ultima group. This data is preceded and followed by a vowel. The data GENGGAM and MALAM have the same pattern, which is -V[m]˜-V[ŋ]. This data falls into the final ultima realm where the syllable [m] and the syllable [ŋ] are preceded by a vowel. The word [tamis] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [taŋis]; the word [geŋgam] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word

[pegaŋ]; and the word [bəreŋ] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [beRem].

Table 13: CORRESPONDENCE [e] ≈ [i]

NO.	GLOS (NO.)	Informant	Variation	
1	CURI (73) PM*takaw	[maliŋ]: 1,2,3,4,5,10 [maleŋ]: 6,7,8,9	-K[e]K˜K[i]K	Ultima
2	PILIH (85) PM*piliq	[pilih]: 1,2,4,5,6,10 [milih]: 3,7,9 [pileh]: 8	-K[e]K ˜ -K[i]K	Ultima
3	CACING (107) PM*kalati/qali-wati (qulej)	[caciŋ]: 1,2,3,6,7,8,9,10 [caceŋ]: 4,5	-K[e]K˜-K[i]K	Ultima

The correspondence [e]≈[i] in Table 13 has one pattern. The data CURI, PILIH, CACING have the same pattern, which is -K[e]K˜-K[i]K, the position of this data falls into the ultima group. This data is preceded and followed by consonants. The word [maliŋ] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [maleŋ]; the word [pilih] is used more frequently in communication compared to the words [milih] and [pileh]; and the word [caciŋ] is used more frequently in communication compared to the word [caceŋ].

5.2 Economic Lifestyle of Duano Tribes

The Duano tribe community living in Kampung Laut used to be a community that lived at sea, but they were then relocated by the Government to the mainland with the hope that their lives would be much better compared to when they still lived at sea. They were placed in an area not too far from the sea, making it easier for them to fish. The shape of the Duano tribe's houses is the same as that of other Malay communities. Their houses are made of wooden stilts, and they live in a corridor (ditch) that is entirely inhabited by the Duano tribe. The economic lifestyle of the Sea Tribe community in Sabak still fully depends on marine resources; the equipment they use is still very simple or traditional. The economy of the traditional Sea Tribe community is a nomadic subsistence maritime economy, heavily reliant on marine catches, and operates with simple technology. Most of the Duano community in Sabak's main occupations or economic activities are fishing, trading, selling salted fish, and gathering marine products. Their income is greatly influenced by the seasons and natural conditions, which affect the economic output, making it uncertain.

The roles within the Duano tribe family show no distinction between men and women, so it is common for women to work outside the home to supplement the family's economic income. Both men and women (including children and teenagers) are accustomed to engaging in activities to earn a living at sea. They strive to help each other in meeting the daily food needs (subsistence economy) within the family. The income they earn is usually just enough to survive, and it is very rare for it to be used for saving purposes. The relocation from the sea to the land, followed by social and cultural mixing, has resulted in changes to their economic lifestyle. Most of them are fishermen, and environmental changes such as land reclamation have caused fishing areas to shrink and fish catches to decline. This encourages them to seek alternative livelihoods, such as becoming laborers, scavengers, small traders, or processing marine products (fish crackers, salted fish) to supplement the family's income. Women are also involved in it; besides managing the household, they also work with the hope that their lives will improve.

> As stated by informant N (age 55), who works as a fish cleaner, he said (the informant's statement has been transliterated into Indonesian): *I work as a fish cleaner (a fish worker*

who cleans fish to be made into salted fish), working from 6 AM to 6 PM. In the past, when the children were still small, they were left and entrusted to their grandmother. The wage for being a fish laborer from morning to evening is 150,000, which also depends on the amount of fish caught. I work to find food and add to the family's money so we can buy rice, oil, and sugar. My husband allows me to work because his money is also not much. My husband works as a fisherman, and when the waves are high, he works as a construction laborer.

Duano women are the type of women who work diligently, especially in increasing the family's economic income. The social influence of the Malay community has resulted in changes in their mindset, worldview, and perspective on life. In the past, Duano women were those who always stayed at home, accepting whatever their husbands gave them. Now, they are willing to work outside the home to help their husbands improve the family's welfare. This is in line with the opinion of informant J, a 55-year-old who has worked as a fish processor for 15 years. His statement is as follows:

I work as a fish splitter (fish laborer), working from 7 AM to 6 PM. The children, when they were still small, were left and entrusted to their grandmother. The wages for being a fish laborer from morning to evening are uncertain, the money is paid daily depending on the quantity of fish, because 1 kg of fish is paid 500 rupiah. I work because my husband has allowed me, I work because the economy is unstable. My husband work as a driver, we don't have a boat so my husband can't catch fish.

The statement from informant J is basically the same; the longer the working hours, the more money will be earned, but it still depends on how many fish the trader gets from the fishermen. The husband of informant J does not have a boat/canoe, so he cannot go to the sea. In the past, they had a boat, but due to economic problems, they sold it, so now her husband works as a driver. Informant J also opened a small shop on the terrace of her house, selling only children's snacks and not selling cigarettes, cooking oil, sugar, and other items due to financial constraints. Next, a statement from NH, who is 45 years old.

I work as a fish cutter (fish laborer) and sometimes as a fisherman. Working as a fish laborer for 20 years, I work from 6 AM to 5 PM. Currently, the children are left and entrusted to their older sibling and grandmother. The wage for being a fish laborer from morning to evening is uncertain, with a daily payment of around Rp. 200,000 depending on the amount of fish caught by the Toke. I work to support the children and help my husband. My husband allows me to work because his income is also not much. My husband works as a fisherman.

The statement from informant NH shows that women indeed have to work to improve the family's standard of living. The current cost of food is very high, so to meet the needs for food alone, with more than two children, Duano women are required to work outside the home. Informant NH not only works as a fish splitter but also sometimes accompanies her husband to catch fish at sea during the months when fish are abundant. Certain months, such as November to January, are quite challenging for them because the scarcity of fish directly affects the family's income. Next is the opinion of informant S, who is 54 years old.

I have been working as a fish splitter (fish worker) for about 5 years. I work from 6 AM to 5 PM. The children are grown up, so I can work outside the home. The wage becomes
Fish laborers from morning to evening are uncertain; the salary depends on the amount of fish obtained by the Toke. I work to provide food for the children. My husband

allows me to work because the children are already grown. My husband works as a fisherman.

The statement from informant S shows that she only started being able to work when her children were already grown up. All this time, she did not work because she had not received permission from her husband. Each family has different policies, but out of all the interviewed informants, only one informant was allowed by her husband to work when her children were grown. Next is the informant, a young mother R, who is 38 years old. Her statement is as follows.

I have been working as a fish splitter (fish worker) for about 12 years. I have been working since I had my first child, working from 6 AM to 5 PM. My children are taken care of by their grandmother; sometimes I bring my child with me while working. The wages for being a fish laborer from morning to evening are uncertain; the salary depends on the amount of fish obtained by the Toke from the fishermen. I work to cover the children's meals and their school expenses. My husband allows me to work to help cover the cost of food. My husband works as a fisherman.

The statement from informant R shows that she has started working since having her first child. This was done because the money provided by her husband was not sufficient to meet their needs. He works from morning until evening with the hope of bringing home more money for his children. Sometimes those who work as fish laborers do not always work from morning to evening; sometimes they only work until noon, and there are times when they do not work at all. This depends on the amount of fish caught by the fishermen.

When these phonological findings are compared with earlier work, they both confirm and extend what is known about Duano in Jambi. The alternations identified here, particularly word-final [a]~[o] (e.g., [buŋa]~[buŋo], [tua]~[tuo], [teliŋa]~[teliŋo]) and [h]~[Ø] (e.g., [hati]~[ati], [hidup]~[idup]), are in line with Rozelin et al. (2021), who reported that innovations in the Duano isolect of Sabak are concentrated among younger speakers while relics survive mainly among older speakers, and that Duano is increasingly becoming a second language beneath Malay. They also support Rozelin et al. (2024), whose dialectological comparison of Sabak and Tungkal, based on Adelaar's (1992) Proto-Malayic reconstruction, found that vocabulary shift outweighed vocabulary maintenance. Measured against the Proto-Malayic forms reconstructed by Adelaar (1992), which have final *a in items such as *mata and *buŋa, the [o] variants recorded in this study are innovations rather than retentions, and their resemblance to the surrounding Malay varieties points to contact as their likely source. This interpretation is consistent with Trudgill's (1986) account of dialect contact, in which short-term accommodation in face-to-face interaction, when repeated over time, becomes long-term accommodation and can eventually level distinctive local features. The fact that informants in the same small community still divide between inherited and Malay-like forms for the same gloss suggests that Duano in Sabak is at an intermediate stage of this process, where variation has not yet given way to complete replacement.

The workplace findings can likewise be read through established sociolinguistic theory. The pattern in which Duano fish laborers speak Malay with the toke (fish trader) and with Banjar, Bugis, and Javanese co-workers, but switch to Duano with fellow Duano, reflects what Communication Accommodation Theory describes as convergence toward interlocutors to gain approval and ease communication, while in-group talk maintains solidarity (Giles et al., 1991). In terms of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model, Malay is the unmarked choice in the multi-ethnic workplace, whereas Duano is the unmarked choice only within the in-group. Bourdieu's (1991) notion of the linguistic market explains why this division arises: in the fish-processing economy, Malay carries the linguistic capital that secures daily wages, while Duano has little exchange value outside the household. A close parallel is Gal's (1978) study of a German–Hungarian bilingual community in

Austria, where language choice indexed the contrast between traditional peasant status and newly available worker status, and young women were further along in the shift to German than older people and young men. In Sabak, Duano women's entry into wage labor likewise places them in Malay-dominant networks for most of the day. This matters for the future of the language because, as Fishman (1991) argues, a threatened language survives only if it is transmitted between generations in the home, family, and neighborhood; when mothers work from early morning until late afternoon, and children are looked after by grandmothers or older siblings, this domain becomes fragile. Ravindranath and Cohn (2014) showed that even Javanese, with more than 80 million speakers, can be at risk in Indonesia when intergenerational transmission weakens, so the threat to a community of about 80 Duano households is far more acute. Taken together, these comparisons suggest that the economic lifestyle of the Duano in Sabak does not merely accompany language change but actively channels it, and that revitalization efforts should address the workplace and the home together.

6. Conclusion

Language is not just a tool for communication, but also a reflection and shaper of how a person views and lives their life. The relationship between language and lifestyle is reciprocal; the language mastered by someone shapes their mindset, values, and daily habits, while the lifestyle they lead also influences the language they use and how they use it. Ultimately, language and lifestyle go hand in hand in a mutually influencing cycle. The language learned and used by someone shapes their way of thinking, values, and life choices, while the lifestyle they lead enriches or alters the language they use. Understanding this relationship is important, especially in the era of globalization, because language proficiency is not only a communication skill but also a gateway to new perspectives and lifestyles.

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