

The Javanese language at risk? Perspectives from an East Java village

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This paper assesses the language vitality of the Javanese variety spoken in Paciran, Lamongan, East Java, Indonesia using UNESCO's nine factors as the core approach and the EGIDS framework for comparison. In this assessment, I show that it is crucial to take into account (i) the speech level distinction between *ngoko* 'Low Javanese' and *krama/basa* 'High Javanese', (ii) the urban-rural divide, and (iii) socio-political and economic factors relevant to Indonesia. Due to the necessary inclusion of these variables among other factors, I suggest that the EGIDS framework – while still useful – cannot capture the nuances of the linguistic vitality situation of Javanese varieties as well as the UNESCO nine factors approach can. Overall, the results suggest that *ngoko* is presently in a stable diglossic position with Indonesian, the national language, while *krama* is at risk of endangerment. In Paciran village, the shift away from *krama* is towards the local variety of *ngoko*, compared to Indonesian as the unmarked alternative in urban settings. While a stable result for *ngoko* as spoken in Paciran village is encouraging, utmost caution must be taken given that negative attitudes towards Javanese varieties have been reported in other rural settings in Java.

1. Introduction¹ Javanese (Malayo-Polynesian, Austronesian; ISO 639-3: jav) is in a unique position as a language with one of the largest speaker bases that is reported to be undergoing language shift (Mueller 2009; Setiawan 2012; Ravindranath & Cohn 2014; Abtahian et al. 2016) – and even in some cases, designated as endangered (Adelaar 2010). Presently, there are likely around 70 million Javanese speakers.² While a high speaker population can be taken individually as an asset against endangerment, for Javanese, a cluster of factors has been shown to affect its vitality. These factors include the designation of Indonesian (a variant of Malay) as the official national language (Mueller 2009; Adelaar 2010; Nurani 2015); increased mobility and a rising middle class (Oetomo 1990; Kurniasih 2006; Goebel 2010); as well as effects of

¹First, I wish to thank the many people in Paciran village for sharing their opinions and their language expertise with me. I especially want to thank the interview participants, my research assistants Ibu Deti Salamah, Ibu Finatty Ahsanah, and Ibu Nunung, as well as Bapak Zaini & Ibu Maula, Bapak I'id & Ibu Lisa, Bapak Suwanan & Ibu Zumaroh. Thank you to Frank Mueller and Thomas J. Connors for helpful discussion as well as the reviewers for insightful comments. I also thank the audiences at ICLDC 5 (International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation) at the University of Hawaii in March 2017 and DLAP 2 (Documentary Linguistics: Asian Perspectives) at the University of Hong Kong in May 2017 where versions of this paper were presented.

²The report from the 2010 census indicates there are 68,044,660 Javanese speakers from age 5 years and above within a population of 95,217,022 self-identified Javanese people (Na'im & Syaputra 2011). Note that the census is based on self-reporting and does not distinguish Javanese speech levels (see §3.2).

globalization and the influence of English (Zentz 2015). Indeed, a large speaker population does not make a language immune to endangerment (Ravindranath & Cohn 2014; Abtahian et al. 2016).³

Yet within the Javanese language community, there are a multitude of individual speech communities with potentially very different sociolinguistic dynamics that could have an impact on the language vitality of that speech community, such as factors that mitigate between urban vs. rural settings or prestigious vs. non-prestigious settings (e.g., Labov 1972). On the topic of evaluating the language vitality of large languages, Ravindranath & Cohn (2014:73) suggest that “[...] at minimum therefore we need to consider that it is more useful to assign language vitality measures such as EGIDS [Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis & Simons 2010)] to individual speech communities rather than to the larger community of speakers of a particular language”.

This paper responds to Ravindranath & Cohn’s (2014) call through a case study on language vitality of the Javanese speech community in the rural village of Paciran, East Java, Indonesia. Their recommendation is not only time sensitive given the above consensus that Javanese as a whole is considered to be at risk, or already endangered; it is also highly relevant in that dialectal variation is found across all areas of Javanese grammar (e.g., Wedhawati et al. 2006), yet varieties of Javanese remain relatively understudied (Connors & Vander Klok 2016). Assuming that dialectal differences are a way to represent and to be identified as belonging to a unique speech community, we can conclude that there are a number of Javanese speech communities whose vitality status needs to be addressed. The research locations would have to be carefully selected in order to cover the three main dialectal groupings – West, Central, and East Javanese (e.g., Hatley 1984) – as well as variables such as urban vs. rural, among others. If at least some speech communities in each of the investigated dialectal groupings cover the relevant variables, we can gain a better picture of the vitality of the language community as a whole.

As it stands, a number of ethnolinguistic studies have investigated aspects of the language vitality situation of Standard Javanese, as spoken in the courtly centers in Yogyakarta and Surakarta (Solo): Errington (1985; 1998), Kurniasih (2006), Poedjosoedarmo (2006), Wijayanto (2007), Smith-Hefner (2009), Zentz (2012; 2015), and Nurani (2015). In addition, Setiawan (2012) evaluated the linguistic vitality of Javanese in three locations in East Java. The garnered consensus that Standard Javanese is at risk or endangered is significant on the one hand, given that this dialect carries prestige and assuming that less prestigious dialects may be more vulnerable to language endangerment. On the other hand, Indonesian is more rapidly established in cities than in rural areas (Anderson 1990 [1984]; Errington 1998), aligning with the fact that vulnerability to endangerment is higher in urban centers than in rural areas (e.g., Grenoble 2011; Harbert 2011). These findings result in conflicting predictions concerning language endangerment for rural areas: Javanese may be either more affected (because the variety is not standard) or less affected (because the va-

³While inversely a small speaker size is correlated with a risk of endangerment (e.g., Krauss 1992; Whalen & Simons 2012).

riety is spoken in a rural area). Setiawan (2012), however, provides evidence from Tinggar village in East Java that even in rural areas, the language vitality of Javanese is impacted.

To further understand which factors are relevant for a Javanese rural village, the results of this paper for Paciran village are contextualized both locally and globally. Specifically, they are contextualized *locally* by comparing the identified factors for this study with those found relevant for Standard Javanese (e.g., Oetomo 1990; Kurniasih 2006; Nurani 2015; Zentz 2015) and the East Javanese varieties spoken in Tinggar village, Jombang town, and the city of Surabaya (Setiawan 2012). Moreover, they are examined in a global context through measurement primarily according to UNESCO's nine factors (Brenzinger et al. 2003) and in lesser detail with EGIDS (Lewis & Simons 2010), both well-established tools for assessing language vitality.

This study also expands on other studies on Standard Javanese in at least two ways. First, the results of this study take into account the distinct uses of the Javanese speech levels, where the low speech level, *ngoko*, is evaluated separately from the high speech level, *krama*. This separation is necessary given that these speech levels are argued to be distinct grammatical systems within the same language (Wohlgemuth & Köpl 2005), and *krama* is currently considered to be endangered in urban centers (e.g., Mueller 2012; Setiawan 2012; Zentz 2015), where shifts towards Indonesian were already noted in the 1990s (Oetomo 1990; Errington 1998). The results from the perspective of Paciran village show that while the use of *ngoko* 'Low Javanese' seems to be stable (unlike what some report for Standard Javanese), the use of *krama* 'High Javanese' is shifting (parallel to what all previous studies report for Standard Javanese).

Second, this study uses two different assessment tools to interpret the results – UNESCO's nine factors and EGIDS – whereas previous studies either only use one of these tools or use a different one. Through the use and comparison of both of these tools, the UNESCO's nine factors approach was found to be more advantageous for assessing the vitality of the Paciran Javanese variety as, among other reasons, it included more social factors such as language attitude and responses to new media domains. Based on these results, I argue that EGIDS does not provide the nuanced level required to cover the necessary inclusion of various social and dialectal factors in the context of investigating Javanese varieties.

This paper is organized as follows. §2 introduces the methodologies of the present case study, and §3 provides background information on the research location of Paciran village and how the speech levels are used there. §4 discusses the local factors that have been previously identified as impacting Javanese language vitality. In §5, I review three approaches of language vitality assessment that have been applied to Javanese in individual studies: (i) EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) (Lewis & Simons 2010) by Ethnologue (Simons and Fennig 2018); (ii) UNESCO's nine factors (Brenzinger et al. 2003) by Setiawan (2012); and (iii) a quantitative approach by Abtahian et al. (2016). Against this background, I turn to the current case study on both *ngoko* and *krama* speech levels in Paciran, East Java, Indonesia. §6 provides the core assessment of the language vitality situation of Paciran

Javanese based on UNESCO's nine factors, and I also briefly assess the results based on the criteria in EGIDS in §7. In §8, I discuss reasons why the UNESCO's nine factors approach was better suited to evaluate the vitality of the Paciran Javanese variety compared to EGIDS. §9 concludes with a short note on the outlook for language maintenance for Javanese.

2. Methodology This case study is based on data gathered from semi-structured interviews, recordings of natural conversation, and participatory observation over an extended period since 2011. It has been established that a multi-method approach provides a richer, more nuanced dataset as each method approaches a research question from a different perspective (e.g., Glaser 1978; Pearce 2002).

Semi-structured interviews allow for direct discussion of the relevant questions with potentially no time constraints. For this study, the interview questions aimed to gain a better understanding of speakers' perspectives of the Paciran Javanese variety with comparison to surrounding dialects, the standard dialect, and the national language, Indonesian. (For the complete list of questions, see Appendix). I conducted a total of 14 interviews in Javanese in 2011. The participants consisted of five males and nine females from various socio-economic backgrounds with an age range between 21 and 70 years, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographics of interviewees in Paciran village conducted in 2011

Participant	Gender	Age	Socio-economic status in 2011
1	F	21	Local university student
2	M	24	Administrator assistant
3	F	25	Unemployed
4	M	26	High school teacher (Indonesian)
5	F	26	Part-time elementary school teacher
6	F	27	Administrator assistant
7	F	27	High school teacher (Biology)
8	M	31	Small business owner
9	F	36	Stay-at-home mother
10	F	37	Unemployed in 2011 (previously worked in Malaysia)
11	M	38	Fisherman
12	F	60	Market seller
13	M	60	Retired (local university professor)
14	F	70	Housewife

Seven participants were already known to me, while the seven others were selected through contacts of these participants or through a local research assistant (female, age 30 years). The research assistant was present for five of these interviews and another family member or friend of the interviewee was present in the other cases, aiding in introductions and in case of miscommunication. The interviews were recorded us-

ing an Olympus WS-331M audio recorder. They were then transcribed in ELAN⁴ by another research assistant who is a Paciran Javanese native speaker. One shortcoming of using interviews as a tool is that they are perceived as more formal, and speakers may not be as willing to speak openly as in other situations, especially if the interviewer is not known (e.g., Labov 1972). I aimed to alleviate this shortcoming by having someone familiar to the interviewee, such as the research assistant, a friend, or family member present during the interviews.

Recordings of conversation bring data from informal settings as compared to semi-structured interviews, which enrich and balance the dataset. In this case, the subject matter of language vitality or language use in Paciran came up naturally and was an additional reference source for this case study.

Additionally, long-term participatory observation is argued to be an essential method to accurately interpret the language vitality of a given community, especially since self-reports on language use have been shown to be problematic in assessing how individuals define “language use” or “speaking a language” (e.g., Rosés Labrada 2017). In keeping with this method, I conducted fieldwork in Paciran village for 8 months in 2011 and returned in 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016, and 2017 for stays between 2 and 7 weeks. Through this extended contact, I have had the opportunity to create close relationships with many in Paciran. During each visit, I stayed with a host family and maintained a very active public profile within the village by going for daily walks, visiting people in various neighborhoods, volunteer teaching at public and private schools for all age-ranges, and attending social gatherings (e.g., *arisan* ‘women’s meeting’; *ngaji* ‘reciting Holy Qur’an’; *ustadzah* ‘religious teaching’).

3. Background

3.1 The village of Paciran, Lamongan, East Java The focus of this case study is on the village (*desa*) of Paciran, located along the Java Sea on the north shore of Paciran District (*kecamatan*), Lamongan Regency (*kabupaten*) in East Java, Indonesia. As illustrated in Figure 1, Paciran is composed of three hamlets (*dusun*) – Paciran, Jetak, and Panjenan – and is flanked by Kandang Semangkon village on the west, Sumur Gayam village in the south, and Tunggul village on the east. The total population of Paciran in 2014 was 17,009. The surrounding villages are smaller, with 8,813 people in Kandang Semangkon; 3,419 in Sumur Gayam; and 4,896 in Tunggul, according to data from 2014.⁵ The population density of Java Island is the highest across Indonesia.⁶

The data are primarily based on, and hence most representative of, the Paciran hamlet, where the most fieldwork was conducted. A rough estimate of the population

⁴<https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>.

⁵Population data from the *Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Lamongan* [Lamongan Regency Central Bureau of Statistics]. <https://lamongankab.bps.go.id/statictable/2018/04/26/4011/banyaknya-pendudukan-keluarga-di-kecamatan-paciran-2014.html>.

⁶<http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/indonesia-population/>.

of Paciran from the village head office in 2011 was about 5,000 people.⁷ However, through participant observation as well as fieldwork with consultants from Jetak and Panjenan hamlets, I am confident that the results are representative of Paciran village as a whole.

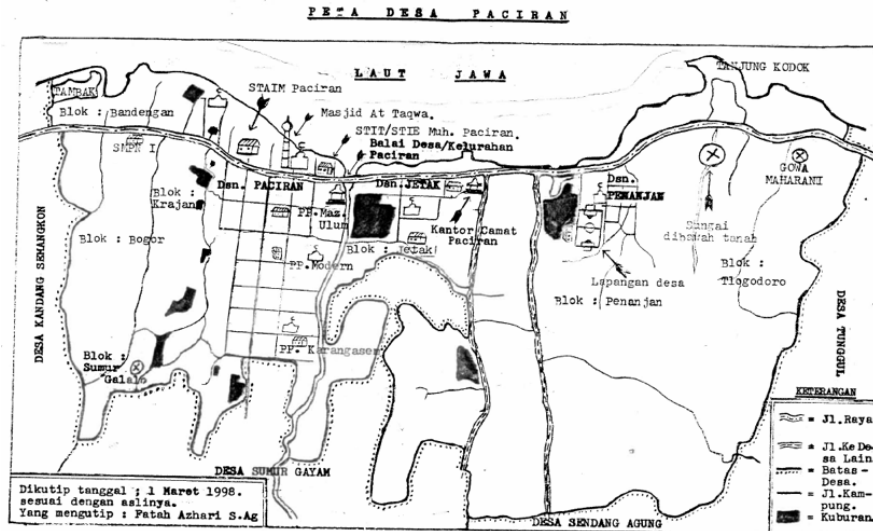


Figure 1. Map of Paciran village, East Java⁸ (Fatah Azhari 1998)⁹

Figure 2 is a map of Paciran District (*kecamatan*), which zooms out from the map in Figure 1, showing the surrounding villages. Within Paciran District, Paciran village is the second largest, with Blimbing having a slightly higher population at 18,422 inhabitants in 2014.¹⁰



Figure 2. Map of Paciran District¹¹

⁷The population breakdown by hamlet is not included in the 2011 *Data dasar profil desa Paciran* 'Basic data profile for Paciran village' or from the 2014 Lamongan Regency Central Bureau of Statistics.

⁸Used with permission from the village head office (*Kepala Lurah*).

⁹*Keterangan* 'Legend' (translated): *Jl. Raya* 'main road'; *Jl. ke desa lain* 'road to another village'; *Batas - Desa* 'village boundary'; *Jl. Kampung* 'village road'; *kuburan* 'cemetery'.

¹⁰Population data from the *Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Lamongan* [Lamongan Regency Central Bureau of Statistics]. <https://lamongankab.bps.go.id/statistictable/2018/04/26/4011/banyaknya-pendudukan-keluarga-di-kecamatan-paciran-2014.html>.

As shown in Figure 3, Paciran village is located over 300km from the courtly centers of Yogyakarta and Surakarta in Central Java, the locus of Standard Javanese. From Paciran village, the city of Surabaya in East Java is about 70km to the southeast. The nearest larger city to Paciran village is Tuban, in Tuban Regency, about 30km west.



Figure 3. Map of Java island, Indonesia¹²

3.2 The Javanese language and its speech levels Javanese is the largest language worldwide without official status¹³ and has over 68 million speakers (based on a 2010 census; Na'im & Syaputra 2011). Within Indonesia, it is mainly spoken in Central and East Java and parts of north West Java. It is also spoken in various locations on outer islands such as Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Sumatra due to transmigration (e.g., see Hardjono 1977). Outside of Indonesia, Javanese speakers can be found in Malaysia, the Netherlands, Saudi Arabia, Suriname, and New Caledonia, among other countries.

From a linguistic standpoint, Javanese is reputed to have a highly complex speech level or linguistic etiquette system, with at least three levels: *ngoko* 'Low Javanese', *madya* 'Mid Javanese', and *krama* 'High Javanese', as well as humbling and honorific vocabulary sets which can be applied to any of these levels (e.g., Poedjosoedarmo 1968; Moedjanto 1986; Siegel 1986; Errington 1988; 1998). Many researchers and speakers consider that there is a two-way main distinction between *ngoko* and *krama*. *Madya* is then considered as an intermediary form between these two. Robson (2002:12) describes *madya* as "*krama* containing certain words in an abbreviated form and having the affixes of *ngoko*". Robson further (2002:11) notes that "[t]hese [levels] are not separate languages but simply styles in the form of different sets of vocabulary within the one language". However, Jeoung (2017) has found different syntactic properties between speech levels in Madurese, suggesting that speech levels can be separate grammatical systems instead of simply different vocabulary items.

Important to this study – to be able to accurately describe the language vitality of Javanese – is understanding the role of this system in current Standard Javanese

¹¹<https://www.paciran.com/p/about.html>. (Retrieved 9 May 2018).

¹²<https://maps.google.com>. (Retrieved 19 March 2018).

¹³https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_largest_languages_without_official_status. (Accessed 13 May 2018).

as well as in the varieties spoken outside the courtly centers. Traditional use of this system is based on various factors including age, social status, education level, and intimacy (e.g., Poedjosoedarmo 1968). Use of the speech levels can be asymmetric: For instance, a child speaking to her uncle is expected to speak the high speech level *krama* (indicated with underlining) as in (1a), while the uncle would reply in the low level *ngoko*. There is also a symmetrical use: Two young, close friends, for example, would use *ngoko* between each other, as in (1b). These two examples highlight some main differences across speech levels; the word order is the same, but the lexical and functional items are distinct.¹⁴

- (1) a. Kula sampun nedha sekul-ipun.
 1SG already eat rice-DEF
 ‘I have eaten the rice.’
- b. *Aku wis mangan sega-ne.*
 1SG already eat rice-DEF
 ‘I have eaten the rice.’

(Robson 2002:13; glosses added)

Historically, more asymmetric use was employed, while a shift towards more symmetric use occurred in the 1980s and is more common at present (Smith-Hefner 1989; Errington 1998; Goebel 2002; 2005).

Further, the use of the full extent of this system is closely tied to the royal courts in Yogyakarta and Surakarta, where nobility status (*priyayi*) or connection to the nobility was very important (e.g., Moedjanto 1986). However, as already noted in the 1990s, there was a shift away from *krama* in Standard Javanese (Oetomo 1990; Errington 1998);¹⁵ even within the *priyayi* circles in the 1980s, progressive leveling of the speech levels was observed (Errington 1985). Instead of using *krama* in the relevant speech situation, all studies on language use of Standard Javanese report a shift to Indonesian (Oetomo 1990; Kurniasih 2006; Poedjosoedarmo 2006; Smith-Hefner 2009; Zentz 2012; 2015). The national language is the unmarked alternative in this case: Beyond a ‘T/V (*tu/vous*)’ pronoun distinction, (Standard) Indonesian does not carry the social stratification implications on its sleeve like Javanese.

One of the primary causes of this shift is reported to be due to an increasing insecurity of speakers’ ability to use *krama* “correctly”. Even in cases where speakers are fluent in *krama*, self-regulation has been documented: Zentz (2015:350) relays a situation in which a speaker downplays her ability to speak *krama* well in front of her peers. She writes that “this micro-level social negotiation among peers could function to solidify shifts in language usage further and further away from High Javanese and into Indonesian in situations of formal interaction”. Other causes of this shift are due to Indonesian language policy as well as socio-political and socio-economic pressures (see §4).

¹⁴These examples do not show, however, any grammatical differences between the speech levels.

¹⁵See also Mueller (2012).

The occurrence of this shift from Javanese *krama* towards Indonesian can be viewed from different perspectives. One prevalent view is in terms of “language endangerment” or “language attrition”. However, these terms potentially conflate two issues. On the one hand, from a purely linguistic point of view, in the dialects of Yogyakarta and Solo where *krama* constitutes an embedded grammatical system, its endangerment is considered a loss of an entire linguistic sub-system (Wohlgemuth & Köpl 2005). Linguistically speaking, this is serious. On the other hand, the endangerment of *krama* is lamented because of (traditional) socio-political reasons: For many individuals, this speech level system is still viewed as the ideological way of speaking Javanese or even “being” Javanese (*cara jawa*). This ideological view is transparent in speakers’ reasoning that shifting to Indonesian is better than not speaking Standard Javanese “correctly” (e.g., Kurniasih 2006; Himmawati 2011; Zentz 2015). It is also institutionalized in the educational curriculum in Central Java, where the focus is on the ability to speak and write “exemplary *krama*” (Zentz 2015:344). Further, this viewpoint is promulgated by efforts to “maintain” the Javanese language, where events such as holding debate contests only in *krama* are touted, despite the reality of multilingualism (Tamtomo 2018). This view, I would argue, is the perspective taken by most of the literature on language vitality studies of (Standard) Javanese.¹⁶

An alternative perspective of viewing the shift away from *krama* sets a different tone, while also setting aside the purely linguistic view: It views the shift towards Indonesian as reflecting changing social dynamics.¹⁷ The Javanese are moving away from the stale, feudalistic society of the former royalty towards an egalitarian, democratic society, and the use of Indonesian is a way of representing this change. Under this perspective, the shift away from *krama* can be seen as a healthy development rather than a regretful one. As far as I am aware, only two scholars discuss this view in depth: Errington (1985; 1988; 1998) and Goebel (2002; 2005; 2010). Tamtomo (2018:25) suggests that political pressures towards an “ideal of unity” within Indonesia discourages speakers from openly discussing the socio-political uses and values of language.

Yet whether this shift is viewed as welcome or unwelcome, there remains some concern for the vitality of Javanese as a whole. Among language vitality studies on Standard Javanese, Errington (1998), Zentz (2012; 2015), and Tamtomo (2018) stand out in identifying that a major consequence of the shift away from *krama* is the further erasure of *ngoko*, and that the shift away from *krama* reaches further than simply the loss of *krama* but extends to other domains of use. Zentz (2015) argues that it is actually the contexts that frame language use that have shifted: National

¹⁶Studies within Indonesia have very quickly gone from identifying and lamenting the loss of *krama* to discussing ways in which the Javanese language – not necessarily focusing on *krama* – can be “maintained”. For instance, within the short papers in the proceedings of the conference series LAMAS (Language Maintenance and Shift) in 2012, titles of both these themes are found: *Language attrition in Java (Some notes on the process of Javanese language loss)* (Supatra 2012) and *The dying phenomenon of Javanese language use in its speech community* (Sarosa 2012); as well as *Linguistic Domains: Keys to the maintenance of Javanese* (Purwoko 2012) and *The importance of positive language attitude in maintaining Javanese language* (Wulandari 2012).

¹⁷I thank one of the reviewers for raising this point and highlighting the importance of the changing socio-political climate in Indonesia.

language policies are committed to supporting and modernizing the Indonesian language, while any educational support of Javanese focuses on *krama* (see also §4). The result of these top-down acts is that *ngoko* is pushed to the sidelines and has become invisible – institutionally as well as for many speakers. Zentz (2015:356) writes that her informants describe *ngoko* as nothing more than “daily talk”.

Overall, these different perspectives are important to any study on the Javanese language and future studies will hopefully be approached from these different angles. The present study on the dialect of Javanese spoken in Paciran village, East Java, therefore must be framed according to its use of the speech levels as well as its local socio-political climate (historical and current). I discuss the former in this section, and the latter within the context of UNESCO’s nine factors to evaluate the linguistic vitality of Paciran Javanese in §6.

Outside of the Yogyakarta and Surakarta royal centres, the linguistic etiquette system is not used in its full extent, nor is it used in the same frequency (Smith-Hefner 1989; Conners 2008). In Paciran village, everyday speech is mostly in *ngoko*, but *krama* is nonetheless present and important. However, what is meant or understood as *krama* in Paciran is also different than in the royal courts, and Paciran villagers often refer to it as *basal/boso* ‘language’, as noted by Robson (2002:12) as a Javanese term for rural *krama* or non-*ngoko* (Errington 1985). High Javanese in Paciran seems to mainly correspond to *madya* ‘Mid Javanese’ in Standard Javanese: Specifically, *krama* vocabulary items are used in conjunction with *ngoko* affixes or other vocabulary items. In other words, *basa* is not as grammatically integrated as *krama* in Standard Javanese. A representative example of the use of *basa* in Paciran is provided from a speech given by an older, respected woman at a women’s religious gathering (*ustadzah*), where *basal/krama* words are underlined. As shown in (2), *krama* words are not throughout the sentence, and *krama* affixes are not present; whereas one would expect the definite suffix *-(n)ipun* when speaking in *krama* in Standard Javanese, the suffix used here is the *ngoko* form *-(n)e*.¹⁸

- (2) *Mergi tiang tuo niki kudu n-dongak-no temen-an nang nggon-e*
 because people old DEM have.to AV-pray-APPL truly-NMLZ to place-DEF
putra-ne. Nggeh to mboten?
 child-DEF yes or no
 ‘Because parents must truly pray for a home for their child(ren). Is this true or not?’

(JVK1-015-B, 20.26–20.32)

This use of ‘High Javanese’ in Paciran village is similar to the use of *krama* described in Surabaya, East Java, aligning more closely to *madya* in Standard Javanese (Hooger-vorst 2010; Krause 2017). Throughout this paper, I continue to use the term *krama*,

¹⁸The references of the audio recordings in this paper indicate the item number of recording followed by the start and end time of the utterance. These files will be archived in PARADISEC (Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures).

but it should be understood that this speech level in Paciran, Lamongan, is less grammatically integrated and has a smaller vocabulary than its counterpart in Standard Javanese.

4. Local factors relevant to Javanese language vitality To contextualize the current case study in Paciran, East Java, this section first looks at the specific factors that have been identified as relevant to the Javanese language ecology before reviewing the previous ethnolinguistic and quantitative vitality assessments in §5.

Language endangerment research has identified a number of factors which can erode or aggravate language vitality, and most often it is a complex “constellation” of factors which impact a language (Himmelmann 2010:46). For Javanese, Mueller (2009:184) identifies three factors: (i) the special status of the (introduced) national language, Indonesian; (ii) increased social and spatial mobility towards cities; and (iii) the development of bilingual communities. Two additional factors to include in this scenario are the rising middle class and globalization. Zentz (2012; 2015) and Nurani (2015) show an increased use of and positive attitudes towards English among young Javanese, which have an impact on the use of Javanese. Thus, the endangerment scenario for Javanese is created by at least the four factors outlined in (3). The main driving force behind these factors is arguably political; specifically, national language policy for (3a), while for (3b), it is economy. Both are factors known to increase the risk of language endangerment (e.g., Harbert 2011; Spolsky 2011; and the references therein). I discuss each of these factors in turn.

(3) *Language endangerment scenario for Javanese:*

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| a. Language policy | i. Pressures from Indonesian |
| | ii. Globalization |
| b. Economy | i. Urbanization |
| | ii. Rising middle class |

4.1 Language policy in Indonesia Language policy in Indonesia, which strongly endorses the national language, Indonesian, has had a major impact on the perspective and use of any local language (e.g., Florey 2005; Arka 2013). Javanese is not an exception. One of the well-known policies of the national government on language is ‘Love local languages, use the national language, study foreign languages’ (*Mencintai bahasa daerah, memakai bahasa nasional, mempelajari bahasa asing*) (*Undang-Undang 24/2009*).¹⁹ While this slogan is meant to foster and maintain linguistic diversity, in practice, it marginalizes local languages. Nurani (2015) notes that only one of the articles (#42) in the decree 24/2009 is dedicated to promoting local languages. For the Javanese context, Zentz (2015:356) aptly writes: “[...] Javanese language and lifestyles have been antiquated through policy making that is primarily interested in singular, monolingual nationhood”.

¹⁹See Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional [Ministry of National Education] n.d.

Oetomo (1990) has shown that the pressure of Indonesian already had an effect on the use of Javanese three decades ago.²⁰ In this study, one of the investigations is through an experiment where a middle-aged Javanese man wearing traditional clothes speaks only *krama* ‘High Javanese’ in various work settings. Not only do the addressees not reciprocate the use of *krama*, which would be expected given his demeanor, some also reported feeling offended, since in their view, Indonesian is the de facto language in work settings. This result shows that the social setting overrides the rules of Javanese linguistic etiquette, despite the speaker and addressee sharing the same language: In the workplace domain, Indonesian is the expected norm. Sneddon (2003) reaffirms this same sentiment a decade later.

Concerning the foreign language component, emphasis is often placed on English (Zentz 2015:340). English is included in the public school curriculum, being compulsory in almost all grades beginning in primary school, and private English schools are popular and increasing in Indonesia (Lamb & Coleman 2008). In addition, there is now an English component in secondary school national exams and university entrance exams. English is viewed as cool and modern; it is associated with sophistication, intelligence, prestige, and wealth (Nurani 2015; Zentz 2015). For some young adults, using English represents “[...] a place to expand their identities and communicative repertoires beyond [...] the options available in Javanese and Indonesian national spaces” (Zentz 2012:149). For others, learning English is perceived as a means to a socio-economic end, such as securing a place in postsecondary education or in the job market (Zentz 2012:145).

Thus, while the use of Indonesian has been highly successful in its integration as a national language (Keane 2003; Sneddon 2003), recent studies have shown that this success is not leading to stable diglossia, but instead it is pushing the 700-plus indigenous languages of Indonesia – even as large as Javanese – to be at risk (Arka 2013; Ravindranath & Cohn 2014; Abtahian et al. 2016).

4.2 Economy in Indonesia The economy has a large impact on language vitality in Indonesia. This factor follows overall endangerment trends, where urbanization and the language used in work settings help to drive language shift (e.g., Grenoble 2011; Harbert 2011).

Indonesia is considered the largest economy in southeast Asia, and since the setback of the Asian financial crisis of 1998, there has been no major downturn. The World Bank reports that Indonesia’s GDP per capita steadily grew to be four times as much in 2016 as it was in 2000.²¹ In combination with the aforementioned successful integration of Indonesian as the dominant language option (or even required) in formal settings, such as education, government, and the workplace, Indonesian is thus seen as the language of economic opportunity and modernity.

Previous case studies including Oetomo (1990), Kurniasih (2006), and Zentz (2012; 2015) have found that the emerging middle class has a major effect on shifts in

²⁰Thank you to Franz Mueller (personal communication) for highlighting the importance of this study.

²¹Indonesia’s GDP per capita grew from \$857 in 2000 to \$3,603 in 2016. <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/indonesia/overview#1>.

domains of language use. For instance, Kurniasih (2006) reports that in Yogyakarta, an urban environment, a shift towards Indonesian is led by middle class females – both the parents and children – in stark contrast to the working class.²²

Urbanization also negatively impacts the use of Javanese (Abtahian et al. 2016), where there is higher inward migration as compared to rural areas. In the city of Semarang in Central Java, Goebel (2002; 2005; 2010) finds that neighborhoods with both a higher socio-economic status and inter-ethnic interactions tend to use Indonesian, even where the Javanese people make up the majority.

5. The global view of Javanese language vitality Having described the specific *local* factors that are relevant to the Javanese language ecology, this section reviews three previous studies on the language vitality of Javanese based on EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale), as applied by Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig 2018); UNESCO's nine factors, as assessed in Setiawan (2012); and a quantitative approach, as analyzed by Abtahian et al. (2016). Overall, these approaches are amenable to cross-linguistic comparison; thus, this section explores the *global* view of Javanese language vitality.

5.1 Javanese according to the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) A well-established tool to assess language vitality is the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), which was developed by Lewis & Simons (2010) as an expanded version of Fishman's (1991) seminal assessment tool. EGIDS maintains Fishman's foundational view that at the heart of language endangerment is the disruption of language transmission to the younger generation. It adds more specific levels of language vitality on either end of the scale (Level 0 = International, Level 9 = Dormant, and Level 10 = Extinct) as well as distinguishing between levels such as *Vigorous* (Level 6A) which has "ongoing use that constitutes sustainable orality" and *Threatened* (Level 6B), which is "the level of oral use characterized by a downward trajectory" (Lewis & Simons 2010:115). The overall list of levels is the following:

(4) EGIDS levels (Lewis & Simons 2010:110)

- Level 0. International: *The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.*
- Level 1. National: *The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the nationwide level.*
- Level 2. Regional: *The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services.*

²²Specifically, Kurniasih (2006) reports that none of the working class children use exclusively Indonesian. In contrast, 62% of middle class girls and 9% of middle class boys report using exclusively Indonesian. This shift is parallel to the language choice of parents: None of the working class parents report speaking only Indonesian, while for the middle class, 88% of mothers and 39% of fathers do so.

- Level 3. Trade: *The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.*
- Level 4. Educational: *Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.*
- Level 5. Written: *The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.*
- Level 6A. Vigorous: *The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.*
- Level 6B. Threatened: *The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.*
- Level 7. Shifting: *The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children.*
- Level 8A. Moribund: *The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.*
- Level 8B. Nearly Extinct: *The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.*
- Level 9. Dormant: *The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.*
- Level 10. Extinct: *No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.*

EGIDS has been used to assess Javanese as spoken in Indonesia in Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig 2018), where it is ranked on the scale at Level 4 = Educational, meaning that Javanese is “in vigorous use, with standardization and literature being sustained through a widespread system of institutionally supported education”.²³ As shown by the purple dot in Figure 4 in relation to its high number of speakers, the vitality of Javanese is placed relatively high among living languages.

However, Abtahian et al. (2016:140) caution that languages with larger speaker bases are less susceptible to be ranked with a low vitality score by researchers and that we need to have a measure of reliability and transparency to support the vitality assessments made by Ethnologue. For example, we must better understand what exactly it means for Javanese to be educationally supported by the government to fully understand this ranking. Due to the prestige of the Javanese spoken in Yogyakarta and Surakarta, this variety is the standard mainly taught in the provinces of Central Java, East Java, and the Special Province of Yogyakarta (DIY) (Nurani 2015:16). Yet there are many dialectal differences which are disregarded and, in practice, the medium of instruction is often Indonesian, the national language (Setiawan 2012:303). Alternatively, where Javanese is spoken in West Java (Cirebon, Indramayu) and Banten, the teaching is usually conducted in the local variety (Ewing 2005:6). In Banyuwangi, the region on the eastern coast of Java closest to the island of Bali, Osing is taught along-

²³<https://www.ethnologue.com/cloud/jav>. (Accessed 27 March 2018).

side Javanese and Indonesian in all 25 *kecamatan* (districts) (Wittke 2019). These variations highlight the need for additional studies on individual speech communities, as advocated in Ravindranath & Cohn (2014), in addition to understanding the vitality of the language as a whole.

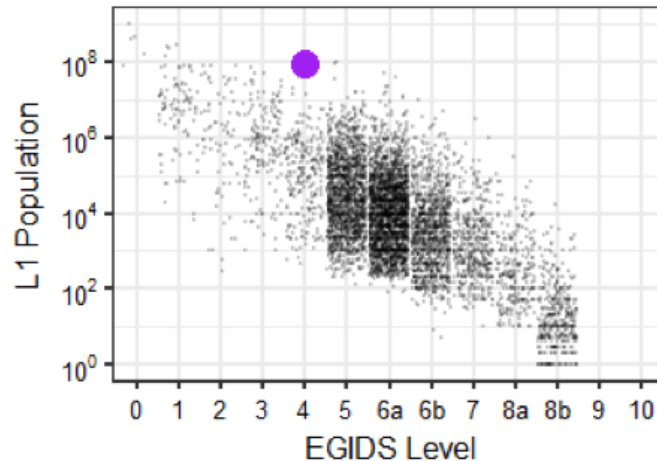


Figure 4. Javanese in the cloud of living languages (Simons & Fennig 2018)²⁴

5.2 UNESCO's nine factors Another well-established tool is the UNESCO nine factors (Brenzinger et al. 2003), as summarized in (5). Besides evaluating the speaker population and language transmission, this assessment explicitly requires the researcher to assess factors which impact language shift, spanning both socio-economic factors (e.g., Factors 4, 5, and 8) and political factors (e.g., Factors 6 and 7). Brenzinger et al. (2003) argue that all factors should be taken into consideration together to establish the vitality of a language. In comparison with EGIDS, some of these additional factors are also explicitly assessed in EGIDS (Factor 6), but others only implicitly (e.g., Factor 8) and some are not necessarily evaluated (such as Factor 5). On the other hand, Lewis & Simons (2010) argue that UNESCO's nine factors does not allow a fine-grained assessment of languages that are at either end of the scale like EGIDS does.

(5) *Summary of the UNESCO nine factors for language vitality assessment*

- Factor 1. Intergenerational Language Transmission
- Factor 2. Absolute Number of Speakers
- Factor 3. Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population
- Factor 4. Trends in Existing Language Domains
- Factor 5. Response to New Domains and Media
- Factor 6. Materials for Language Education and Literacy

²⁴<https://www.ethnologue.com/cloud/jav>

- Factor 7. Governmental and Institutional Languages and Policies including Official Status and Use
- Factor 8. Community Members' Attitudes toward their Own Language
- Factor 9. Amount and Quality of Documentation

Setiawan (2012) applies UNESCO's nine factors to evaluate the vitality of the Javanese language community through consideration of the socio-political factors of Javanese use in Indonesia as well as through an extrapolation of his results of an in-depth study on children's (ages 9–11 years) language proficiency and language attitudes in East Java in both city and rural settings.²⁵

Overall, Setiawan's (2012:299–306) assessment suggests that the future for Javanese is bleak, particularly in the city setting. Despite its strength in numbers (Factors 2 and 3) as well as relatively high documentation (Factor 9), Javanese is not being adequately supported by the government (Factors 6 and 7). Furthermore, Indonesian is being used in more and more contexts, such as religious or scientific domains, instead of Javanese (Factors 4 and 5). Furthermore, attitudes are negative towards Javanese (Factor 8), and intergenerational transmission is not “natural” in the city, with most children reporting Indonesian as their first language (Factor 1).

In his in-depth study, Setiawan (2012) shows that location matters for children's language use and proficiency: While Javanese is maintained as the language in most interactions in the village, city dwellers tend to use Indonesian or are Indonesian-dominant bilinguals. Yet language attitudes are the same across the board, where Javanese is perceived as uncool, difficult, old-fashioned, and gives the impression of being village-like or poor-like compared to Indonesian (Setiawan 2012:265–268).

Further, Setiawan (2012) suggests that Javanese speakers are no longer able to ascribe to the various speech levels for appropriate social settings (*unggah ungguh*): Across the urban-rural divide, their abilities in *krama* ‘High Javanese’ and *madya* ‘Mid Javanese’ were found to be poor as compared to *ngoko* ‘Low Javanese’. However, children living a rural setting reported higher use and proficiency of all levels including *krama* as compared to children living in the city.

Setiawan's study on Javanese language vitality has been the most comprehensive, as it includes the speech level distinction as well as the urban-rural divide. Despite these distinctions within the study, Setiawan (2012:Chapter 12) applies the UNESCO assessment broadly to the Javanese language community as a whole, without evaluating his three research locations (Surabaya city, Jombang town, Tinggar village) or *ngoko* vs. *krama* speech levels separately.

5.3 Quantitative approach to modeling language shift Abtahian et al. (2016) take up the challenge of assessing the vitality of large languages by quantitatively modeling census data from the top ten largest languages in Indonesia as a case study, with the goal of further pinpointing the primary causes of language shift worldwide. They analyze language choice (speaking Indonesian or not) as a sociolinguistic variable which

²⁵The locations are (i) Surabaya (city center); (ii) Jombang (town; 81km west of Surabaya); and (iii) Tinggar (village; 15km west of Jombang).

can be constrained by various social factors such as age, gender, religion, ethnicity, urbanization, and economic development.

Among the top ten local languages in Indonesia, Javanese stands out in that it has the largest speaker population by far.²⁶ While a large speaker base by no means makes a language immune to endangerment, Abtahian et al. (2016:161) show that speakers of “smaller” large languages are more likely to shift to Indonesian. This result supports the claim that smaller languages are more at risk (e.g., Krauss 1992; Whalen & Simons 2012), but at the same time this effect is shown even at the “large” language level. This result means that of the top ten, Javanese is the “safest” but still shows language shift effects based on social factors such as urbanization, non-dominant religion (i.e. not Islam), and parents speaking Indonesian – factors which are constant across all languages in the study. Thus, in the case of Javanese, any speaker who falls into one of these categories – lives in a city, practices Buddhism, Christianity, or Hinduism, and/or one or both parents speak Indonesian – is more likely to speak Indonesian. The quantitative approach of Abtahian et al. also reveals that gender was not a significant predictor of language shift, whereas in individual case studies by Kurniasih (2006) and Smith-Hefner (2009), women were identified as leading language shift towards Indonesian. Gender as a factor in language shift is therefore only significant in the role of other social processes, such as social networks or access to education (Abtahian et al. 2016:157).

This quantitative approach thus supports the overall findings from EGIDS and the UNESCO language assessment tools that Javanese as a whole is vulnerable to endangerment, and furthermore that this risk is higher in urban settings than in rural areas. This approach, however, has the disadvantage that only the factors gathered in the census can be investigated. Knowledge and use of *krama*, for instance, is not covered in this study. Further, Abtahian et al. (2016:141) note that this type of study necessarily investigates *language* communities instead of *speech* communities, and it is not clear how much overlap may exist between the two. For this reason, studies on individual speech communities, which can focus on other local factors, remain relevant to assessing the language vitality of a large language.

5.4 Summary of previous language vitality assessments on Javanese Each of the above language vitality assessments on Javanese use different methodologies. Based on the EGIDS assessment in Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig 2018), Javanese is not vulnerable to language endangerment and is in vigorous use, supported by educational systems (Level 4). Setiawan’s assessment of East Javanese in three locations based on UNESCO’s nine factors as well as language proficiency questionnaires arrives at a much more sobering picture, suggesting that the future of Javanese is “bleak” (Setiawan 2012:306). The quantitative study of Abtahian et al. (2016) based on census data suggests that the vitality of the Javanese language community may be somewhere

²⁶Although Abtahian et al. (2016:145) based their analysis on the 2010 census (see Footnote 1), they also introduce the number of speakers with numbers from Ethnologue 17, which states the Javanese speaker population at 84.3 million (based on the 2000 census). Sundanese is the second largest language in Indonesia in terms of speaker numbers, reported by Ethnologue 17 at 34 million.

between these two studies. That is, Javanese shows signs of language shift especially in urban areas, but it can be considered slightly “safer” considering its large speaker base. Yet, as Ravindranath and Cohn (2014) have already made clear, a large speaker population is no reason to overlook language shift.

In order to clearly compare the results of this study on the speech community of Paciran Javanese with these previous studies, I assess the language vitality of *ngoko* and *krama* in Paciran Javanese from the perspective of both UNESCO’s nine factors (Brenzinger et al. 2003) and EGIDS (Lewis & Simons 2010) in §6 and §7, respectively. In the context of this study, UNESCO’s nine factors ultimately proved to be more informative and comprehensive than the EGIDS framework because it included more social factors such as language attitude and could easily integrate the distinction between speech levels, among other reasons further discussed in §8. Thus, UNESCO’s nine factors inform the core assessment of this study.

6. The language vitality of Paciran Javanese according to UNESCO’s nine factors

In this section, I evaluate the language vitality of *ngoko* and *krama* using UNESCO’s nine factors, taking into account the relevant socio-political and economic factors discussed in §4. The results are based on the multi-method approach, as introduced in §2, from interviews, conversational recordings, and long-term participatory observation. Overall, the results for Paciran Javanese suggest that the vitality of *ngoko* is currently stable, but the use of the local *krama* variety is at risk of endangerment. This situation aligns with the trend of an urban-rural divide in language endangerment, where Javanese varieties spoken in rural areas are shown to be less affected (Setiawan 2012; Abtahian et al. 2016).

6.1 Factor 1: Intergenerational Language Transmission *ngoko* ‘Low Javanese’ is used daily in Paciran village by all ages. It is being transmitted fully to children by all parents or extended family members who live in Paciran, and this natural transmission has not changed since initial observations in 2011.²⁷ These results are based on overall observations with parents and caregivers and their children within the village during daily life – at social gatherings, at schools, or in the home. I have also had the opportunity to have continued encounters with at least six families with young children (less than 10 years old). The family dynamics are outlined in Table 2. The intergenerational transmission of *krama* or *basa*, however, is currently inconsistent and less common in Paciran village. Of the six families more closely observed, only the mother from Family 2 consistently used *krama* with her children. In Family 2, the father still used *krama*, but to a much lesser extent than the mother. In the other families, *krama* was either rarely spoken by the parents or not observed. More commonly, the grandparents would speak *krama* more consistently to their grandchild, but not exclusively.

²⁷For those who live outside of Paciran for extended periods of time (e.g., over 5 years) and return (either occasionally or permanently), the transmission may not be as natural; this is further discussed under Factor 4: Trends of Existing Language Domains (§6.4).

Table 2. Outline of living dynamics for six families observed in Paciran

	Total # of children in 2018	More than 2 generations in the household?	Gender	Approx. year of birth
Family 1	3	Yes, 4 generations	F	2007
			F	2011
			F	2013
Family 2	3	No	F	1998
			F	2003
			F	2009
Family 3	2	Yes, 3 generations until 2014	F	2013
			F	2015
Family 4	2	Yes, 3 generations until 2017	M	2012
			M	2015
Family 5	3	Yes, 3 generations	F	2000
			F	2004
			F	2007
Family 6	2	Yes, 3 generations until ca. 2016	F	2013
			F	2015

These observations are parallel to responses to the interview question, *Are children in Paciran taught krama when they are young? (Opo bocah-bocah nek Paciran dikurangi boso jawa kromo kawit cilik?)*, as demonstrated in (6)-(8). Throughout all examples,²⁸ some speakers used Indonesian in addition to Paciran Javanese; this is indicated in bold.²⁹

- (6) *Tergantung wong tuwane. Kebanyakan ora. Kebanyakan yo wes pelajaran soko sekolahan ...dadi ...wong nek omah iku **hari-hari** yo wes boso biasa.* [F37]

“It depends on their parents. Most don’t. Most are taught in school ...so ...at home it’s the everyday [language], yeah, ‘regular’ Javanese.”

(JVK1-005-B, 02.05-02.23)

- (7) *Yo, iyo, yo wes **cuma** sekedar ...ono sitok loro seng alus he eh Dur. **Bagian** seng kober ngonok ana’e ...ngurangi ...* [M31]

²⁸The following conventions are used for the interview examples. The quotes from the interviewees are in *italics*, and if Indonesian is used, those phrases are also *bolded*. *krama* is also indicated by *underlining*. Pauses are indicated by three successive dots: ... If the quoted sentences are not successive, the deleted sentence(s) are indicated by three successive dots in square brackets: [...]. Any phrases that were not able to be transcribed are indicated by [x]. The gender and age of the interviewee is given in square brackets following the quote. The translation to English was conducted by myself, and [words inside square brackets in the translation] indicate additional material not overtly expressed in the Paciran Javanese sentence, but deemed to be necessary to be understood in the English free translation. Note that some of the orthography chosen for Paciran Javanese by the transcriber (a Paciran Javanese native speaker) is variable; e.g., the passive prefix is sometimes rendered as *di-* or *dik-* (where the *k* indicates a glottal stop). I have not altered the transcription concerning such variable spelling since there are no Javanese spelling conventions.

²⁹The full list of interview questions and prompts is given in the Appendix.

“Yes, yes, yeah only a little ...there are one or two that are refined, right, Dur. For those that have the opportunity to teach their child.”

(JVK1-003-A, 12.13–12.26)

(8) *He em. Dik ulangi biar ...ben ...ben kulino. Sakmene dikulangi ...wes mulai dikulangi ...sekolah ...omahe: opo jare wong tuane.*

(Interviewer: *Roto-roto wong ngulang boso kromo mbek ana’e?*)

Gak. Boso jowo biasa. [F36]

“Yes. They are taught ...so ...so that it’s habitual. Now they are taught ...already starting to be taught ...in school ...in the home: whatever the parents decide.” Interviewer: “Do most people teach their child *krama*?” “No. Regular Javanese.”

(JVK1-004-A, 08.46–09.21)

While some parents may leave the acquisition of *krama* to the educational curriculum as stated in (6) or (8), full acquisition of the social complexity of the Javanese speech levels is simply not possible within the confines of the school dynamics – considering also that in some cases, the main language employed in the classroom is Indonesian.

Thus, for Javanese spoken in Paciran village, *ngoko* is fully transmitted to children, but *krama* is currently not.

6.2 Factor 2: Absolute Number of Speakers The total population of Paciran in 2011 was 14,728 people, as gathered by the village head office for the *Data dasar profil desa Paciran* (‘Basic data profile for Paciran village’). The population grew to 17,009 in 2014, as reported in the census statistics.³⁰ On the assumptions that the population has continued to grow and that *ngoko* in Paciran village is fully transmitted by parents as outlined in §6.1, one can project that there are currently at least 18,000 Paciran Javanese speakers of *ngoko*.

It is much harder to quantify the absolute number of Paciran Javanese speakers of *krama* given various reasons: This type of data has never been collected in a census or otherwise, and special care and attention would be required to qualify what it means to be a speaker of *krama* beyond data from self-reports. However, taking the result from Factor 1, that *krama* is not transmitted to all children currently, we can safely conclude that the absolute number of *krama* speakers in Paciran Javanese is less than the total population.

From the viewpoint of small languages, the absolute number of speakers is relatively high. Looking at this factor alone, both *ngoko* and *krama* Paciran Javanese thus have strength in numbers.

³⁰Population data from the *Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Lamongan* [Lamongan Regency Central Bureau of Statistics]. <https://lamongankab.bps.go.id/statictable/2018/04/26/4011/banyaknya-penduduk-dan-keluarga-di-kecamatan-paciran-2014.html>.

6.3 Factor 3: Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population Concerning Factor 3, the proportion of Paciran Javanese speakers of *ngoko* is 100%. This is clear from the fact that the absolute speakers (Factor 2) are the totality of the population and there is full intergenerational transmission (Factor 1).

For the Paciran Javanese speakers who speak *krama* fluently, this proportion is less easy to quantify as with the unknown number of absolute speakers. We can clearly say that this proportion is less than 100%, but how much less? If we consider that Paciran Javanese speakers who are above 40 years old can all speak *krama*, then according to the 2011 *Data dasar profil desa Paciran* ('Basic data profile for Paciran village'), the proportion of the total population is 38% (5,611/14,728).

While this proportion is likely inflated since this data does not qualify "speakers" of *krama*, from both observation as well as responses in the interviews, those who can speak *krama* fluently in Paciran village are mostly those who are older. In answer to the interview question, *Can all people in Paciran speak krama? (Opo wong Paciran kabeh iso boso jawa kromo toh gak?)*, all interviewees express that not everyone in Paciran can. In explaining who can speak *krama* fluently in Paciran, interviewees highlight the age difference, as shown in (9)-(11).

- (9) *Cuma krama pasaran. [...] iyo, gak...injih, mboten. [...] Alus temenan, jarang seng iso [...]. Luweh akeh seng umure luweh tuwo.* [M31]
 "Only 'market' *krama*, saying yes, no ... "injih, mboten". For truly refined Javanese, it is rare that people can [speak it]. More elderly people [can]. "

(JVK1-001-A, 12.19-13.00)

- (10) *Ya mungkin sebagian besar podho iso ...soale wong kene kan khusus ora wong paciran tok. Kadang wong teko daerah liyo juga ...domisili neng kene. [...]*
Soale nek seje lak karo bocah nom-noman saiki ...mungkin yo sebagian kecil tapi nek wong umuran tiga puluh—telong puloh limo menduwur, iku sebagian besar he eh. [F37]

"Yeah, maybe a large number of people can [speak *krama*] ...because the people here aren't all from Paciran. Sometimes there are people from other places too, ...[who] live here. [...] Because its different with young people ...maybe, yeah, it's a small number but if above 30-35 years old, it's a large number, yes."

(JVK1-005-B, 08.11-08.28)

- (11) *Wong seng guru-guru, wong tuwo-tuwo, terus wong seng biasa [x] lungo nek daerah liyo. Nek wong kene dewe ...jarang iso boso jowo alus.* [F26]
 "Teachers, elderly, and those who usually travel different places. As for those who live only here ...it is rare that they can speak refined Javanese."

(JVK1-006-A, 08.18-08.47)

The interviewee in (11) also suggests that in addition to older people, those who are more educated or have a higher socio-economic standing are those who can speak *krama*. It is not clear from my observations whether this is true, as in many cases

I have observed that Indonesian, the national language, is used more by those who have a higher socio-economic standing. This aspect is discussed more in §6.4.

Thus, while the proportion of Paciran Javanese speakers of *ngoko* is 100%, the estimated proportion of those who speak *krama* fluently is much less, at 38%.

6.4 Factor 4: Trends in Existing Language Domains In order to situate the existing language domains in the village of Paciran, it is important to understand the level of multilingualism first. Beyond the difference between the knowledge and use of speech levels (where *ngoko* is spoken by all speakers and *krama* is more commonly known and used consistently by older speakers; see §6.1 and §6.3), the national language, Indonesian, is also spoken.

Javanese-Indonesian bilingualism is now the norm for current parents and their children as well as some grandparents, following the massive successful integration of the national language throughout the entire country. This bilingualism was already noted for a majority of East Javanese speakers in the early 1980s (Kartomihardjo 1981). In explaining the language situation in Indonesia, one speaker describes that the national identity is linked to language. This statement itself is a mix of Indonesian and Javanese; in describing the national language, Indonesian is used (bolded), and otherwise, Javanese.

(12) *Nek kene bahasa yang digunakan eh Miss, wong indonesia, he eh, ...bahasa Indonesia, nomer siji.* [F27]

“Here the language that is used, Miss, by Indonesians is, yes, ...Indonesian; it’s the number one [language].”

(JVK1-009-B, 03.04–03.14)

The following subsections look at how Javanese (discussing the distinction of *ngoko* and *krama* speech levels where appropriate) and Indonesian are used in various domains in Paciran village.

6.4.1 Javanese used in all aspects of daily life; Indonesian used in official contexts

Overall, one aspect of the use of Javanese and Indonesian corresponds with the bipartition of the regional language, Javanese, as the language used in the home and daily life, and the national language used in governmental and institutional contexts.

In answer to the question, *What language(s) do you use daily?* (*Bendinane, sampeyan gawe boso opo?*), all 14 interviewees include Javanese (*boso jowo*). One male speaker, age 31 years, specifically identifies the daily language he speaks as *boso paciran* ‘Paciran language’. This term, or *boso ciran*, is observed to be commonly used in the village. In the interviews, only the teachers who use Indonesian daily as the medium of instruction also include Indonesian as one of their daily languages. Otherwise, the division between Javanese being the main language used in daily life in Paciran village and Indonesian where required for employment or outside of the village seems to be stable. This is echoed in an interviewee’s response to the above question.

- (13) *Boso jowo. Kalo di luar, luar jawa yo bahasa indonesia.* [F57]
 “Javanese. If outside, outside of Java, then Indonesian.”

(JVKI-008-A, 02.52–03.00)

Interestingly, in answer to the follow-up question, *Can you speak any languages other than Javanese?* (*Iso boso seng lio, sak liane boso jawa?*), two of the interviewees (M31 and F37) initially responded *Gak iso* ‘I cannot’, but then after a pause or in answer to the interviewer’s follow-up, responded with Indonesian. Based on participatory observation, both of these speakers do speak Indonesian. The male speaker, who has a small cell phone repair business, conducts all local daily business interaction in Javanese but needs to know and understand Indonesian to use the cell phone platform and instructions. The female speaker was unemployed at the time, but moved to be a teacher on another island, Kalimantan, where the language used was Indonesian. This type of initial answer indicates that some speakers are not aware of the extent to which they are bilingual, and suggests that more broadly, Indonesian is not used in daily life for many villagers even though the national language is known and understood.

Based on observation since 2011, Javanese is used across daily aspects of life in the village, both across family and business interactions: in the home, at the market, in local *warung* (street food stalls), and small businesses. In religious domains such as at the mosque or home gatherings, which are important aspects of daily life in Paciran, beyond reciting liturgical Arabic, a mix of Paciran Javanese (*ngoko* or *krama*, depending on the social situation) and Indonesian is used, with the local variety of Javanese being dominant.

Concerning *krama* specifically, in answering the question *When do you use those languages [that you speak]?* (*Waktu kapan bae sampayan gawe boso iku?*) with respect to this speech level, some speakers respond that *krama* (referred to as *boso* in this example) is used in the expected social situations, such as with the elderly.

- (14) *Nek karo wong-wong tuo, yo boso lah, tapi gak kromo inggil alus ...hehehe. Paleng yo, nek karo wong tuwo, nek wong gak sepiro kenal, baru boso kromo.* [F37]
 “With the elderly, yeah, *boso*, but not the refined *krama inggil* ... hahaha. Maybe, yes, with the elderly, with people you hardly know, then [I speak] *krama*.”

(JVKI-005-A, 02.47–03.19)

Beyond individual social or family dynamics, where *krama* can be used consistently or not, it is more predominately overheard in market or small business transactions. Indonesian is more present in Paciran village as the medium of instruction in school or in governmental meetings with outside groups. Interestingly, within the staff rooms at three schools that I have observed, many school teachers use exclusively Paciran Javanese, while other groups use a mix of Indonesian and Javanese. A possible reason for the difference in language choices is given in §6.4.2. Currently, there seems to be stable diglossia between *ngoko* Javanese and Indonesian in Paciran, but given

the positive inclinations towards Indonesian for economic reasons, this position can easily shift.

6.4.2 Use of Paciran Javanese indicates one as a village insider; Indonesian as an outsider A second aspect of where each language is spoken considers the social implications of speaking either the local variety of Javanese or the national language. As is clear from the previous subsection, Indonesian is not used exclusively as the home language in Paciran. I propose that the use of Indonesian beyond formal domains (such as in education or government) typically designates the speaker or the addressee as an “outsider”, while the use of Paciran Javanese in *ngoko* designates either one as being an “insider” in the village.

One example is shown by responses to the same interview question, *When do you use those languages [that you speak]? (Waktu kapan bae sampeyan gawe boso iku?)*, but concerning Indonesian. Paciran Javanese speakers indicate that they use Indonesian with guests, who are by definition “outsiders” of Paciran, and who may not speak Javanese:

- (15) *kalau ada tamu bicaranya ...cakapnya bahasa Indonesia* [F36]
“When there are guests, [I] speak ...use Indonesian.”

(JVK1-004-A, 01.18–01.22)

- (16) *Gak iso dikarani soale kan ...lingkungan kene wong jowo kabeh. Kecuali kalo ...nek ono tamu, wong jakarta toh wong endi kan, baru bahasa indonesia.* [F37]

“[Speaking Indonesian] cannot be considered because, well, ...around here it is all Javanese people. Except when ...when there are guests, from Jakarta or wherever, right, then Indonesian [is used].”

(JVK1-005-A, 02.24–02.46)

With guests who are (Paciran) Javanese, depending on their social standing and the closeness of the relationship, the sociolinguistic etiquette would normally call for the use of *krama*. However, as discussed more in §6.8 regarding language attitudes towards *krama*, in many cases, Paciran villagers would mainly use the default *ngoko* speech level and/or *krama* according to their (limited) abilities. In some cases, we also find the opposite in Paciran, where the speaker consciously chooses to use Indonesian when the sociolinguistic etiquette dictates that *krama* should be used, instead of the default *ngoko* in Paciran, creating distance. An example is given in (17).

- (17) *Nek nganggo boso jowo biasa, menurutku kurang sopan ...bedo lek nganggo boso jowo halus ...boso jowo kromo ...iku sopan tapi wong kene kurang ngerti. Dadi kudu nganggo boso indonesia.* [F26]

“If I were to use everyday Javanese, in my opinion it’s less polite ...it’s different than using refined Javanese ...*krama* ...is polite but people here don’t really understand, so I have to use Indonesian. ”

(JVK1-006-A, 07.07–07.33)

This choice, I argue, reflects the interviewee's desire to still be perceived as an "outsider" in the village of Paciran, retaining her roots in Bibar city (pseudonym) where she lived until she was 10 years old. Having grown up in Bibar city, where the speech levels are more prevalent combined with strong input of *krama* and *krama inggil* from her mother, this speaker was much more knowledgeable of the speech levels and the surrounding socio-linguistic etiquette than most in Paciran. As a result, she reports feeling uncomfortable using *krama* in many situations as, in her view, people would not fully understand. Thus, the avoidance strategy for her is to use Indonesian. The speaker further stated that she used Indonesian in teaching, her private tutoring, as well as in her mother's business setting. In contrast, the speaker's mother, who is also from Bibar city, uses *krama* and *krama inggil* regularly and consistently with clients in her business.

In a follow-up discussion with a research assistant who attended this interview as well, the research assistant expressed dismay concerning the above speaker's attitude. The research assistant felt that the interviewee designated herself "above" those who live in Paciran by using Indonesian, despite the fact that she has lived in Paciran for over 15 years. This response underlines the view that Indonesian as a language choice affects one's standing in social life in Paciran.

Another instance of self-designating oneself through language as an outsider to Paciran can be a result of outward migration, and then returning to Paciran, either for visits or permanently. A common reason for outward migration is due to intermarriage with non-locals, with either the husband or the wife moving to their parent's house depending on logistics (e.g., space) and economics. This trend follows what others have independently observed for marriage customs (Geertz 1961:75; Koentjaraningrat 1985:133; Jones 2002:226). Based on observations with four intermarried couples where the spouse moves outside of Paciran, all resulted in the couple speaking more or only Indonesian together, instead of a mix of Javanese varieties or Javanese and Indonesian. Further, this has an effect on language use during visits home to Paciran. For example, in a family who currently lives outside of Paciran, the mother is from Paciran and the father is from a village in Temangi Regency (pseudonym). While the two East Javanese varieties that they speak are certainly mutually intelligible, they prefer to speak a mix of Indonesian and Javanese with each other, Indonesian being more dominant. In speaking to their children, they speak even more Indonesian, and some Javanese. Returning to Paciran for visits with family, the parents claim that their children do not understand the Paciran variety, and the grandparents and extended family have adopted Indonesian as the primary means of communication with the children, even though they continue to speak Paciran Javanese with the parents and the children do understand the local variety of Javanese. Thus, the parents designate themselves and their children as outsiders to Paciran village through their use of Indonesian both outside and (especially) during their visits to Paciran. This is also an example of a generational shift that easily happens when parents choose to speak Indonesian.

In the cases of outward migration for employment that I have observed, for those who have returned to Paciran, there seems to be no effect on language use in Paciran;

they continue to use the local variety in all domains. For those who stay employed elsewhere, they adopt the dominant local Javanese or Indonesian variety, but use the local variety in visits back to Paciran. However, they may be more likely to slip into Indonesian. I suggest that the language choice of returning to the local variety of Javanese shows that the speakers want to still be considered as insiders in village life.

A further interesting case of language shift in certain domains is observed with a family of lower economic status where all nine children pursued higher education and now live elsewhere. As for the parents, both presently over 60 years of age, the mother often visits her children all over Java but the father never leaves Paciran. In conversation with myself, the mother easily shifts to speaking Indonesian, while the father only speaks the Paciran Javanese variety. The mother's shift in language use with me may illustrate an effect on her language use within Paciran: One way of interpreting this language use is that the mother wants to show to others that she is well-travelled (where the default language with foreigners is Indonesian) but also perhaps still views me as an outsider in Paciran. This shift to Indonesian in her case is also observed in conversations with her grown-up children on the phone and with her farmer employees, where the sociolinguistic dynamics in Paciran would normally call for *ngoko* in the former and *krama* in the latter. The use of Indonesian is not constant, but shifts are common.

The insider vs. outsider designation in the choice of language use is not parallel to an inter-ethnic vs. intra-ethnic distinction. A case in point is the following response from a 38-year-old male speaker originally from Madura (but who has lived and integrated into Paciran village for over 20 years) as to when he uses Indonesian. The expectation of an inter-ethnic vs. intra-ethnic language use divide is that this speaker would use Indonesian, or others would speak Indonesian to him (as perhaps indicated with the use of Indonesian with guests). Instead, as indicated in his answer in (18), he is fully integrated into the Paciran village lifestyle, speaking the local Javanese variety instead of the shared common language, Indonesian. This claim is corroborated by longitudinal observations of the exclusive use of *ngoko* to the barista, the barista's husband (both slightly younger) and his friends during his daily visits of one to three hours to the same café in Paciran, which I also have had the chance to frequent since 2011.

(18) Context: Interviewer asks, 'When did you use Indonesian?'

Waktu merantau nok sumatra ...iku tok ...mbarek nang bali sak ulan. Apan ketemu jawane yo wes jowo biasa ngono bae. Cumak apan bahasa indonesia ketemu bongso majik-majikane, ngono be, bongso ...bongso bosse ...boss iwak ...iwak tok. Roto-roto kan wong bali. [M38]

'When I was around Sumatra ...That's it. And in Bali for one month. When [I] meet Javanese people, yeah, it's just regular Javanese. When it's only Indonesian, it's meeting with the employers, just like that ...or with the boss ...the fish boss only. Most are Balinese.'

(JVK1-003-A, 02.50-03.28)

Thus, the use of Paciran Javanese always designates one as an insider, while the use of Indonesian beyond formal domains can implicate that the speaker or addressee is an outsider. This is reported and observed with the use of Indonesian with guests (Javanese or non-Javanese), with Paciran Javanese locals instead of *krama* ‘High Javanese’, and with Paciran Javanese locals instead of *ngoko* ‘Low Javanese’.³¹

6.4.3 Summary of Factor 4: Trends in Existing Language Domains for Paciran village

To sum up the results for *Factor 4: Trends in Existing Language Domains*, Paciran Javanese (*ngoko* and *krama*) are in widespread use in all daily aspects of village life. Indonesian is also used in formal domains such as in schools and the government. Outside these formal domains, I propose that the use of Indonesian in this case has an additional social implication that designates the speaker or the addressee as a village outsider.

6.5 Factor 5: Response to New Domains and Media This section discusses three domains which expand language platforms or use, and could result in different language responses in Paciran village: (i) responses to the globalized use of English; (ii) responses to SMS on mobile phones or social media platforms such as Twitter, Whatsapp, and Facebook; and (iii) responses to a possible new setting within the village due to outward migration.

6.5.1 Responses to English in Paciran village One effect of globalization, the increased use of English, is also observed in Paciran village, albeit at a much smaller scale than was observed by Zentz (2012; 2015) in urban Central Java. In general, Paciran Javanese speakers view learning both English and Indonesian (starting formally in kindergarten) as positive. Although the teachers are not usually fluent in English, I have observed that a number of children know English words or phrases, and some even have basic conversation skills. This knowledge is in part due to formal education and in (larger) part to the available online media, such as watching YouTube videos in English.

While English is not spoken in, or necessary for, everyday village life, substantial efforts are made to attain at least some basic proficiency. For instance, an elementary English school teacher started to provide public, free English classes to parents before and/or after school at a local boarding school in 2016. Another two teachers in Sendang Duwur village south of Paciran (see Figure 2) also provided additional weekly free English classes to elementary school children after school on their own time from 2011–2014. Middle class families send their children to *Pare*, an English-run camp/boarding school in a village in East Java for periods of time they can afford (1 week to 3 months). In addition, principals or teachers at schools throughout the area recruited me to be a guest teacher as a native English speaker. These efforts, although not entirely successful at attaining high proficiency/fluency in English, are

³¹This distinction can be considered similar to *krama* vs. *ngoko*, marking a distinction between distant and close relationships, respectively, as observed in Semarang city neighbourhoods (Goebel 2002; 2005), but where Indonesian is used instead of *krama*.

indicative of a major shift in the perspective of villagers in embracing one aspect of globalization. Studying English provides new opportunities; it can be a step to a future higher economic status and/or lead to employment outside of Paciran.

While these views observed in Paciran village align with those found by Zentz (2012; 2015) and Nurani (2015) in Central Java, this effect of globalization currently does not have any detriment on language use of Javanese, such as a shift in language domains. For those who move outside of Paciran, I have observed cases where English does shift language use in domains; some examples of domain shifts are in watching movies or listening/singing to pop songs in English instead of exclusively in Indonesian or Javanese. In cities such as Semarang, Central Java, extreme cases – albeit uncommon – where English has taken over as a main home language have been noted, where Indonesian parents who are non-native English speakers can be overheard speaking exclusively English to their children in mall settings (observed separate cases in 2014, 2016, and 2017). Such extreme cases have not been observed in Paciran. Yet because of the immense positive perspective towards “studying a foreign language”, it remains to be seen whether additional English contexts will provide more opportunity for language shift within rural settings such as Paciran village.

6.5.2 Responses to social media and mobile phones in Paciran village Paciran Javanese villagers’ language use on SMS on mobile phones and social media domains such as Facebook, Twitter, and Whatsapp is often in the local variety of Javanese, predominantly *ngoko*, with frequent use of acronyms, hashtags, and emoticons.³² Speakers also use Indonesian and sometimes English (or a mix of these languages). For instance, one user (F28) writes a Facebook post using a mix of languages with the use of English in the dropdown list of emotions that Facebook provides, then starting with Indonesian, using Paciran Javanese, and then closing with Indonesian and Paciran Javanese in the last line.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to establish the implications of the different language uses on social media platforms, but one hypothesis is that these language uses can also bring the social implications discussed above concerning trends in existing domains (Factor 4). That is, the Paciran Javanese variety would be used on social media platforms when addressing other villagers and indicating one’s status as a member of that village, and Indonesian or English would be used when the user is indicating their membership in social groups beyond village life.

The important point to note for this factor is that the local variety of Javanese is not being excluded in responses to new media domains; on the contrary, social media domains are specifically being used as platforms for use of the local variety in written form.

6.5.3 Responses to a new setting due to outward migration Increased mobility has an effect on Javanese language use, particularly for those who sustained longer time periods away from the village. See §6.4.2 concerning examples of Paciran speakers

³²For a study on the properties of SMS and Twitter in Indonesian, most of which are transferable to the Javanese context, see Brugman & Conners (2018).

leaving the village. For those that remain within Paciran, however, there is no major effect. There is no significant emerging middle class in Paciran, and those that do have higher socio-economic status are often away from the village.

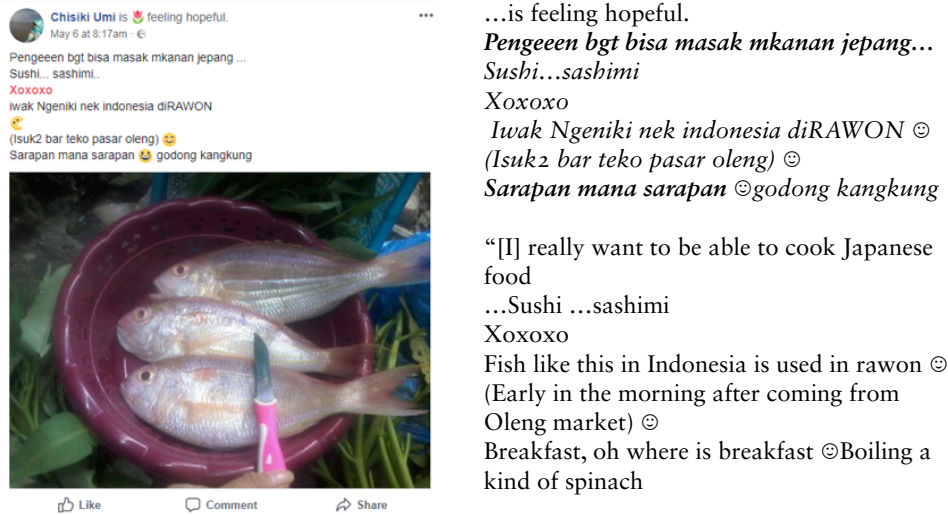


Figure 5. Facebook post in Indonesian and Paciran Javanese

6.5.4 Summary of Factor 5: Responses to New Domains and Media In this study, relevant to UNESCO’s Factor 5 for Javanese speakers in Paciran village was their responses to the globalization of English and new domains created by social media and mobile phones. There are no significant population changes due to outward migration, so this point was not relevant to Paciran village.

The result was fairly positive for the use of Paciran Javanese for both of the former points. While speakers have a positive outlook towards English, there currently are no major shifts from the local variety of Javanese to English. Rather, it seems that English is viewed as an additional language to add to their language ecology. Social media and mobile phones present additional platforms to use Paciran Javanese without the confines of adhering to any “standard” or language ideology, such as within educational writing.

6.6 Factor 6: Materials for Language Education and Literacy Specific to the Paciran Javanese dialect (*ngoko* or *krama*), there are no materials for language education and literacy. However, all Paciran Javanese villagers are literate and receive lessons based on the Standard Javanese dialect and its use of the speech levels. These language lessons are divorced from the reality in Paciran, where the vocabulary, grammar, and speech levels are used very differently. Further, I have observed that whether these lessons are instructed using Indonesian or Javanese depends on the teacher. Thus, while there are existing materials for language education and literacy for the Javanese language community at large based on the standard variety, there is no educational

support for the local variety spoken in Paciran village. Other areas teach and develop their own curriculum and grammars using the local variety, such as in Cirebon, West Java, (Ewing 2005:6) or in Banyuwangi for Osing, which may or may not be mutually intelligible with Javanese varieties.³³

6.7 Factor 7: Governmental and Institutional Languages and Policies including Official Status and Use Indonesian is the official governmental and institutional language. Javanese is not an official language of Indonesia, but it is recognized as a regional language for Central and East Java. Nevertheless, as mentioned in §4.1, regional languages – and colloquial varieties even more so – are marginalized through language policies that seek to primarily endorse a monolingual state. The colloquial *ngoko* variety spoken in Paciran village, given the emblematic status of *krama*, is therefore rendered invisible through such language policies. This kind of erasure that is officially sanctioned can lead to significant detrimental effects concerning language attitudes and language shift, as shown by Zentz (2015) in Central Java. While there presently seems to be a stable diglossia between governmental-run activities and daily village life in Paciran correlated with Indonesian and Javanese, respectively (see §6.4.1), it is important to recognize that there is overall an erasure of *ngoko* Javanese, and possible negative side-effects in Paciran village could ensue.

6.8 Factor 8: Community Members' Attitudes toward their Own Language

6.8.1 Paciran Javanese villagers' attitudes towards the local *ngoko* variety The speech language community of Paciran village seems to have two opposing views of their own language, specifically for *ngoko*. On the one hand, Paciran villagers seem to be proud of their language, referring to it as *boso (pa)ciran* 'Paciran language', and identifying positively that it is very different from Standard Javanese, including the fact that the Paciran Javanese dialect has a less developed speech level system. One speaker expressed disdain for the marked behaviour of *krama* speech level as being very slow and deliberate.

On the other hand, others neutrally state or negatively express that the dialect spoken in Paciran is *kasar* 'coarse' compared to Standard Javanese, or even compared to other villages or nearby towns like Tuban (*kasar* because "*gak ono seng alusan* / there is no refined speech" [F57] (JVK1-008-A, 07.59–08.06)). Others express that the Paciran dialect is loud: "*Cuma penekanane, suarane lantange, [...] wes ket ndisek, bawaan, tradisi.* / [It's] just the stress/emphasis, the loudness of the voice, [...] it's been like that for a long time, it's tradition" [M31] (JVK1-001-A, 07.53–07.58). Others cite the loudness of the waves, as Paciran is located on the coast, as a reason for why loud voices are used. Regardless, this is a feature not equated with modernity or economic gain: Rather, it is viewed as a village-like feature, especially associated with fishermen, one of the main economic activities in Paciran. Given that language attitudes can be a catalyst towards language shift, it will be important to assess this

³³Wittke, Jonas. Personal communication.

view towards *ngoko* in the near future using a quantitative tool such as the language attitude survey in Setiawan (2012).

6.8.2 Paciran Javanese villagers' attitudes towards the local *krama* variety Turning to Paciran villagers' attitudes towards *krama*, in contrast to the studies in and around Yogyakarta and Surakarta, it is more common for speakers in Paciran to not have any feeling of *isin* (shame, shyness, or embarrassment) concerning their level of *krama*. Instead, speakers admit to laughing it off and/or using a mix of *ngoko* and the words they know in *krama*, as shown in (19) from a 37-year-old female and (20) from a 57-year-old female. The choice of using *ngoko* Javanese in this domain is crucially different than in Yogyakarta, in which speakers often seem to choose to use Indonesian (Kurniasih 2006).

- (19) *Yo, biasa ae. Cuman kadang yo nek kroso olehe ngomong iku mou keliru, yo cuman ngguyu ...hebeheheheh. Tapi nek ora kroso omongane iku mou keliru, yo ora piye-piye ...hebehe. Dadi kan wong seng dijak ngomong mou mesthine kan wes ngerti.* [F37]

“Well, [I feel] just normal. Only sometimes if I feel that if I accidentally made a mistake, well [I] just laugh ...hahahaha. But if I don't feel that my speech was accidentally wrong, well, it's no problem ...hahaha. Since the one who asked you to speak should already understand [you might not know *krama* fluently].”

(JVK1-005-B, 01.08–01.31)

- (20) [Interviewer: *Tapi nek ono wong gak iso boso kromo, trus perasa'ane sampeyan piye?*] *Ya biasa-biasa saja. Yo ngomong-ngomong biasa, [...] boso biasa; boso nggak alusan nemen. Ngono gak popo.* [F57]

“[Interviewer: But if there is someone who can't speak *krama*, how do you feel?] Yeah, just normal. Yeah, I speak normally, regular Javanese, the language that is not refined at all. Like that, there's no problem.”

(JVK1-008-A, 19.43–20.08)

These examples also indicate that symmetric speech exchange more often occurs (instead of an asymmetric exchange as the traditional sociolinguistic etiquette required, with one participant speaking *krama* and the other *ngoko*), aligning with reports in Semarang, Central Java (Goebel 2002; 2005).

It is less common in Paciran – compared to younger speakers in and around the courtly cities Yogyakarta and Surakarta (cf. Poedjosoedarmo 2006; Zentz 2015) – to have feelings of shame or guilt towards not mastering *krama*. One example is in (21), as the answer to the question, *If you meet someone who can speak krama fluently, how do you feel?* (*Nek sampeyan ketemu wong seng iso boso kromo, piye perasa'ane sampeyan?*), from a male speaker in his early thirties. He reveals an important additional point that although he feels that way, he mixes *krama* with *ngoko*

‘Low Javanese’ (referred to as *boso biasa* ‘regular language’).³⁴

- (21) *Sungkan, isin. Koyok isin. Isin tapi yo, piye ...wong pancene wong lali gak iso. Tak campur boso biasa ...kasar.* [M31]

“Shy, embarrassed. As shy. Shy but, yeah, how can I put it ...Certainly to forget [*krama*] is not possible. I mix with regular Javanese ...coarse [Javanese].”

(JVK1-001-A, 18.03-18.23)

Another viewpoint in attitudes towards *krama* is shown by whether locals in Paciran think that children should learn *krama*. Two opinions are given in (22) and (23) in answer to the interview question, *In your opinion, should children learn krama? (Menurut sampeyan, bocah-bocah kudune belajar boso jawa kromo?)*. The general consensus is that children ought to acquire *krama* to respect the socio-linguistic etiquette that is ideologically an integral part of the Javanese language, whether this acquisition is explicitly taught or not. Giving precise examples in *krama* in (22), the speaker states that this is *coro jowone* ‘the Javanese way’. While the speaker in (23) disagrees that children are obliged to be explicitly taught, her answer shows that she still views speaking *krama* as a necessary part of the language.

- (22) *He em, he em, he em ...dikharusno. Itu kanggo menghormati orang-orang yang sudah dewasa di usia saya ...kalo ketemu teman jauh ...belum kenal ...nah ...itu bahasa ...basa jowo. “Panjenengan sinten?” ...kan basa kromone ...“Saking pundi?” ...“Teko endi?” coro jowone ...[...] bahasa kromo itu ...konok ...boso.* [F57]

“Yes, yes, yes ...They have to. It’s for honouring people who are already adults around my age ...If meeting a distant friend ...one you don’t know yet ...well ...then its Javanese *basa*. “What is your name? [*krama*]” That is *krama*. “Where did you come from? [*krama*]” “Where did you come from? [*ngoko*]” It’s the Javanese way. *krama* is ...I don’t know ...language/High Javanese.”

(JVK1-008-A, 17.02-18.16)

- (23) *Yo, ora, ora mesthi. Kudune yo iku mou opo ...wes dikarani mbesuk apan gedhe iku iso dewe dadi ...gak ...gak kok ...kudu ...kuwe kudu iso boso kromo ngono. Cuman nek umpomo ngomong karo wong seng luweh tuwo, kok ora boso.* [F37]

“Well, no, not necessarily. It ought to be that what-is-it ...the future is already considered then when [the children] are big they can speak on their own. Not, not that ...you have to ...that you are *obliged* to be able to speak *krama*, like

³⁴Another example is when I asked for the translation of a word list from *ngoko* to *krama* from a younger female speaker around 25 years old whom I have heard speak fluent *krama* to strangers. In this case, the speaker did not try and simply told me to ask her mother or grandmother. However, while neither were present in the same room at that point, the younger speaker could have been simply deferential to her elders for this knowledge.

that. If for instance you speak with those who are older, what do you mean you can't speak boso [*krama*]!”

(JVK1-005-B, 03.42-04.02)

Despite the consensus that speaking *krama* is a part of the Javanese language that is *adat* ‘a custom’ (24) or *dianjurkan* ‘recommended’ (25), it is already clear to speakers that this aspect of the *coro jowone* ‘the Javanese way’ (22) is not being upheld in Paciran village, as shown by the responses in (24), (25), and (26).

(24) *Iku minongko wes adat ...masi gak ngono yo jeke wes saru, he eh Lis ...wong jowo nang gak iso jowo alus barang kan wes saru.* [M38]

“This is already a custom. Although it is not like that, yeah, I think it's improper, right, Lis ...Javanese people who cannot speak refined Javanese as well are indecent.”

(JVK1-003-A, 13.56-14.04)

(25) *Kebanyakan saiki iku boso ...boso indonesia. [...] Masalae wong jowo ...lah kromo inggil malah dianjurkan ...ben weruh ...sopan santun.* [F36]

“For many now its Indonesian ...It's a problem for Javanese people ...*krama* inggil is moreover recommended so that [one] knows the essence of politeness.”

(JVK1-004-A, 11.50-12.15)

(26) *Anak e kan cilik ...cilik-cilik ...dikurangi boso indonesia ...ben halus [...] Nek boso indonesia kan ra ono toh boso kasar.* [F27]

“Young ...young children are taught Indonesian ...to be polite. As for Indonesian, it doesn't have ‘coarse’ language variety.”

(JVK1-009-B, 07.35-07.49)

Thus, while the shift from *krama* is lamented in Paciran, it is also not actively being maintained or fully transmitted. Elsewhere, such as in Yogyakarta, some efforts such as debate contests in *krama* are held for this purpose (Tamtomo 2018).

A number of studies further showed that in cities in Central Java and East Java, a major consequence of the shift away from *krama* is that, in many domains, Indonesian is the language that is used instead (Goebel 2005; Setiawan 2012; Zentz 2015). In other words, Indonesian can be viewed as an unmarked alternative, which does not carry social implications the way that using or not using a certain speech level does. In Paciran, resorting to Indonesian is also viewed as an option, as shown by the responses in (25) and (26). However, in observation, the default in this village is to use *ngoko* instead of Indonesian (cf. §6.4), which carries the implication of being an insider.

6.9 Factor 9: Amount and Quality of Documentation The documentation of the variety of Paciran Javanese has focused on *ngoko*, with perspectives on both descriptive and theoretical linguistics (see Vander Klok 2012; 2013; 2015; 2017; Vander Klok & Déchaine 2014; Vander Klok & Matthewson 2015). *krama* in Paciran village has never been specifically documented or studied. Despite this lack, from the viewpoint of the Paciran speech community within the Javanese language community, this dialect is fairly well-documented given that many Javanese dialects are currently undocumented.

6.10 Summary of UNESCO's nine factors applied to *ngoko* and *krama* Paciran Javanese In Paciran, there currently seems to be a stable diglossia between Indonesian and *ngoko* Javanese. Intergenerational transmission of *ngoko* is robust and stable, suggesting that this variety is “safe” on the scale of language endangerment. Other factors also support this conclusion. Being in a rural setting, using more Indonesian in the home by parents as motivation towards higher economic status opportunities is not observed in Paciran as it is in city settings (cf. Kurniasih 2006; Setiawan 2012). There is also no major outward migration in current years that could result in the population of Paciran village becoming continually smaller, and the local variety diminishing. For the observed cases of outward migration (e.g., for intermarriage, pursuing higher education, or employment), the use of the Paciran Javanese variety is usurped by the new local variety in the new setting. Paciran Javanese *ngoko* has thus strength in numbers, in its expansion into new domains such as on social media platforms, as well as, for many, in a positive language attitude. However, for some, language attitudes were observed to be negative towards the local variety of *ngoko*. Moreover, there is no governmental or institutional support, which gives way to its erasure in this domain. The villagers' attitudes should therefore be closely monitored and better studied: Setiawan (2012) finds that in another East Java village, Tinggar, community members' attitudes were negative towards their own variety, which can easily lead to language shift.

Concerning the variety of *basakrama* in Paciran Javanese, there is a shift away from the use of this speech level, similar to what has been observed in and around the courtly cities in Central Java. Intergenerational transfer is being disrupted and speakers often do not use *krama* even when the sociolinguistic etiquette calls for its use. However, different from in Yogyakarta or Surakarta/Solo, where the shift is towards Indonesian, Paciran Javanese speakers commonly choose the local variety of *ngoko* as the alternative to *krama*. I propose that this choice reflects the fact that Paciran speakers use Indonesian as a way to indicate oneself or their addressee as an “outsider”, whereas the local variety of *ngoko* indicates oneself or their addressee as an “insider”. Furthermore, from a linguistic point of view, since the variety of *krama* in Paciran Javanese is not grammatically embedded, as are the speech levels spoken in the Yogyakarta and Solo principalities, the shift away cannot be on par with what Wohlgemuth & Köpl (2005) refer to as the loss of a linguistic sub-system.

7. Assessing the language vitality of Paciran Javanese according to EGIDS EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) is another important assessment tool and can be approached using a decision tree (Lewis & Simons 2010:114). In this section, I follow the diagnostics in the decision tree for *ngoko* and *krama* Javanese spoken in Paciran village, extrapolating from the supporting data for these decisions from the previous section.

The decision tree starts with the question of whether the language under discussion is used as a vehicular, home, heritage, or historical language (Lewis & Simons 2010:113–115). The first point of contention could be whether Javanese is a vehicular or a home language. Javanese could be considered vehicular as a regional language by the government for most of East Java, Central Java, and in the Special Province of Yogyakarta (DIY), but it is not then actually used in governmental affairs (except superficially one day a week where government affairs are supposed to be conducted in Javanese). Confining our discussion to Paciran Javanese, it is clear that this variety is not used as a vehicular language, but only as a home language. Both *ngoko* and *krama* are used daily in the home domain by Paciran Javanese speakers.

The next question then concerns whether all parents are transmitting the language to their children. This is where *ngoko* and *krama* diverge: Whereas intergenerational transmission is widely intact for *ngoko* in Paciran village, for *krama* this transmission is being disrupted.

Following this decision tree further for *ngoko*, the literary education status needs to be evaluated. On the one hand, one might argue that since literacy in Javanese³⁵ is supported by the government education system, then *ngoko* in Paciran would correspond to EGIDS Level 4 as ‘Educational’. However, only Standard Javanese is supported institutionally in this region. On the other hand, as a non-standard Javanese dialect, Paciran Javanese *ngoko* has no official literary status and is not taught or sanctioned in any way. Yet this dialect is used on social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter (described above in §6.5), showing that Paciran Javanese speakers are literate users of *ngoko*. Based on this factor, under EGIDS, *ngoko* would still be ranked at Level 4 ‘Educational’.

From a dialectal standpoint, this ranking does not seem appropriate given the non-prestigious status of the colloquial dialect and, for some, the negative attitudes speakers have towards their own language despite the fact that they are literate, as discussed in §6.8.1. This nuance between non-prestigious and unsupported yet literate, unaccounted for in EGIDS, can be seen as one disadvantage of this assessment tool (see also §8).

Given the additional factors discussed in conjunction with UNESCO’s assessment tool, which would place *ngoko* as spoken in Paciran Javanese in a less “safe” position, I suggest that it seems more appropriate for Paciran Javanese *ngoko* to be ranked at either Level 5 ‘Written’ or Level 6A ‘Vigorous’ in EGIDS.

Following the same decision tree, *krama* in Paciran Javanese is ranked at Level 6B ‘Threatened’. It is spoken in the home, but transmitted to children by only some parents. Since the intergenerational transmission has been disrupted, the next question

³⁵At least in the roman alphabet.

to address concerns the age of proficient speakers of *krama*. In Paciran Javanese, the youngest generation that has some proficient speakers are currently children, thus identifying that the language shift is in its beginning stages. However, of this generation, it is only some children that have full knowledge of *krama*; many of the present-day parent generation in fact only have a partial or passive ability to speak *krama* (see §6.1 and §6.3 for details). For this reason, *krama* in Paciran Javanese may be more highly ranked in EGIDS.

If we consider Paciran Javanese *ngoko* at Level 6A ‘Vigorous’ and *krama* at Level 6B ‘Threatened’, these two levels are at the threshold of becoming and being vulnerable to language endangerment. Following King (2001), Lewis & Simons (2010) argue that “[t]he distinction between the two kinds of GIDS Level 6 follows from the observation that Level 6 straddles the line of diglossia” (112). They propose that while Level 6A is associated with stable diglossia, Level 6B has reached an unstable diglossic configuration, where language shift is observed and intergenerational transmission is partial. This situation seems to be applicable to Paciran Javanese, where the *ngoko* Javanese variety and Indonesian are currently associated with stable diglossia, while the local *krama* variety is no longer in a stable configuration with *ngoko* Javanese or Indonesian. Further, in Level 6B, Lewis & Simons write that “[t]here may only be barely discernible portents of language shift and few in the community may have any sense of impending danger” (112). This broad statement echoes what other researchers have specifically reported for Javanese, such as Setiawan (2012). Within the village in Paciran, it is certainly clear that many villagers are aware of speaker difference in the use of *krama* (see §6.3).

Overall, this assessment of Paciran Javanese *ngoko* and *krama* as straddling Level 6A and 6B, respectively, differs dramatically from the assessment of the Javanese language community at Level 4 ‘Educational’ by Ethnologue 17. This difference is likely due to a combination of factors, including investigating the speech community of Paciran village instead of the language as a whole, the tendency to assign higher vitality values to languages with a larger population (Abtahian et al. 2016), as well as the separation of speech levels and the evaluation of additional factors not explicitly mentioned in the EGIDS assessment. These two last points warrant additional discussion in comparison with UNESCO’s nine factors.

8. Comparison of UNESCO’s nine factors and EGIDS for assessing Paciran Javanese

UNESCO’s nine factors (Brenzinger et al. 2003) and EGIDS (Lewis & Simons 2010) have both been widely implemented to assess the vitality of many different languages around the world. While both are similar in providing an explicit tool to evaluate language vitality, they diverge in their designation of the language endangerment scale as well as the factors used to arrive at the end goal. In this section, I discuss what these differences mean in the context of evaluating the vitality of the speech community of Javanese as spoken in Paciran village, East Java, Indonesia. In choosing which tool might be most appropriate to assess language vitality of a language or speech community, each researcher must consider these differences. By spelling out these

differences for the context of Paciran Javanese, this may help or resonate with other researchers with the aim of effectively evaluating language vitality.

First, EGIDS provides different and more nuanced vocabulary to designate scales of language endangerment, as pointed out by Lewis & Simons (2010:110). The difference is striking, whereby EGIDS Levels 0 ‘International’, 1 ‘National’, 2 ‘Regional’, 3 ‘Trade’, and 4 ‘Educational’ are all designated as “safe” according to the UNESCO scale on intergenerational language transmission. However, a clarification needs to be made in that UNESCO’s assessment tool is meant to consider all nine factors (see (5) for summary) together, and not only the vocabulary designated for intergenerational language transmission (Factor 1). Thus, it is not clear that that UNESCO would qualify EGIDS Levels 0–4 as equally “safe”, as suggested by Lewis & Simons (2010), once additional factors are evaluated.

Second, I have found UNESCO’s nine factors to be more useful than EGIDS in the context of evaluating Paciran Javanese because these factors allowed for easily addressing the fact that the vitality under discussion concerned a variety of a language – in other words, a specific speech community of a language community. In the EGIDS evaluation, I suggested that the Level 4 ‘Educational’ ranking did not seem to capture the difference between a literate speech community of an unsupported, non-prestigious variety and one of a governmentally or institutionally supported, prestigious variety. Further, it is not clear how literary education is to be defined for unofficial languages. If speakers are literate on social media in a colloquial variety, then should this be included as part of the evaluation in literacy in EGIDS, as I have done in §7? UNESCO’s assessment tool naturally allows this distinction to arise since there is no specific template that frames the questions in terms of speech communities or language communities. In contrast, EGIDS seems to be most appropriate in evaluating language communities.

Third, while both assessment tools consider intergenerational transmission as one of the most important factors of language vitality (stemming from Fishman (1991)), UNESCO’s tool provided several additional social factors to consider. For instance, community member’s attitude towards their own language is explicitly addressed as one of the nine factors in UNESCO’s assessment tool, while this is not (implicitly or explicitly) addressed in the EGIDS tool. Other factors consider trends in existing language domains (Factor 4) and speakers’ response to new domains and media (Factor 5). Both of these facilitate the discussion of language ecologies or multilingual repertoires to provide a more detailed picture of where and how speakers communicate in their language or language variety. For instance, this easily allowed me to separate the discussion regarding the use of *ngoko* and *krama* speech levels. Finally, Factor 9, concerning the amount and quality of documentation, explicitly identifies what kind of resources communities may have available to the communities. Overall, the inclusion of these additional factors in UNESCO’s assessment tool led to a more nuanced and well-rounded picture than EGIDS, allowing a more effective evaluation of the vitality of Paciran Javanese.

In sum, to assess the vitality of the Javanese speech community as spoken in Paciran village, I found that the UNESCO’s nine factors approach was advantageous over

EGIDS because it provided (i) the flexibility to address this variety specifically without extrapolating to the language as a whole and (ii) additional social factors to better understand the local situation of the speech community.

9. Conclusion and looking ahead This paper has assessed the language vitality of Javanese – both *ngoko* ‘Low Javanese’ and *krama* ‘High Javanese’ – as spoken in the village of Paciran, Lamongan Regency, East Java, Indonesia primarily using UNESCO’s nine factors (Brenzinger et al. 2003). I also used the EGIDS assessment tool (Lewis & Simons 2010), which lead to less clear results. A brief comparison of these assessments suggested that for the context of Paciran Javanese, the UNESCO’s nine factors approach was better suited for this study as it included more social factors and easily facilitated the distinction between a speech community and a language community, as well as between *ngoko* and *krama* and their separate evaluation. Overall, the results suggest that Paciran Javanese *ngoko* is currently in a stable diglossia with Indonesian, while the local *krama* variety (or *basa*) is at risk of endangerment.

Based on results from participatory observation and semi-structured interviews, I have proposed that the local variety of *ngoko* is associated with being an “insider” in Paciran. This perspective is unlike that in cities where *ngoko* is viewed by speakers as “village-like” or antiquated (e.g., Setiawan 2012; Zentz 2015). Further, while the shift away from *krama* is also observed in Paciran as it is in and around the courtly centers of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, the alternative language choice differs. Instead of the unmarked choice of Indonesian used by most Central Javanese speakers, the default for most Paciran villagers is to use *ngoko*. This choice seems to stem from the fact that Indonesian is also viewed as creating a distant, “outsider” relationship within Paciran village.

This paper responded to the call by Ravindranath & Cohn (2014) to look more closely at the vitality of individual speech communities within the Javanese language community. While the results for Paciran Javanese *ngoko* seem stable at present, the utmost caution needs to be taken as factors such as community members’ attitudes have been previously shown to be negative towards Javanese, even in rural areas. As Setiawan (2012:267) notes, it is this negative linguistic attitude that is potentially detrimental in the long run; children who see no pride in their ethnic tongue are less inclined to preserve it. Thus, while not all speech communities are affected in the same way – for instance, urban areas are commonly more at risk than rural ones (cf. Grenoble 2011) – it would not be an underestimation to say that every Javanese speech community is in some way at risk.

This paper also served as a response in light of accelerated language loss worldwide on one hand, and the growing body of research on language endangerment, maintenance, and preservation on the other. Understanding where Javanese stands in terms of its vitality – for both individual speech communities as well as the language community as a whole – is important for any future support for Javanese, whether from grassroots community efforts or governmental funding.

Current support for the indigenous languages of Indonesia is lacking from the government in language policies, in education, and financially. The language policies

of creating one nationhood with one language without allowing for the modernization or integration of local languages in tandem with Indonesian is seen as the biggest threat to local Javanese varieties (Setiawan 2012; Zentz 2012; 2015; Nurani 2015). Further, the decreasing use of *krama* is argued to play a role in the further erasure of *ngoko* (Zentz 2012). *krama* was codified by the Dutch East Indies and considered to be the language of the elite, but it no longer carries this status to the extent that it once did (Sneddon 2003). *ngoko* has never been standardized or codified, and no language (including Javanese) has the language support that Indonesian does. Arka (2013:88-90) shows that the *Badan Bahasa* ‘National Language Board’, which is set up to manage language policies in Indonesia, including policies on local languages, has placed heavy emphasis on Indonesian since its inception in 1975. From this view, Javanese *ngoko* remains marginalized, ensuring a status of erasure.

With evidence from the current study and Setiawan (2012) in East Java, as well as numerous studies in and around the courtly cities in Central Java spanning over two decades,³⁶ it is clear that further progress on precisely assessing the need for language maintenance is imperative for even a “large” language.

Looking ahead, it seems that a grassroots initiative may be most effective in raising community awareness about differences between stable diglossia vs. language loss. Open discussion beyond the realm of academia is important to dispel myths such as viewing the Javanese language as antiquated or that speaking Indonesian (or English) is necessarily at the expense of Javanese. Arka (2013:100), in particular, outlines an approach based on the idea that motivation for language maintenance “is associated with the individual/collective cognitive filter of the local community”, which includes local customs (*adat*). Arka argues that researchers must pay attention to and respect this filter to create any successful community-based programme for language maintenance.

Although there is currently more scholarly linguistic research on non-standard dialects of Javanese than in the past, where the focus was on Standard Javanese (Conners & Vander Kloek 2016), further effort is required to inspire and involve the local community on issues of language maintenance. I conclude this paper by mentioning some of these efforts. One such endeavour is being led by the University of Diponegoro (*Universitas Diponegoro*) in Semarang, which currently funds an ongoing conference series entitled *Language Maintenance and Shift* with yearly themes such as “Empowering families, schools, and media for maintaining indigenous languages” in 2016 or “The vitality of local languages in global community” in 2017. Further, online social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Whatsapp can also serve to create a domain of local language use that is not a formal domain, where thus Indonesian is not the de facto language. Such platforms are currently in active use for local dialects, as shown in §6.5.2. Additionally, certain Javanese cartoons on the web have recently become popular (Farahsani et al. 2017) as well as a local music group *Gamel Awan* in East Java from Sendang Duwur (village south of Paciran) who rewrite

³⁶See Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo (1982); Errington (1985; 1998); Oetomo (1990); Kurniasih (2006); Poedjosoedarmo (2006); Wijayanto (2007); Smith-Hefner (2009); Zentz (2012; 2015); Nurani (2015); and a number of short papers in the LAMAS (Language Maintenance and Shift) yearly proceedings.

popular Indonesian or English songs in Javanese and set them to Javanese Gamelan music.³⁷ A final example is the Contemporary Wayang Archive, directed by Miguel Escobar Varela, which presents transcribed and translated videos of reelaborations of traditional *wayang kulit* shadow puppet plays. These performances display different (non-standard) Javanese dialects, Indonesian, Chinese, or a mix of languages indicative of the multilingual arena in most Javanese societies today.³⁸ It is these individual and collective efforts that can help to create spaces and set a positive tone for local languages in Indonesia.

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³⁷Gamel Awan's YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCFXv8m4g2qljoPcoUanwiLg>.

³⁸The Contemporary Wayang Archive: <http://cwa-web.org/en/>.

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Appendix: Full Interview Questions

1. Sampeyan jenenge sopo? / *What is your name?*
2. Umure piro? / *How old are you?*
Tanggal lahire piro? / *When is your birthday?*
Sampeyan lahir neng endi? / *Where were you born?*
3. Pegaweane opo? / *What is your job?*
4. Sampeyan gedhe neng endi? / *Where did you grow up?*
5. Opo sampeyan tau manggon ndek deso/daerah sak liane deso Paciran? / *Have you ever lived in another village/region other than Paciran?*

Iyo / *Yes* - Ndek endi? / *Where?*
 - Kapan? Taun piro? / *When? What year?*
 - Pirang taun? / *How many years?*
6. Bendingane, sampeyan gawe bosu opo? / *What language do you use daily?*
7. Iso bosu seng lio, sak liane bosu jawa? (e.g., bosu indonesia, bosu inggris, bosu arab) / *Can you speak any languages other than Javanese?*
8. Kapan belajar bosu iku? / *When did you learn those languages?*
9. Waktu kapan bae sampeyan gawe bosu iku? / *When do you use those languages?*
10. Aku kudu ngerti bosu jawa dialek Paciran. Opo sing sampeyan ngerteni bongso bosu jawa Paciran? / *I want to know about the Paciran dialect of Javanese. What do you think about the Paciran Javanese dialect?*
11. Opo bedane karo bosu jawa deso-deso liane? / *What is different about the Javanese language in other villages?*

Deso (*village*):

- sak wetane deso Paciran (*east of Paciran*): Nanjan, Ngebrak, Genting, Tunggul
- sak kulone deso Paciran (*west of Paciran*): Kandang-Semangkon, Wathes, Dengok
- sak kidule deso Paciran (*south of Paciran*): Padeg, Sumuran, Sumur gayam, Payaman, Sendang, Sendang dhuwur

Kota (*city*): Lamongan, Gresik, Suroboyo, Yogya, Solo

Daerah (*area*): Jawa Timur, Jawa Tengah

12. Akeh wong ngomong nek bosu jawa Paciran iku kasar. / *Many people say that the Paciran Javanese is “coarse, rough”.*
 Kenek opo kok sampeyan arani kasar? / *Why do you think that it is “coarse, rough”?*
13. Aku weroh ono akeh maceme bosu jawa. / *I know that there are many types of Javanese.*
 Misale koyo bosu gawe ngomong mbek wong sing luwih tuwo teko aku utowo wong sing luwih enom. / *For example, the language that is used with older people or with younger people.*
 Sampeyan iso nyebutno macem-macem jenenge? / *Can you tell me what these types are called?*
 Sampeyan iso ngeke’i aku contoh? / *Can you give me an example?*
 Trus, mbendinane sampeyan ngomong nganggo bosu kromo toh ngoko? / *Then, everyday do you speak kromo or ngoko?*
14. Sampeyan dewe iso lancar, bosu kromo toh? / *Can you speak kromo fluently?*
- Ora. Nek sampeyan ketemu wong seng iso bosu kromo, piye perasa’ane sampeyan?
 - No. *If you meet someone who can speak kromo fluently, how do you feel?*
15. Trus, opo bocah-bocah nek Paciran dikurangi bosu jawa kromo kawit cilik? / *Then, are children in Paciran taught kromo since they are young?*
 Menurute sampeyan, bocah-bocah kudune belajar bosu jawa kromo? / *In your opinion, should children learn kromo?*
 Opo wong Paciran kabeh iso bosu jawa kromo toh gak? / *Can all people in Paciran speak kromo?*
 Opo bocah-bocah nek Paciran dikurangi bosu indonesia kawit cilik? / *Are children in Paciran taught Indonesian from a young age?*
 Sopo sing ngulang bosu indonesia? / *Who teaches them Indonesian?*
 Opo bocah-bocah nek Paciran dikurangi bosu inggris kawit cilik? / *Are children in Paciran taught English from a young age?*
 Sopo sing ngulang bosu inggris? / *Who teaches them English?*
 Opo sampeyan kuwatir nek bocah-bocah belajar bosu-bosu liyo, bocah2 iso lali bosu jawa? / *Are you worried that if children learn other languages they will forget Javanese?*
16. Wes mari... matur suwun sing akeh! / *That’s all... thank you so much!*