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**How Language Shift Happens in Indonesia:  
A Comparison between Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This paper investigates the language shift in Indonesia by comparing the usage of Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia and identifying the factors that contribute to this phenomenon. The study employs a range of methods, including questionnaires, interviews, discussions, and the collection of daily conversations between local students. Our findings reveal a growing trend in the usage of Bahasa Indonesia, which is perceived as more modern, national, and convenient as a lingua franca. Participants reported feeling more comfortable using Bahasa Indonesia compared to Javanese or other regional languages. Additionally, the study shows that younger generations have seemingly forgotten how to use Javanese due to insufficient exposure in daily life and a lack of support from education policies.

Our study found that over 50% of participants preferred to use Bahasa Indonesia when communicating with friends and family, as it is perceived as a language that fosters intimacy and closeness by removing formalities and barriers that may exist in other languages. The use of Bahasa Indonesia may also provide advantages in careers, as it is widely spoken and used in formal settings throughout the country. These findings suggest that the language shift observed in our study may be attributed to the influence of intimacy and language attitudes in shaping language use.

In conclusion, our study highlights the growing preference for Bahasa Indonesia over Javanese and other regional languages, the declining use of Javanese among younger generations, the changing language use between listeners, and the influence of intimacy and language attitudes on language shift in Indonesia. These findings underscore the need for efforts to preserve and promote regional languages and to recognise the social and cultural factors that shape language use and attitudes in contemporary Indonesia.

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Language shift is the process in which a group of people gradually ceases to use their traditional language in favour of another language. It can occur gradually or rapidly over time and due to various reasons. Common factors that contribute to language shifts include the dominance of another language, urbanisation, education, globalisation, and migration. Attitudes towards languages can also contribute to language shifts. For instance, people may avoid using a language that is perceived to have low social status, while languages that are considered prestigious are more likely to be used frequently.

Indonesia is a country with a rich linguistic diversity, where more than 600 languages and dialects are spoken across its archipelago. However, in recent decades, there has been a significant shift towards the use of Bahasa Indonesia, the national language, in both formal and informal settings. According to Smith-Hefner (2009), a language shift occurred in Yogyakarta by the late 1970s, where language use switched from Javanese to Bahasa Indonesia. Census data from 1980 and 1990 indicated that the number of people who reported using Javanese on a daily basis decreased by 16.3 percent, whereas the number of people who reported using Indonesian on a daily basis increased by 38.9 percent.

This paper aims to examine how language shift happens in Indonesia, with a focus on the comparison between Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia. We will explore the factors that contribute to the language shift, including the history of Indonesia, politeness in Javanese, language and education policy in Yogyakarta, and language use within families.

## **2. METHODS AND DATA**

To investigate the presence of language shift in Indonesia and people's perceptions of the phenomenon, we employed a mixed-methods approach consisting of questionnaires, interviews, discussion, and the collection of daily conversations between local students. The use of multiple data collection methods allowed us to gather comprehensive and varied data, capturing both quantitative and qualitative aspects of language shift.

### **2.1 PARTICIPANTS**

Sixteen people were recruited at random for this study in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. There are 7 males and 9 females present. The participants ranged in age from 17 to 50 years old, and they came from a variety of educational and occupational backgrounds. We targeted people from all backgrounds who have encountered linguistic shifts in their lives.

Contacting potential participants through shopping malls, schools, and word of mouth was part of the recruitment process. The participants are of various ethnicities; seven of them are Javanese; the rest are from other parts of Indonesia; and just one stated that she is Chinese. The majority of them (87.5%) are students, with only two being housewives and drivers. Thirteen people claimed to have an undergraduate education, while three claimed to have a high school education.

*Demographic Characteristics of All Participants*

Age	10-20	2
	20-30	12
	30-40	1
	40-50	1
Gender	Male	7
	Female	9
Ethnicity	Javanese	9
	Sumatra	2
	Batak	1
	Manado	2
	Chinese	1
	Ambonese	1
Occupation	Student	14
	Housewife	1
	Driver	1
Education Level	Undergraduate	13
	High school	3
Reported to speak more than one language	Only one (Indonesian language)	3
	More than one (Indonesian languages)	6
	More than one (Indonesian + foreign language)	7

*Table1*

## **2.2 QUESTIONNAIRE**

The purpose of conducting a questionnaire is to investigate how their living, studying background, and attitude affect their language use, the purpose of language shift, and their attitude towards Bahasa Indonesia, etc. In this investigation, we have collected data from 16 Indonesian participants. The participants were drawn randomly from different

places: the campus of Universitas Sanata Dharma (USD), a shopping mall, our homestay, and our Indonesian buddies' families.

To investigate the factors that affect language choice in daily life, we prepared an online questionnaire consisting of 22 questions. The questionnaire is organised into logical categories based on the objectives of our research. The first set of inquiries pertains to the participants' personal details, such as their name, sex, ethnicity, and language background. The second set of questions concerns their sense of belonging to Yogyakarta or Indonesia, including how long they have resided in their hometown and whether they experience a sense of belonging to any part of the region or country. The third set of queries concerns the participants' religious affiliation, most recent occupation, level of education, and other demographic factors. The fourth set of queries concerns their language proficiency, including the number of Indonesian languages they speak, whether they speak Javanese, and their preferred language. The fifth set of queries focuses on code-switching, including whether or not respondents use it and why they do so. The final set of queries concerns the participants' perspectives on the language policy of the country, their perspectives on varying degrees of politeness, and their language usage within the family. Before distributing the questionnaire to a larger group of participants, we conducted a pilot study to ensure that the questions were relevant and simple to comprehend.

Participants were recruited at random from various locations, including shopping malls, universities, colleges, and homestays. The research team approached them, provided them with a link to an online questionnaire, and invited them to complete it with the assistance of Indonesian teammates who were trained to assist with questionnaire administration. The teammates assisted in the translation of the questions and provided explanations to participants with concerns. It took approximately 20 to 30 minutes to complete the questionnaire. The collected data from the questionnaire was securely saved and processed using Google Form's built-in statistical tools.

16 questionnaires were collected. Only three respondents indicated that they spoke only Bahasa Indonesian. Six participants reported speaking multiple Indonesian dialects, including Javanese. Seven participants reported speaking multiple languages, including Indonesian and foreign languages. Eleven interviewees indicated they could speak Javanese. Thirteen participants reported a preference for speaking Indonesian the majority of the time, while six individuals preferred Javanese and four individuals preferred English (some participants selected two languages as their preferred

languages). All participants reported using code-switching and language shifting while speaking. The majority of participants (93.7%) believed that there are benefits to speaking Indonesian; they also provided reasons, as shown in Table 8. When asked about language instruction, eleven participants reported the ability to learn English, nine reported the ability to learn Bahasa Indonesian, five reported the ability to learn Japanese, and only a few reported the ability to learn regional Indonesian languages or other European languages, including Javanese (9%), Sudanese (3%), German (6%), and French (3%). Seven participants reported that their family members spoke a different language than they did, while four said they and their family members spoke the same language. When asked about their sense of belonging to Yogyakarta or Indonesia, eleven participants felt a sense of belonging, compared to two who did not and three who were neutral. Eight participants responded that they were born and raised in the area, two stated that they had lived there for 0–5 years for academic purposes, and six did not respond. Seven participants identified as Christians, compared to nine Muslims. Table 8 provides additional information regarding the reasons why participants felt a sense of belonging or did not.

### **2.3 INTERVIEW**

As a component of our investigation into the language shift in Indonesia, two interviews were conducted. Both of the interviews were conducted in person with the help of our Indonesian buddies. The purpose of the interviews was to examine the role of politeness in Javanese, specifically the differences in language choice and speech styles between interactions with peers and strangers. By conducting these interviews, we sought to develop a deeper understanding of the impact of cultural and linguistic factors on language shift in Indonesia.

In Interview 1, the interviewee primarily used Ngoko, the lowest level of formality and politeness in Javanese, but also incorporated some elements of Krama Alus, the highest level of formality and politeness, which contributed to the overall semi-formal register known as Ngoko Alus. For example, instead of using the simple affirmative 'yo' for 'yes', the interviewee used the more polite and formal 'nggih'. The speaker explained that this linguistic choice was influenced by factors such as age and social distance. As an older person, the interviewee felt it was important to demonstrate respect and politeness to the younger interviewers, who were strangers. Therefore, the interviewee used words and expressions from Krama Alus to maintain a level of formality and politeness during the conversation.



Figure 1. From top to bottom: most formal and polite to most informal language

In Interview 2, Ngoko Lugu (the most informal Javanese) was used because the interviewer and interviewee are a couple. Using Ngoko might be considered rude when talking to strangers. However, when talking to people who are close to the speaker, Ngoko actually shows a sign of closeness since there are no barriers or formalities to be put up when speaking to each other. The below table exhibits how the interviewees employed the word 'yes' during the interview.

'Yes' in Interview 1	'Yes' in Interview 2
Nggih (Krama)	Yo (Ngoko)
/	Ya (English)

Table 2

In both interviews, it was noticeable that the interviewees frequently switched between Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese. According to one of our interviewees, code-mixing is common when one does not know the word from the speaking language, as it allows individuals to communicate more effectively. The following example is an answer to a question that demonstrates a significant amount of code mixing. During the interview, which was conducted in Bahasa Indonesia, the interviewee used Javanese words while providing their response (as indicated by the underlined words).

(a) Tapi nggih, kerja di sini -kan yo serabutan nek asli-ne  
 But yes work on here -kan yes odd.jobs If real-ne  
basic-e driver,  
 Basic-e driver,  
 'But, work on here there are some additional jobs, but the real job is as a driver.'

(b) Cuman yo bantu segala macem teng riki, nggih resik-resik, yo  
 But yes help all kind on here yes cleaning.up yes  
 tukang kebun, tukang bersih-bersih kamar, nggih nampa tamu,  
 gardener, Craftsman cleaning.up room, yes receive guest,  
 segala macem.  
 all kind.

'It's just that, still helping with everything here, like cleaning, gardening, and receiving guests, and other things.'

(c) Tapi secara khusus-nya nganter-nganter tamu.  
 But in particular-nya escort guests.  
 'But, in particular is escorting guests.'

The data from the interviews was transcribed and analysed thematically to identify patterns and themes related to the role of politeness in Javanese and its impact on language shift in Indonesia. While we acknowledge that our sample size was small and not representative of the entire population, we believe that the insights gained from these interviews provide valuable preliminary findings that can be expanded upon in future research.

## 2.4 DISCUSSION

We organised a discussion with students in Indonesia to gain insight into their opinions and attitudes towards language and education policy in the country. We were interested in exploring how students perceive this policy and its impact on linguistic diversity and cultural identity. Through the discussion, our goal was to gain a better understanding of the ways in which language and education policy affect the attitudes and behaviours of students in Indonesia, and how this may contribute to language shift and the erosion of linguistic diversity.

The discussion topic was "How do you think the education policy in the region you grew up? Do you think the language policy or school curriculum is enough for you to adopt another language than Bahasa Indonesia?" Three students from Universitas Sanata Dharma participated in the discussion to express their views on the education policy in Java. All of them grew up in Java, but only one of them can speak Javanese fluently. The following table summarises their viewpoints. While all the students grew up in Java, only one of them was fluent in Javanese. The participants shared their views on the effectiveness of the language policy and school curriculum in promoting multilingualism



and cultural diversity in education. The discussion revealed that the current policies were deemed sufficient, but there was a need for more efforts to encourage the adoption of local languages besides Bahasa Indonesia. The viewpoints expressed by the participants have been summarised in the following table.

	Viewpoints
Student A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education policy needs a lot of improvement (e.g., curriculum, schedule, effectiveness, teachers' quality, etc.)</li> <li>- Language class -&gt; dull (lack motivation)</li> <li>- Urge to find more ways to preserve Javanese</li> </ul>
Student B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- English lessons are not enough (2 hours per week)</li> <li>- Foreign languages, especially English, are important (provide opportunities in the future)</li> <li>- Need to increase students' interest in foreign languages</li> </ul>
Student C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Education gap between rural area and cities</li> <li>- People in villages cannot receive good education (lack of money)</li> <li>- Need to increase the hours of English lesson</li> </ul>

*Table3*

## **2.5 CONVERSATION**

The aim of recording conversation between local speakers is to investigate the naturalistic language use and communication patterns of Indonesians in real-life settings, with a particular emphasis on linguistic preferences, instances of language shift, and the presence of politeness features in communication. To attain this goal, a research method involving the participation of three participants in a communication task was employed.

The three participants were drawn at random from the campus of Universitas Sanata Dharma. They are between the ages of 21 and 22 and study English at USD together. All participants claimed to be multilingual, speaking both Bahasa Indonesian and English fluently. Two of the participants also reported proficiency in Javanese, while the third reported proficiency in Sumatran Malay. When queried about their preferred languages, two participants indicated a preference for speaking Bahasa Indonesian and Javanese, while the remaining participant indicated a preference for speaking Bahasa Indonesian and English.

### *Demographic Characteristics of the Daily Conversation Participants*

Participant	A	B	C
Sex	M	F	M
Age	21	22	21
Ethnics	Sumatra	Ambonese / Moluccans	Javanese
How long do they live in Yogyakarta / Indonesia	Live in Indonesia since birth and move to Yogyakarta for study	Since she was born	Since he was born
Religion	Islam	Christian	Catholic
Studying subject	English Letters	English Letters	English Letters
Languages	Sumatran Malay, Indonesian, English	Javanese (informally), Indonesian, English	Indonesian, Javanese, English
Preferable language(s)	Bahasa Indonesia and English	Indonesian and Javanese	Javanese and Indonesian

Table 4

The participants are instructed to record a 15-minute conversation in a Korean restaurant using the phone's built-in recorder. The conversation is informal, and participants are free to select the topic and language they wish to use. During the conversation, no instructor monitored the participants. No guidelines or prompts were provided to participants for the conversation. They are only aware that we will analyse the conversation.

Since the participants in the conversation can speak Bahasa Indonesian, English, and Javanese (Participants B and C), these three languages are used in the conversation. The conversation exhibited several interesting linguistic features, including code-switching, code-mixing, and language shift.

(d) A: Atau nama yang udah ada list aja?

Or name which already there list only?

'Or only names that are already on the list?'

(e) B: Please, takpancing iki loh, ayolah aku mulai nih  
Please, tak-provoke this yeah, c'mon I start 'kay.  
'Please, I've already provoked (the topic), c'mon let us start.'

(f) C: Sabtu kan Lava Tour, udah di-list, udah gak  
Saturday right Lava Tour, already di-list, already not  
bisa, udah full.  
can, already full.  
'On Saturday, there's Lava Tour, (the names) had already been listed, can't,  
(add anymore names since the list is) already full.'

(g) C: intine ngono, mengko langsung mbalik kampus  
point's that, later directly go.back campus  
'The point is, later (we) directly go back to campus.'

The participants frequently inserted words from other languages into their Indonesian sentences. In examples (d) and (e), they insert the English words 'list' and 'please'. Additionally, when discussing foreign activities, such as the Lava Tour mentioned in example (f), the speakers often used the English name instead of translating it into Indonesian. In example (g), speaker C, who speaks Javanese, incorporates certain Javanese terms into his speech. The words indicated in red are in Javanese. In their daily conversation, Javanese and Indonesian are frequently mixed.

(h) A: kenapa mahal kalo jemput passenger-nya ke hotel?  
Why expensive if pick.up passenger-POSS to hotel?  
'Why is it (so) expensive to pick the passengers from the hotel?'

Code-mixing also occurs while they are conversing in Bahasa Indonesia. The speakers demonstrate the use of combining English and Indonesian morphemes. (f) depicts the combination of the Indonesian prefix 'di-' and the English word 'list'. In Indonesian, 'di-' denotes the passive voice, implying that the tour was listed. (h) demonstrates the use of an English 'passenger' word combined with an Indonesian suffix '-nya'. '-nya' is an Indonesian possessive marker that means the passengers of the transport service.

### **3. HISTORY OF INDONESIA**

#### **3.1 COLONIAL PERIOD**

Indonesia has a rich and diverse cultural history that dates back thousands of years. The archipelago has been home to various ethnic groups, each with their own unique cultures and languages. However, the history of Indonesia is also marked by the suppression of these local cultures and languages, particularly during the colonial period. The colonial period in Indonesia lasted for over 300 years, from the early 17th century until Indonesia's independence in 1945. Through a combination of trade, military force, and political manoeuvring, the Dutch colonised Indonesia in the early 17th century, establishing their dominance over the archipelago. The Dutch saw local cultures and languages as potential sources of resistance against their rule. As a result, they made efforts to weaken these cultural identities to encourage loyalty to the Dutch colonial government. The Dutch government promoted their own language and culture as the dominant cultural influence, which resulted in a decrease in the use of local languages and a shift towards the use of Dutch. Under Dutch colonial rule, local cultures and languages, such as Javanese, Sundanese, and Malay, were actively discouraged or even prohibited in some regions (Vickers, 2002).

In addition, according to Driessen (1991), the Dutch colonial government established schools throughout the archipelago to promote the Dutch language and culture among the Indonesian population. The schools were modelled after the Dutch education system, with Dutch teachers and Dutch as the primary language of instruction. The curriculum included subjects such as history, geography, mathematics, and religion, but with a strong emphasis on the Dutch language and literature, as well as Dutch cultural practises and values. The author argues that the Dutch colonial education policy in Indonesia aimed to create a class of loyal, Dutch-speaking Indonesians who would be sympathetic to Dutch colonial rule and willing to collaborate with the Dutch authorities. Hence, the education policy was primarily aimed at educating the children of Indonesian elites, who would be expected to serve as intermediaries between the Dutch colonial government

and the Indonesian population.

Yet the Dutch colonial education policy had unintended consequences. Sneddon (2003) reported that it contributed to the emergence of Indonesian nationalism. The Dutch-educated Indonesian elites became aware of the injustices and inequalities of Dutch colonial rule and began to form new organisations and movements that advocated for Indonesian independence and political autonomy. Malay played an important role in the emergence of Indonesian nationalism as it symbolised the national identity. For centuries, Malay had already been used as a trade language in the region, and it was also the language of Islamic scholarship. Therefore, Malay was adopted as the language of the nationalist movement, and it was used to promote a sense of unity and shared identity among the diverse ethnic groups in Indonesia because it was already widely spoken throughout the archipelago and was not associated with any particular ethnic group.

### **3.2 AFTER INDEPENDENCE**

After Indonesia gained independence in 1945, there was a push to establish a national language that would unite the country's diverse linguistic and cultural groups. Bodden and McGlynn (2003) suggested that Bahasa Indonesia was chosen as the national language due to its historical roots as a lingua franca in the region as well as its relative simplicity compared to other languages in the area (i.e., simple grammar and vocabulary). The Indonesian government encouraged the use of Bahasa Indonesia in administrative, educational, and media contexts, leading to the widespread adoption of the language among Indonesians. Sneddon (2003) also highlighted the growing trend towards monolingualism in Indonesia in his book. He depicted that since Indonesian became the national language of Indonesia, education has been conducted in the language; individuals who have had access to education possess at least some level of proficiency in Indonesian. In modern cities like Jakarta, where people from different ethnic groups work together, Indonesian is regularly used as a means of communication. However, the promotion of Bahasa Indonesia as the national language, coupled with the decline in the use of local languages during the colonial period, has contributed to a language shift towards Bahasa Indonesia. The dominance of Bahasa Indonesia in formal settings has led to a decrease in the use of local languages in these contexts. Additionally, the use of Bahasa Indonesia as a symbol of national identity has led to its adoption as the primary language of communication among younger generations, further contributing to the language shift away from local languages.

One of the questions in our survey explored how our participants feel about Bahasa Indonesia compared to other Indonesian languages. Over 50 percent of our respondents (7 out of 12) feel more comfortable when speaking Bahasa Indonesia than other Indonesian languages. Their responses can be summarised into three points: feeling closer, being able to express oneself, and finding it easier to understand.

Firstly, our participants expressed that they feel closer to Bahasa Indonesia than other Indonesian languages. This may be due to the status of Bahasa Indonesia as the language of national unity, which is used as a medium of communication between people from different regions, ethnicities, and religions. Being proficient in Bahasa Indonesia can help people feel more connected and integrated into Indonesian society. Moreover, Bahasa Indonesia is often used in formal settings, such as education and government, which can contribute to a sense of belonging and national identity. Additionally, our participants reported feeling more able to express themselves in Bahasa Indonesia. They further explained that Bahasa Indonesia has a standard grammar and vocabulary that are taught in schools and used in formal settings. Unlike Bahasa Indonesia, Javanese does not have an official standard grammar and vocabulary. Instead, Javanese has various dialects and vernaculars that differ in pronunciation, intonation, vocabulary, and grammar. One of our interviewees mentioned that she speaks Javanese Ngapak but not Javanese Jogja, making it hard for her to communicate with others in Javanese. As a result, she tends to code-mix with Bahasa Indonesia to fully express herself. Thus, people who are proficient in Bahasa Indonesia may find it easier to express complex thoughts and ideas. Bahasa Indonesia is more easily accessible than other Indonesian languages because of its extensive utilisation in formal contexts, media, and education. This familiarity with the language can simplify the process of learning and using it proficiently. Conversely, regional languages like Javanese may not be as accessible or standardised, causing difficulties for people trying to learn and use them consistently.

#### **4. EXPRESSING POLITENESS, HONORIFICS EXPRESSION**

##### **4.1 SPEECH LEVELS**

According to Lakoff (1973), politeness is a system intended to facilitate interaction by minimising the inherent potential for conflict and confrontation. The purpose of politeness is to maintain harmonious relations between participants in interactions. To accomplish this goal, she introduces three rules of etiquette: (1) do not impose, (2) offer choice, and (3) create a positive impression. Javanese has a complex speech level that allows speakers to convey politeness to various individuals while communicating. Javanese generally has three speech levels: Ngoko, Madya, and Krama. Javanese ngoko is

typically used by Javanese speakers to converse with other speakers who are familiar, younger in age, or of a lower social position; Javanese *madya* is typically used to communicate with unknown individuals or those with unfamiliar relationships; and the Javanese *krama* language is typically used to converse with other speakers who are respected, older, or of a higher social position (Atmawati, 202).

Although scholars have differing opinions on how to classify Javanese speech levels, they serve the same purpose as high, middle, and low codes (Norwanto, 2016). However, Loeb (1944) classified Javanese as having five levels, adding *krama inggil* and *basa kedhaton*. Norwanto (2016) grouped all classifications into nine classes, including subclasses (see Table 5). Table 6 (Norwanto, 2016) illustrates the differences between each level. Clearly, if individuals wish to be more courteous, they must use longer expressions. To accomplish this, they may need to modify the word selection, the affixes that connect various word types, and the word order.

Javanese employ distinct speech levels to communicate with people of varying social positions and hierarchies. This intricate system of speech levels exemplifies the significance of social hierarchies in Javanese culture and the role of language in maintaining harmonious relationships between individuals of various social states. Utilising speech levels has advantages, but it is also the cause of the loss of speakers.

No	Speech levels	No	Sub levels and words composition	Functions	Examples
1	Krama	1	Mudo-krama (MK) or young krama (K affixes, K, and KI)	It is the most formal and polite level used by inferior to superior	"Meniko (K; here) anak (N; child) kulo (K; mine) Tiniengkang (K; whom) kulo (K;! ator (KA; told) –aken (K; causative suffix) wau (K; just recently)" Here is my daughter Tini, whom I told you about just recently
		2	Kramantoro (KM) or equal krama (K affixes and K words)	Used to address strangers but not for very low persons (e.g. a beggar, coolie, etc.)	"Meniko (K) anak (N) kulo (K) Tini engkang (K) kulo (K) criyos* (K) –aken (K) wau (K)" * The word changes from ator (KA) to criyos (K)
		3	Wredo-krama (WK) or old krama (K affixes and K. Sometimes –e and –ke are used instead of –ipon and –aken respectively)	It is a code from old to young used by priyayi. It is also applicable from a superior to an older inferior.	"Meniko (K) anak (N) kulo (K) Tini seng* (N) kulo (K) criyos (N) –(a)ke* (N) wau (K)" * The words change from engkang (K) and –aken (K) to seng (N) and –ake (N) respectively
2	Madya	4	Madya-krama (MDK) or semi-krama (N affixes, M, and KI. In the absence of M, K is applicable)	The young use it to address non-family, older people	"Niki*(M) anak (N) kulo (K) Tini seng (N) kulo (K) ator* (K) –(a)ke (N) wau (K)" * The words change from meniko (K) and criyos (K) to niki (M) and ator (K) respectively
		5	Madyantoro(MD) or equal madya (N affixes and M. In the absence of M, K is applicable)	It is a code to address not too low or intimate commoners, e.g. a farmer neighbour, older fruitseller, etc.	"Niki (M) anak (N) kulo (K) Tini seng (N) kulo (K) criyos* (K) –(a)ke (N) wau (K)" * The word changes from ator (K) to criyos (K)
		6	Madya-ngoko (MN) (N affixes and M or K in the absence of M. The occurrence of N is unpredicted; the lower the status of the addressee, the more frequent the N will be).	Used to address older people of very low status, e.g. servant	"Niki (M) anak (N) kulo (K) Tini seng (N) tak* (K) kandak* (K) –(a)ke (N) wau (K)" * The words change from kulo (K) and criyos (K) to tak (N) and kandak (N) respectively
3	Ngoko	7	Basa-antyo (BA) (N affixes, N and KI. K may appear but is unpredicted; the higher the status of the addressee, the more frequent the K will be)	Used to address a person of very high status closely related to the speaker, e.g. a wife to a very high ranking husband.	"Iki* (N) anak (N) kulo (K) Tini seng (N) tak (K) ator* (K) –(a)ke (N) mau (N)" * The words change from Niki (M), Kandak (N) and wau (K) to iki (N), ator (K) and mau (N) respectively
		8	Antyo-basa (AB) (N affixes, N and KI)	Used to address a high-status person in an intimate relationship, e.g. wife to priyayi husband or young brother to a priyayi elder brother	"Iki (N) anak (N) ku* (N) Tini seng (N) tak (K) ator (K) –(a)ke (N) mau (N)" * The words change from kulo (K) to ku (N)
		9	Ngoko-lugu (NL) or plain ngoko (N affixes, N, and KI for a respected third person)	It does not express respect from superior to inferior, elder to junior, or among friends or relatives of the same or younger generation of commoners.	"Iki (N) anak (N) ku (N) Tini seng (N) tak (K) kandak* (N) –(a)ke (N) mau (N)" * The words change from ator (K) to kandak (N)

Table 5: Speech levels (Norwanto, 2016)



Speech Levels	Examples
	"Take or Please take"
<i>Mudo-krama</i>	"(Penjenengan) kulo aturi mundot" You-KI I-K please-KI take-KI
<i>Kramantoro</i>	"Sampeyan pendet" You-K take-K
<i>Wredo-krama</i>	"Sampeyan pendet" You-K take-K
<i>Madya-krama</i>	"(Pen)jenengan pundot" You-K take-KI
<i>Madyantoro</i>	"Sampeyan pendet" You-K take-K
<i>Madya ngoko</i>	"mang pendet" You-M take-K
<i>Basa-antyo</i>	"(pen)jenengan pundot" You-KI take-KI
<i>Antyo-basa</i>	"Pundot – en" Take-KI
<i>Ngoko-lugu</i>	"Jupuk – en" Take-N

Table 6: Affirmative imperatives (Norwanto, 2016)

#### 4.2 PRESENT-DAY REAL-LIFE APPLICATION OF JAVANESE POLITENESS

Multiple investigations have revealed that various Javanese varieties have been employed. However, this is somewhat distinct from the 'standard'. The current implementation of Javanese courtesy will be discussed.

In the first interview (with the hotel employee), they primarily speak Indonesian but occasionally transition to Javanese. Our interviewee is unfamiliar with the interviewer, so he would choose to answer the query in a more polite manner. Although he answered primarily in Indonesian, he switched to Javanese and used some Krama words to demonstrate politeness and respect to the interviewer. The interviewer in the second interview has an intimate relationship with the interviewee. The interviewer used 'kowe' (you) at the Ngoko level, which indicates an intimate relationship with the interviewee (see example (i))

- (i) Q: Terus, kowe bakal iki 'ra, kaya ganti bahasa ning  
Next, you will this no, like change language in  
percakapan sing pada?  
conversation that same?

'Next, would you change the language (that you use) in the same conversation?'

The audio recording that we collected revealed that the Javanese participants engaged in friendly conversation with each other, demonstrating respect and kindness despite their pre-existing friendship. Specifically, example (j) highlights participant C's use of the honorific form 'Nggih' (yes) from the Krama level when responding to participant B. However, participant B reported that she only knows the informal level of Javanese; she doesn't use any other speech level except Ngoko.

(j) C: Nggih, Selasa nggih mbak, Selasa jam enem stand-by...  
Yes, Tuesday right sister, Tuesday clock six stand-by...  
'Yes, Tuesday. Please be prepared at six...'

#### **4.3 THE COMPLEXITY OF THE JAVANESE HONORIFIC SYSTEM**

The Javanese honorific system is a complex and highly structured system that plays a significant role in Javanese culture and society. Its complexity is considered to be a driving factor for the language, as it involves the use of multiple levels of language, honorifics, and polite expressions that can convey a range of social meanings. However, this complexity has also been a challenge for Javanese speakers, and it has led to a preference for communicating in Indonesian rather than Javanese. According to Wijayanto (2015), the majority of Javanese speakers prefer to communicate in Indonesian, and if they must speak Javanese, they prefer to use low-level Javanese (ngoko) rather than the more complex Middle Javanese (madya) or High Javanese (krama). This preference for the ngoko level reflects the fact that it is easier to learn and use, and it is less closely tied to social hierarchy and status.

In the past, Javanese culture was dominated by a strict social hierarchy, with the king at the top of the pyramid and strict rules governing language use based on social status (Errington, 2008). However, with the rise of democracy and modernisation in Indonesia, social hierarchy has become less significant, and the king's function has diminished considerably. As a result, the use of high-level Javanese registers, such as mudo-krama, which were once designated for royalty and high-ranking officials, has become less prevalent or has been abandoned entirely. Based on research findings, not all Javanese speakers are fluent in using the different levels of Javanese honorifics. Several participants reported that they can only speak Javanese at the ngoko level, as other levels are too challenging for them. Table 6 demonstrates that the pronoun 'you' is

rendered differently at various levels, being 'jenengan' or 'penjenengan' in madya and 'sampeyan' in krama. It indicates that each level has its own vocabulary and grammatical structures. This indicates that the Javanese honorific system can be a significant obstacle for learners wishing to acquire Javanese fluency, as they must master at least three distinct word categories and the various morpheme and affix combinations used at each level in order to fully comprehend the language.

#### **4.4 REASONS FOR SWITCHING TO BAHASA INDONESIA**

Several factors contribute to the preference for Bahasa Indonesia over Javanese for research and communication. According to Wibawa (2013), one of these factors is that Bahasa Indonesia is a mono-level national language, meaning that it lacks complex grammatical structures and multiple levels of formality in its speech patterns. This makes it easier for learners to acquire and master the language, as they do not need to learn and memorize complex grammatical rules and structures. Javanese, on the other hand, is a highly complex language that is known for its intricate system of honorifics, which are used to convey respect and social status between speakers. This system is based on a hierarchical structure, where people of higher social status are addressed using different words and expressions than those of lower status. As a result, mastering Javanese can be a challenging task for non-native speakers, as it requires a deep understanding of the language's complex grammatical structures and the appropriate use of honorifics and polite expressions. In order to become proficient in Javanese, learners must also have a keen awareness of the cultural context in which the language is used. The use of different levels of formality and politeness can vary depending on the situation and the relationship between speakers, so it is important to understand the social norms and customs of the Javanese people.

An interesting example was mentioned in class about a professor who took a taxi ride in Yogyakarta and used low-level Javanese to communicate with the taxi driver, assuming that his occupation was higher than that of a taxi driver. However, it turned out that the taxi driver was actually a royal relative, and both the professor and the driver were confused about which speech level to use. This example highlights the complexities of Javanese social hierarchy, where age, occupation, and social status can all play a role in determining which level of speech is appropriate. This complexity can make it difficult for even local Javanese speakers to use the language accurately in their daily conversations, as they must be mindful of the social context and status of the person they are speaking with. Wibawa (2013) notes that Javanese speakers who struggle with the use of politeness or speech level in Javanese may choose to transition to Indonesian,

which lacks the multiple levels of formality present in Javanese speech. This indicates that the practicality and ease of use of Bahasa Indonesia may make it a more attractive option for individuals who are not proficient in the formalities of Javanese speech. Therefore, Javanese students may find it simpler and more practical to communicate in Bahasa Indonesia rather than Javanese, especially in informal settings where the complexities of Javanese social hierarchy are not as relevant.

## **5. LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION POLICY**

### **5.1 EDUCATION POLICY IN JAVA**

The data collected shows that Bahasa Indonesia is the primary language of instruction in schools throughout Java, with students required to learn the language from an early age until they graduate from high school. While Javanese is still taught in some primary and junior high schools, the level of exposure to the language and culture may vary depending on the region and school. In areas where Javanese is not taught at all or is only offered as an elective subject, there is a risk of losing the language and the cultural heritage it represents. Moreover, the prioritisation of Bahasa Indonesia over local languages in education and other formal settings can reinforce the idea that local languages are less important, which may contribute to a decline in the use of these languages outside of informal contexts. Smith-Hefner (2009) stated that urban, educated youth have been at the forefront of advocating for the increased use of Indonesian language, as they have been the primary beneficiaries of the educational and employment opportunities created during President Muhammad Soeharto's "New Order" government (1966–1998), particularly in Yogyakarta and other areas. A significant majority of the respondents (10 out of 12) indicated a preference for using Bahasa Indonesia in their daily lives, representing over 80% of our sample. This choice is motivated by the fact that it is the official language of the country and can effectively facilitate communication with people from varying backgrounds.

Notably, some participants also noted that the younger generation has limited proficiency in Javanese, further underscoring the importance of Bahasa Indonesia as a lingua franca. This finding may also indicate that the current language policy in Java may not be effective in promoting the adoption of Javanese among the young population. One of our survey respondents stated that she has forgotten the use of Krama Inggil, the politest form of Javanese, as she rarely uses it in daily life. The statement reflects how the use of formal language, such as Krama Inggil in Javanese culture, is decreasing in everyday life and being replaced by more casual and informal language, namely Bahasa Indonesia. It suggests that there is a shift towards less formal communication styles, which may be

influenced by various factors such as changes in social norms, globalisation, and technological advancements. Furthermore, the lack of intergenerational transmission of the language is a cause for concern, emphasising the necessity for concerted efforts to preserve and promote linguistic diversity in the country. The lack of intergenerational transmission of a language means that younger generations are not learning and using the language as much as previous generations. This can have significant implications for the preservation of linguistic diversity in a country. When a language is not passed down to younger generations, it may eventually become endangered or even extinct.

Despite efforts to preserve Javanese and its culture through education, media, and cultural events, the language is not used as widely in everyday communication as Bahasa Indonesia. This lack of exposure may lead to a gradual decline in Javanese proficiency over time, with individuals forgetting the language entirely if they do not have regular exposure to it. However, Bahasa Indonesia remains the primary language of communication and instruction in Indonesia, and proficiency in the language is necessary for accessing higher education and employment opportunities.

## **5.2 EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES**

Education policy can have a significant impact on future job opportunities, particularly in countries where there is a gap between rural and urban areas, and where education requires money. In Indonesia, urban areas, such as Jakarta and Surabaya, tend to have more resources, including better-equipped schools, more qualified teachers, and greater access to educational materials such as books and technology. According to students in Java, this gap in educational opportunities can have a long-term impact on future job opportunities for individuals from rural areas on the island of Java. They may be less likely to have the skills and qualifications needed for higher-paying jobs in urban areas. As a result, they may be limited to lower-paying jobs in their own communities, which can perpetuate a cycle of poverty and limited opportunities. The cost of education can also be a significant barrier to access, particularly for families living in poverty on the island of Java. In many cases, families may not have the financial resources to pay for education beyond primary school. This can limit their options for future job opportunities, as many higher-paying jobs on the island of Java require a college or university degree. Hence, education policy can indirectly affect future job opportunities on the island of Java by limiting access to education for those who cannot afford it. These barriers can limit opportunities for social and economic mobility.

Knowing Bahasa Indonesia can provide individuals with a significant advantage in the job market in Indonesia, opening up job opportunities in various sectors. Indonesian-based companies often prefer candidates who are proficient in Bahasa Indonesia, as it demonstrates their ability to communicate effectively with customers or colleagues. One of our participants reported that interviewing in Bahasa Indonesia is a must, as employers expect potential employees to have the ability to use and communicate effectively in the language. Thus, learning Bahasa Indonesia can open doors to a wider range of job opportunities and enhance one's career prospects in Indonesia.

As the national language of Indonesia, Bahasa Indonesia is widely used in various sectors, including government, business, education, and tourism. Proficiency in Bahasa Indonesia can be particularly important in government jobs, where communication with the public is essential. Civil servants who work in public service offices, such as the police, immigration, and passport offices, need to be proficient in Bahasa Indonesia to communicate effectively with people from all over Indonesia. In business, many companies require employees who can communicate with customers and colleagues in Bahasa Indonesia. This is especially true in the tourism and hospitality sectors, where employees need to communicate with a diverse range of customers from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Knowing Bahasa Indonesia can also be beneficial for individuals who work for international companies or in jobs that require communication with colleagues or clients from other countries. In education, Bahasa Indonesia is the language of instruction in many schools and universities. Teachers who are proficient in Bahasa Indonesia can communicate more effectively with students and other educators, which can be beneficial for their career growth and development. It can also open up opportunities to work in international schools or universities that use Bahasa Indonesia as a medium of instruction. Hence, knowing Bahasa Indonesia can provide individuals with a competitive edge in the job market in Indonesia, allowing them to access a wider range of employment opportunities and advance in their careers. It is an essential skill for anyone looking to work in Indonesia's diverse and competitive job market.

## **6. DIFFERENT LANGUAGE USE IN DIFFERENT OCCASIONS**

Indonesia, which consists of 17,000 islands, 260 million people, and more than 600 living languages, is home to exceedingly diverse cultures (Julian, 2019). According to Julian (2019), Javanese is the most widely spoken indigenous language in Indonesia, primarily in Java. Even though it is the most common local language and Java is the most popular island in the world, Bahasa Indonesia is the official language of Indonesia.

Language use in Indonesia is complex and varies depending on the context and occasion. Bahasa Indonesia is the country's official language and is extensively employed in formal contexts such as government, education, and the media. However, regional languages and dialects are still used in everyday communication, particularly within families and communities. According to Sneddon (2003), Indonesian speakers may switch to different languages depending on the social context and relationship between the speakers. An example from Sneddon (2003), a teacher and student may speak in Bahasa Indonesia in the classroom because it is the official language of instruction. However, outside of the classroom, the teacher may use Ngoko (a lower-level Javanese language) to communicate with the student, who responds in Krama (a higher-level Javanese language). As the student gains a higher-ranking position, they may continue to speak in Krama to the teacher as a sign of respect. However, the teacher may switch to Bahasa Indonesia as the social relationship changes and the former student becomes a higher-status adult.

Our study found similar patterns of language use among participants. Many participants reported using Javanese or the local languages their parents speak to communicate with one another, while using Bahasa Indonesia or English with friends and in other social settings. One participant even reported using Krama with strangers or older people, such as when buying satay. These findings imply that social context and relationships between speakers have an impact on language use in Indonesia. The use of different languages may be a way to show respect or maintain social hierarchies.

### **6.1 LANGUAGE USE WITHIN FAMILY**

In our study, we examined the language use within families of Indonesian descent living in Indonesia. Seven participants reported using different languages to address different family members, while four participants said they used the same language within their families. This language use within families can be a factor in leading to a language shift.

Upon analysing our data, we found that many of our participants, despite being born into families who speak languages other than Bahasa Indonesia, feel more comfortable speaking Bahasa Indonesia. As a result, they tend to speak to their parents in Indonesian. Some participants reported attempting to speak Javanese to their parents, but if faced with unfamiliar words, they would code-mix and switch to Bahasa Indonesia. This preference for Bahasa Indonesia may reflect the dominance of this language in the public sphere, its use in schools and the media, as well as its status as the national language

of Indonesia. The result is similar to a previous study conducted by Wijayanto in 2015. He found that the majority of his subjects or samples communicate in Bahasa Indonesia with their parents, teachers, friends, neighbours, visiting guests, aunts, uncles, grand-parents, grand-grandparents, aunts, uncles, aunts, uncles, and strangers in their homes, schools, and other public places. These findings show that language shift is happening in society, and this might affect the maintenance and vitality of local languages, such as Javanese, and may contribute to the ongoing process of language shift in Indonesia.

Our study also revealed that the older generation in Indonesia may not have the intention to teach their children local languages such as Javanese, but to teach Bahasa Indonesia. This could be due to the fact that Bahasa Indonesia is considered the lingua franca in Indonesia and is perceived as more useful and easier to learn compared to local languages (Wijayanto, 2015). One of our participants stated that she does not know Krama, a high-level language in Javanese, because her parents did not teach her since it is rarely used in today's society. Additionally, one of our participants mentioned that he did not learn Javanese because he was not interested. These factors may contribute to the preference for Bahasa Indonesia among younger generations and lead to a shift away from local languages. The lack of intergenerational language transmission and the decline in the use of local languages in Indonesia indicate concerning tendencies that eventually imperil the survival and vitality of these languages.

## **6.2 CODE-SWITCHING AND CODE-MIXING**

In Indonesia, a multilingual country with over 600 surviving languages, code-switching and code-mixing are common forms of daily communication. All respondents in our study indicated that they engage in code-switching. This phenomenon enables speakers to accomplish a variety of goals, such as replacing forgotten words and communicating more effectively with others. One of our participants reported substituting an Indonesian word when he forgot that word in Javanese.

The data revealed how Indonesian speakers use code-switching and code-mixing. Code-switching would occur in both Javanese and Indonesian. (k) indicates that the Bahasa speaker would include the word 'list' in the sentence. The code-switching between English and Javanese is depicted in (l). We discovered that code-switching during conversation occurs frequently, regardless of the language being spoken. In addition, they may use English expressions when the noun is associated with foreign objects. (l) mentioned a foreign activity called "Lava Tour," to which USD students need to accompany HKU students. They typically use the English term for the activity rather than the Indonesian or Javanese terms. Example (j) demonstrates the same trait; the



'passenger' refers to HKU students, foreign students, and the speaker tends to combine the English expression with an Indonesian suffix, which is considered code-mixing.

(k) A: Hari Sabtu itu semua-nya ikut atau nggak? Atau  
Day Saturday that all-nya join or not? Or  
nama yang udah ada list aja?  
name which already there list only?

'For Saturday, do all students join (the activity) or not? Or only names that are already on the list?'

Code-mixing is an additional feature we've observed in Bahasa Indonesia. Bahasa Indonesia has four types of affixes, such as prefixes, suffixes, infixes, and circumfixes (Natalia & Wulandari, 2017). Due to the extensive use of affixes in Indonesian, speakers frequently combine affixes with words from other languages. (j) demonstrates that the speaker combined the English word 'passenger' with the possessive marker '-nya' to indicate ownership or possession. (k) also indicates the combination of the English word 'interview' and the possessive maker '-ne'.

(j) A: kenapa mahal kalo jemput passenger-nya ke hotel?  
Why expensive if pick.up passenger-POSS to hotel?

'Why is it (so) expensive to pick the passengers from the hotel?'

(k) A: Ya iyalah, kan golek pahal-an yo agaknya interview-ne  
Yes of.course, kan find job-an yes like-nya interview-the  
ng-anggo basa Indonesia yo.  
ng-use language Indonesia yes.

'Of course, even job interviews use Indonesian.'

Code-switching and code-mixing are prevalent language use phenomena in the everyday conversations of Indonesians, which can be regarded as habitual practises. These practises are especially prevalent in informal contexts where speakers are not

required to speak pure Bahasa Indonesia or Javanese. The phenomenon of code-switching and code-mixing is frequently employed as a communicative strategy, whereby speakers substitute lexical items from one language with those from another language, particularly in instances where the intended word is forgotten. Furthermore, these practises are evidence of language proficiency in multiple languages, including Bahasa Indonesia, Javanese, English, or other local languages. The users demonstrate the ability to transfer language rules from one language to another, as evidenced by their application of Bahasa Indonesia grammar rules to English in order to create novel lexical items. Code-switching and code-mixing may also be indicative of a propensity for language transition, specifically from Javanese to Bahasa Indonesia. These practises involve replacing Javanese terms and phrases with their equivalents in Bahasa Indonesia. If this trend continues, Javanese may be gradually replaced by Bahasa Indonesia. In multilingual societies like Indonesia, the use of code-switching and code-mixing can be an essential indicator of language change and language shift.

## **7. DISCUSSION**

### **7.1 INTIMACY**

We believe that one factor that may have a high correlation with language shift is the desire for intimacy or closeness in social interactions. This is because Javanese, which is known for its relatively formal and polite language use, may create a sense of social distance between individuals. In contrast, Bahasa Indonesia, as the national language, is often used in more informal and casual settings, which may facilitate a sense of familiarity and closeness among speakers. The use of formal and polite language in Javanese may be influenced by cultural norms and values that emphasize respect and deference to others, particularly those of higher social status or older age. This can create a sense of social hierarchy and distance between individuals, particularly in formal or public settings. Yet, the use of Bahasa Indonesia, which is often associated with modernity and cosmopolitanism, may signal a desire for social connection and a sense of shared national identity. This may be particularly true among younger generations who are more likely to be exposed to Western cultural influences and values.

The idea of equality is a key value that is often associated with Western cultural influences and is reflected in the use of Bahasa Indonesia, which proposes that all individuals are equal regardless of their social status, race, or gender. Bahasa Indonesia is seen as a neutral and practical language that can be used by everyone, regardless of their regional background or social status. In contrast, Javanese language and culture may be associated with social hierarchy and formality, as the use of honorifics and polite

language is often employed to show respect to those of higher social status or older age. This may be seen as a barrier to social connection and a sense of shared identity among younger generations who may be more influenced by Western values and ideas of equality and individualism. Through the questionnaire, we found that our participants mainly use Bahasa Indonesia to communicate with their family, with only a few of them using Javanese when talking to their parents. This suggests that language use is influenced by social context and highlights the complexities of multilingualism and the role of social and cultural factors in shaping language use. The use of Javanese with parents suggests a desire to maintain cultural and familial ties, which may be influenced by traditional values that prioritise respect for elders and cultural heritage. On the contrary, the use of Bahasa Indonesia with friends suggests a desire to communicate in a more informal and casual manner, which may be influenced by Western cultural influences and the desire to be more cosmopolitan and modern. The speaker's comfort level with Bahasa Indonesia also reflects the influence of modernization and globalisation on language use in Indonesia.

## **7.2 LANGUAGE ATTITUDES**

Western cultural influences may play a role in shaping language attitudes and practises, but they are only one of many factors that influence language use in Indonesia. Language attitudes have a significant impact on language shift in Indonesia, as they can influence language use, maintenance, and shift among individuals and communities. These attitudes towards a language are shaped by a complex interplay of social, cultural, and historical factors in Indonesia. The dominance of Bahasa Indonesia as the national language and the language of education, media, and government has led to the perception that it is a more prestigious and practical language than regional languages such as Javanese, Sundanese, or Balinese. This perception may lead to a shift away from regional languages towards Bahasa Indonesia, particularly among younger generations who are more influenced by modernization and globalisation. The association of certain languages with particular social groups or identities also influences one's language attitudes. For example, Javanese language and culture may be associated with traditional values and older generations, whereas Bahasa Indonesia may be viewed as more modern and cosmopolitan. This perspective is supported by Smith-Hefner (2009), who notes that in Yogyakarta, Javanese is now perceived as more refined and polished, and the language is mainly heard in conversations among older Javanese residents, formal ceremonies such as weddings, and traditional art performances. Meanwhile, Bahasa Indonesia is seen as more casual and "social" among Javanese youth. Consequently, the use of Bahasa Indonesia may serve as a means of

signalling social status and identity, particularly among younger generations who are more influenced by Western cultural values. In addition, language attitudes may also be shaped by exposure to other languages and cultures, as well as educational and media influences. Positive attitudes towards a language can encourage its maintenance and revitalization, while negative attitudes can lead to language shifts and even language death. The respondents' comments also underline the significance of language use in shaping cultural identity and highlight the need to preserve and promote the use of formal language in appropriate contexts.

### **7.3 IMPLICATION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS**

We collected data from 16 participants to illustrate language use and gather opinions. However, we recognise that our sample may not be fully representative and may be subject to sampling bias. To mitigate this issue, we selected participants at random from various locations in Yogyakarta to collect a wider spectrum of data from participants of varying ages and backgrounds. Despite utilising a variety of data collection techniques to capture various aspects of language use and attitudes, our methodology has limitations. Due to time constraints, we were only able to record one daily conversation with local students, which may not completely represent the diversity of language use among this age group. Moreover, the fact that the students are English majors at the university may have influenced their language use, as evidenced by instances of code-switching between English and Indonesian or English and Javanese in their conversations. To reduce this potential source of bias, it would be advantageous to acquire more daily conversations from individuals of various educational backgrounds and ages.

Despite these limitations, we aimed to provide a more comprehensive picture of language use and attitudes in Yogyakarta by collecting information from a variety of sources. For example, we conducted interviews with hotel employees and recorded a conversation between partners. By examining language use in various contexts and with different individuals, we intended to provide a more nuanced understanding of the language shift situation in society. Although our sample may not be fully representative, we hope that our study provides valuable insights into the complex dynamics of language use and attitudes in Yogyakarta.

One potential future direction for this study is to recruit more participants from diverse age groups, regions, and social classes. By expanding the sample size and diversity of participants, it would be possible to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the

language use and attitudes in the target community. For example, it would be valuable to recruit 10 participants from each age group (i.e., children, teenagers, young adults, middle-aged adults, and elderly adults), 10 participants from different regions within the country (i.e., rural areas, cities), and 10 participants from different social classes (i.e., low, middle, and high socioeconomic status). This would provide a more representative sample and allow for a more nuanced analysis of the factors that influence language use and attitudes in the target community. Additionally, it may be useful to incorporate new data collection techniques, such as focus groups or in-depth interviews, to gather more in-depth information about participants' experiences and perspectives. By adopting these future directions, the study can contribute to a deeper understanding of language use and attitudes in the target community and provide a foundation for future research.

Another potential future direction for this study is to conduct a longitudinal study to track changes in language use and attitudes over time. This would entail collecting data from the same participants at multiple time points, such as every six months or every year, to observe how their language use and attitudes evolve over time. By doing so, it would be possible to gain a deeper understanding of the nature and extent of language change and the factors that contribute to it. Additionally, a longitudinal study can explore language use and attitudes across different life stages, potentially revealing patterns and trends that are not evident in a cross-sectional study. Although this approach would require a substantial investment of time and resources, it has the potential to provide valuable insights into the intricate dynamics of language use and attitudes in the community of interest.

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## ANNEXES

Table 7 Questions of the Questionnaire

What is your sex and gender? (Do you consider yourself as different gender?) (Jenis Kelamin)
How old are you? (Umur)
Where are you from? (Ethnicity) (Suku)
Do you have a sense of belonging towards any part of the region or country, why or why not? (Apakah anda merasa nyaman tinggal disini atau tidak, mengapa?)
How many years had you spent in your hometown? (Berapa lama anda tinggal di tempat asal anda)
What is your religion? (Agama)
What is your occupation/ job? (Pekerjaan )
What is your education level? (Pendidikan)
What are you studying? / What did you study? (Jurusan)
What language(s)/ Indonesian language(s) do you speak? (Selain bahasa Indonesia, bahasa daerah apa yang anda gunakan?)
Do you speak Javanese? (If so, can you type number 1-10 and introduce yourself in Javanese?) (Apakah anda bisa berbahasa Jawa? Jika ya, perkenalkan dirimu dan tuliskan angka 1-10 dalam bahasa Jawa).
Which language do you prefer to speak the most / most comfortable language? (Bahasa apa yang paling sering anda gunakan?)
Would you shift to other language(s) in one conversation? (Apakah ketika dalam sebuah percakapan anda sering mencampur bahasa? contoh: ketika menggunakan bahasa Indonesia terselip bahasa daerah).
Usually, when will the code-switching happen, why or why not? (Kapan itu terjadi, jika ya mengapa dan jika tidak mengapa?)
How do you feel when speaking Bahasa Indonesia, compared to other Indonesian languages?



(Apakah anda merasa lebih dekat ketika menggunakan bahasa Indonesia?)
Are there any advantages or disadvantages knowing Bahasa Indonesia? (Apakah ada atau tidak keuntungan mempelajari bahasa Indonesia?) (contoh: dalam pekerjaan)
Do you use different languages to communicate with different family members? (e.g. Javanese for father, Sundanese for mother, bahasa Indonesia for siblings) Please specify the reason if your answer is "yes" (apakah anda menggunakan bahasa yang berbeda ketika berkomunikasi? contoh: dengan ayah berbahasa jawa, dengan ibu berbahasa sunda, dan dengan saudara berbahasa indonesia, jika ya, tolong jelaskan)
Does your family speak other language(s) than you? If so, why didn't you learn that language? (lack motivation?) (Apakah didalam keluarga mu menggunakan bahasa lain yang tidak kamu gunakan, mengapa kamu tidak menggunakan/ mempelajari bahasa itu juga?)
What language(s) have you learnt in school? (Bahasa apa saja yang anda pelajari ketika di sekolah?)
What is your opinion about the education/ language policy? (any region within Indonesia)
What do you think about the politeness apply in daily conversation? (Bagaimana menurut mu kesantunan dalam berbahasa terjadi dalam sebuah percakapan?)

Table 8 Questionnaires' data

Questionnaires' data	
Total number of participants	16
Age:	
10-20	2
20-30	12
30-40	1
40-50	1
Gender:	
Male	7
Female	9
Ethnicity:	
Javanese	9
Sumatra	2
Batak	1
Manado	2
Chinese	1
Ambonese	1
Occupation:	
Student	14
Housewife	1
Driver	1
Education Level:	
Undergraduate	13
High school	3
Reported to speak more than one language:	
Do not speak any Indonesian language	0
Only one (Indonesian)	3
More than one (Indonesian languages)	6
More than one (Indonesian + foreign language)	7
Sense of belonging to Yogyakarta / Indonesia:	
Yes	11
No	2
Fifty-fifty	3
Reasons for saying yes	1. Feeling comfortable

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Families are living in this place too.</li> <li>3. The people in Yogyakarta are very nice.</li> <li>4. The weather is good.</li> <li>5. Life expenses are low.</li> <li>6. Indonesia is a diversity country.</li> <li>7. This is where they grew up.</li> <li>8. There are a lot of street food.</li> </ol>
Reasons of saying no	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Too much religion involved.</li> <li>2. Some people are overly interested in other people's lives.</li> <li>3. Some traditions, laws and believes are different to their own beliefs.</li> <li>4. Some people are rude (especially on the road)</li> <li>5. It is a boring place.</li> </ol>
Duration of staying in Yogyakarta :	
0-5	2
6-10	0
11-20	0
Since they born	8
Unknown	6
Religion:	
Islam (Muslim)	7
Christian	3
Catholic	6
Currently studying... :	
English (English letter/ literature)	7
Informatics	1
Communication	1
Software engineering	1
Management	1
Japanese and literature	1
Biology education	1
Communication visual design	1
Communication sciences	1

The number of participants speak Javanese	11
The comfortable language: Indonesian Javanese English	13 6 4
Do they do language shift/ code-switching ? Yes No	16 0
Reasons of language shift and code-switching/ when does it happen	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Switch to English to avoid impolite impression in Javanese. (Javanese &lt;-&gt; English)</li> <li>2. When they are talking outside Java (Bahasa Indonesia &lt; - &gt; Sumatran language)</li> <li>3. When they forget the word in one language</li> <li>4. When they are talking to different group of people (peers VS family)</li> <li>5. No special reason/ occasion/ a habit</li> <li>6. More comfortable to switch languages.</li> <li>7. Because of the pronunciation of the word (sound better when it is in English)</li> </ol>
Any advantages of knowing Bahasa Indonesia: Yes No	15 1
Advantages:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. More job opportunities (use Indonesia in job interview)</li> <li>2. Educational aspect</li> <li>3. Governmental aspect (official language)</li> <li>4. Easily to communicate with others</li> <li>5. Make more friends.</li> <li>6. Connect to different people, even they are different ethnics.</li> </ol>
Use different languages to different family members: Yes	7

No unknown	4 5
Family member speaks a different language from them: Yes No Unknown	6 9 1
Reason of not learning the languages from their parents	1. Not interested 2. Lazy to learn. 3. They think their pronunciation is weird so they stop learning 4. Do not have much opportunity to use the language/ not common 5. Their family members do not teach them
Languages they learnt at school Sudanese English Indonesian Javanese Japanese Deutsch German French	1 11 9 3 5 1 2 1
Opinion about the language policy	1. Language education is not distributed. 2. Some teachers are not responsible. 3. Lack of supports, like facilities, qualified teachers. 4. It is good, since no one is disrespecting other languages. 5. Good enough, every school in Yogyakarta provides regional language lessons.
Opinions on applying politeness in daily conversation	1. Switch to another language to show politeness (use regional language in the region)

	<p>2. Use Indonesian to show politeness (not everyone knows Javanese)</p> <p>3. Depends on talking to who (politer when they are talking to older people)</p> <p>4. Do not want to learn to highest level of politeness in Java (Jawa jrama) because it is too difficult -&gt; tend to use Indonesian (to avoid mistakes)</p>
<p>The opinions of whether the level of politeness is decreasing.</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>No</p> <p>No opinion</p>	<p>1</p> <p>0</p> <p>15</p>

Transcription and Translation of Conversation (partially)

A: Hari Sabtu itu semua-nya ikut atau nggak?  
Atau

Day Saturday that all-nya join or not? Or  
nama yang udah ada list aja?  
name which already there list only?

'For Saturday, do all students join (the activity) or not? Or only names that are already on the list?'

C: Sabtu kan Lava Tour, udah di-list, udah  
gak

Saturday right Lava Tour, already di-list, already not  
bisa, udah full.  
can, already full.

'On Saturday, there's Lava Tour, (the names) had already been listed, can't, (add anymore names since the list is) already full.'

B: udah gak bisa

already not can

'Can't add anymore.'

C: Jumat yang kita belum tahu.

Friday that we yet know

'for friday, we still figure it out.'

A: kenapa mahal kalo jemput passenger-nya ke hotel?

Why expensive if pick.up passenger-possessive marker  
to hotel?

'Why is it (so) expensive to pick the passengers from the hotel?'

B: Ya mahal lah

Yes expensive right (lah)

'Of course (it's) expensive.'

B: Please, takpancing iki loh, ayolah aku mulai nih.

Please, I.provoke this yeah, c'mon I start 'kay.

'Please, I've already provoked (the topic), c'mon I'll start okay?'

C: Nggih, Selasa nggih mbak, Selasa jam enam stand-  
by,

Yes, Tuesday right sister, Tuesday clock six stand-  
by,

akdewe anu, cemepak ning hotel. Lanjut, akdewe mlaku to

we uh, prepare at hotel. Then, we walk  
right

mbak, mlaku teng kampus jam songonan wis tekan,  
nggih.

sister, walk to campus clock nine already arrived,  
right

'Okay, Tuesday right, Tuesday at six o'clock we stand-by, we, uh, made preparations at the hotel. Then, we walked to the campus, at nine we had already arrived.'

B: Jam songo?

Hournine?

'nine o'clock?'

C: Jam songonan wis tekan kampus, njuk jam songo

Hour nine already arrive campus, then hour nine

mulai nganu mbak, mulai ngelumpukke datane nggih.

start that sister start gathering data yes

'At nine, we arrived at the campus, and after that, we started to gather the data.'

B: Ngebantuin mereka ngambil data.

Help them take data

'Help them gather the data.'

C: Akdewe nganu, nulungi, eh ngrewangi ....data-datanya  
nggih

We um, help, uh assist ....the data  
yes

Nanti jam setengah pitu

Later clock half seven

'We help (gather) the data later at half past six.'

B: hungry nih

Hungry hey



'Hey, I'm hungry.'

C: Jam enem otw ke Sonobudoyo

'at six pm we're on the way to Sonobudoyo'

B: Sonobudoyo yang depan apa yang belakang?

'which gate, the front or the back one?'

C: lanjut sek buat besok, besok tuh masih sama, collect data segala macam.

'for tomorrow, it's still the same, they will collect data too.'

C: Lanjut sek buat kamis itu masih work sama kita makan malam sama dosen dan panitia inti 5

Itu kita ada makan malam jadi rencananya kita booking makan di Mang EngKing

Mang Engking itu di jalan godean, mang king di jalan godean kan

C: Tapi belum tahu sih teknisnya gimana, tapi yang jelas kita akan makan malem dengan 17 anak-anak sana plus 5 panitia kita plus lagi dosen-doesn yang akan mendampingi, mungkin dosen-dosen linguistik sih gak tau juga ya, petinggi-petinggi nya ya lanjut yang jumat ya jadi jumat ini kita akan ke destinasi-destinasi wisata sing ada di tengah kota eh khususnya di titik nol. Jadi diawal sejak pagi

B: keraton aja gak sih

C: oh nggak soalnya kan kita butuh naik bus, jadi bus itu cuman bisa stop di bank Indonesia, nah kemudian kita perlu jalan untuk ngeliat tempat tinggalnya sultan. Setelah liat itu, kita akan masuk ke sonobudoyo, kenapa masuknya siang karena dingin jadi klo siang" kayaknya pas. Nanti kita akan makan di plan awal, tapi setelah ditimbang sana sini gudeg ini banyak santennya, jadi makan ne ....(7:45) tiba-tiba nanti piye- piye jadi nanti kita siapkan untuk makan makanan lain.

B: Sate?

'Satai?'

C: Belum tau

yet know

'don't know'

B: lunch sate? Di bis?

'lunch satai? at Bus?'

C: Setelah dari itu kita akan masuk ke benteng, oh iya sebelumnya ini jadwal

'after from that we will go inside to fort (vredeburg fort), oh yes before this schedule'

C: sangat padat untuk jumat, jam tutup itu mepet semua. Yang benteng itu kita masuk setelah itu jadi ya lebih enak lah ya vibes nya, setelah itu ..... kita lanjut ke kota gede nanti kita akan melihat gak tau sih ngeliat apa

B: Ngapain sih di emperan?

C: itu kayak tempat belanja or shop gitu

C: setelah itu kita booking buat makan malam

A: Emang mau ngurut lagi besok malam?

Untuk mkn disana, soalnya kan banyak bngt menunya tuh jadi kita sempitkan aja jadi mie goreng, nasi goreng, sama mie godok dah cmn itu doang. Nah buat yang sabtu kita kan udah membagi ya buat sabtu siapa aja yang bisa ikut Lava.

A: mereka yang ikut tour itu bawa baju gak?

C: Betul nanti kita akan menginfokan untuk lebih baik membawa baju ganti kita gak tau nanti tiba" basah atau apa. Jangan pake bawahan yang terbuka. Maksudnya training lah jadi mangkanya kita lebih baik pakai baju tertutup.

C: Habis itu kita akan lanjut untuk lunch di Timbul Roso, kemudian kita akan belanja di Hamzah batik kita akan sekalian makan disana

C: Just info aja si eugene itu besok ke hamzah

Just info only that eugene that tomorrow to hamzah

itu gak ikut soalnya dia udah collab sama Pak Dalan.

that not go since she already collab with Mr. Dalan

'Just info, Eugene will not go to Hamzah tomorrow since she already had a collaboration with Mr. Dalan.'

C: udah 15 menit nih, lama kali (Indonesian)

Already 15 minutes, so long

'It's already 15 minutes, so long.'

B: sitik neh, sitik neh

little more, little more

'Just a little bit more, a little bit.'

C: intine ngono, mengko langsung mbalik kampus

point's that, later directly go.back campus

'The point is, later (we) directly go back to campus.'

B: balik kampus, njuk mlebu kelas

back campus then get.in class

'(We) got back to campus, then get in the class.'

C: njih, mlebu kelas wis telat sak jam e

Yes, get in class already late one hour

'Yes, (we) get in the class, already late for one hour.'

B: rapopo, bapaknyamengerti.kok

it's.okay the.lecturer understand

'It's okay, the lecturer will understand (our circumstances)'

C: sakjane akdewe ki bebas

actually we are free

'Actually, we are free (to do anything)'

B: iya, tapi kan kita juga nggak enak to

C: ho'o, tapi aku tadi mbalik sih nugas  
yeahbut I earlier go.back assignment-ing  
kan takut-nya tuh nek dikeki tugas dewe  
so afraid-POSS that if given assignment own  
ngono lho. Koyo iki, ppt nek misal sakit  
that like. Like this presentation if for.example sick  
mosok yo dikon raono, aneh  
impossible that asked.to nothing, weird

'Yeah, but earlier I went back to do the assignment, I'm afraid I would be given a make-up assignment. For example, if a presentation, for example the presenter'

B: he'em

hmm (agreeing response)

'Hmm (as a form of agreeing)'

## Interesting findings in Interview 1

Q: Where are you from? (Ethnicity)

A: From Yogyakarta, at Kalasan, near to Prambanan Temple. Nggeh, I was born and raised in Yogyakarta.

Nggeh: Yes

Q: How do you like it here? / Do you have a sense of belonging towards any part of the region/ country, why or why not?

A: I've lived in different places, opo nggih jenenge, I have worked in other cities. But I still feel comfortable living in Yogyakarta. Because Yogyakarta people are also friendly, nggih, but it's just my opinion, ngoten iku. Yogyakarta is a special place, nggih.

Opo: What

Jenenge: the name/what is it

called Ngoten iku: Just it

Menurut saya Jogja itu paling nyaman ya. Kebetulan saya pernah merantau dalam arti saya orang kampung kan, setelah sekolah merantau cari, opo nggih jenenge marantau 'ki, cari penghasilan, mencoba mengadu nasib di luar daerah gitu. Dan saya pernah tinggal di Jakarta, di Bekasi, di pokoknya di Jawa Barat, di Sumatra pernah juga, di sampai Aceh. Dan saya rasa untuk tinggal itu emang lebih nyaman di Jogja. Iya, karena emang saya mengalami untuk komunikasi orangnya, istilahnya ramah-ramah orangnya, nggih, emang lebih ini di Jogja. Tapi kan istilahe kan persepsi orang masing-masing nek itu menurut pribadi saya ngoten iku.

Q: What is your religion if you don't mind my asking?

A: I'm a muslim, Islam.

Q: What is your occupation/ job?

A: I'm a worker at Embe Enem Homestay as a driver. But, nggih I'm a basic ke as a driver here, but I still help with some work at the homestay. Such as resek-resek, gardener, and nampa the visitors. I worked at Embe Enem Homestay around 2015, nggih.

Kebetulan saya buruh, kebetulan buruh kerja di sini, homestay Embe Enem ini di bidang driver. Tapi nggih, kerja di sini kan yo serabutan nek asline basic-e driver, cuman yo bantu segala macem teng riki, nggih resik-resik, yo tukang kebun, tukang

bersih-bersih kamar, nggih nampa tamu, segala macem. Tapi secara khususnya nganter-nganter tamu.

Q: What is your education level?

A: Up to high school, not to college.

Q: What languages/ Indonesian languages do you speak?

A: Basically, I'm a Javanese speaker, nggih, and also Indonesian speaker. Yo nek, I can't speak a foreign language. Maybe, yo, it is just sitik-sitik, because many other Embe Enem Homestay visitors came from other countries.

Yo:

Yes

Nek:

If

Sitik-sitik: Just a little bit

Kebetulan saya kurang begitu bisa menguasai bahasa asing, dalam arti bahasa luar Indonesia. Jadi untuk keseharian bahasa kami bahasa Jawa, cuma untuk komunikasi di sini kan banyak orang dari berbagai daerah kan, Bahasa Indonesia biasa untuk sehari-harinya. Tapi kalau di rumah, bahasa Jawa. Nggih kalau bahasa luar nggak begitu menguasai, paling yo little-little lah, sithik-sithik. Karena Embe Enem ini tamunya banyak yang dari luar.

Q: Which language do you prefer to speak the most / most comfortable language?

A: If it's for daily conversation, maybe I prefer to speak Indonesian. Because, young people nowadays don't really speak Javanese even though they are Javanese . Jowo ne wes ilang. So, to keep up with the jamane, yo Indonesian language.

Jowo ne wes ilang: It means that the Javanese language has been gone  
Jamane: Era

Kalau untuk percakapan sehari-hari, yo menurut saya karena saya sudah termasuk anak angkatan sekarang, dalam arti bukan orang kuno kalau itu paling yo Bahasa Indonesia sih. Apalagi anak-anak sekarang, biar orang Jawa pun kadang-kadang Jawane wis ilang ngoten lho. Karena ngikuti jamane gini yo bahasa Indonesia, tapi kalau di kampung tetep bahasa Jawa kita utamakan.

Q: Would you shift to other languages in the same conversation?

A: It often happens.

Q: Usually, when will it happen, why or why not?

A: Because I'm a Javanese, ilat e, ilat Jowo. So, when I speak in Indonesian there are still the Jawane, nggih. But they probably still understand since I'm adding Indonesian in the sentences.

Ilat: tongue

Ilat e: the tongue

Jawane: Javanese/the Javanese language

Karena saya ya asli Jawa jadi ilate ilat Jawa mbak, kadang-kadang jagongan ngobrol sama orang itu meskipun bahasa Indonesia tetep keselip bahasa Jawane pasti nggih. Tapi kemungkinan mereka ngerti juga karena disambung-sambung dengan bahasa Indonesia

Q: Do you feel closer when you speak Bahasa Indonesia? (intimacy)

A: It depends on the situation. But, nek misale at my hometown, teng omah ngoten nggih, I prefer to speak Javanese. Nek, nang deso tu kadang nek gak pake boso jowo iku seems like dionekke gaya.

Nek: If

Misale: Might/maybe

Teng omah ngoten nggih: At

home Nang: people

Deso:

Village

Tu: It

Kadang:

sometimes

Gak: No/not

Pake:

use/using

Boso:

Languag

e Jowo:

Javanese

Iku: it's

Dionekke gaya: this is in the language of cultural terms, it's like when someone acts differently than others or is more modern (in the context of a village or remote place) then they will be said to be "too much".

Tergantung juga mbak, kalau di kerjaan kemungkinan lebih banyak ke bahasa Indonesia. Tapi nek misale di daerah, dalam arti teng omah ngoten nggih, di rumah gitu ya, kadang kan ngobrol sama tetangga, nongkrong sama temen nggih lebih nyaman bahasa Jawa karena kebanyakan mereka yo basa Jawa. Dan kadang-kadang nek nang desa itu nek nggak pakai basa Jawa itu malah dionekke gaya. Dadi kalau di desa ngobrol, walah gaya wong desa wae, kan kadang-kadang ngoten itu. Jadi kemungkinan kalau di rumah keseharian lebih banyaknya basa Jawa.



## Transcription and Translation of Interview 2

Q: Jeneng-e sapa?

Name-e who?

'What is your name?'

A: Jenengku Agusdin Subianto.

Name-I Agusdin Subianto.

'My name is Agusdin Subianto.'

Q: Jenis kelamin karo gender?

Type sex and gender?

'What is your sex and gender?'

A: Lah emang bedan-e apa?

Huh emang difference-e what?

'Huh, what's the difference?'

Q: Jenis kelamin ki sing kowe lanang po wedok, gender ki

Type sex is that you male or female, gender is

iso ana enem belas kae.

can there six teen that.

'Sex is (either) male or female, (while) gender could be up to sixteen (types.)'

A: Lanang.

Male.

Male.

Q: Njuk, umur-e piro?

Then, age-e how.much?

'How old are you?'

A: Dua puluh tahun.

Two tens year.

'Twenty years old.'

Q: Terus, kowe seka endi?

Next, you from where?

'Next, where are you from?'

A: E, Banjarnegara Jawa Tengah.

Eh, Banjarnegara Java Central.

'Eh, Banjarnegara, Central Java.'

Q: Ning Yoja ke-rasa-n ra?

At Jogja ke-comfortable-n no?

'Do you feel comfortable in Yogyakarta?'

A: Ora.

No.

'No.'

Q: Ngapa ora?

Why no?

'Why not?'

A: Soal-e bosen-i, macet, tapi jajan-e akeh.

Because-e boring-e jams, but snacks-e a.lot.

'Because it is boring here, traffic jams, but there are a lot of snacks (street food.)'

Q: Agama-ne apa?

Religion-ne what?

'What is your religion?'

A: Islam.

Muslim.

'Muslim.'

Q: Gaweyan-e apa?

Occupation-e what?

'What is your occupation?'

A: Mahasiswa-lah, 'po 'neh.

Student-lah, what else.

'(University) student of course, what else.'

Q: Education level ki apa to, e, tingkat... Tingkat edukasi?

Education level is what to, e, l evel... level education?

'How do we say education level, eh, level... education level?'

A: Yo bangku kuliah.

Yea bench college.

'Yea, at college.'

Q: S1 to yo.

S1 to right.

'(It should be) bachelor degree, right.'

A: Yo, S1.

Yea, bachelor.

'Yea, bachelor degree.'

Q: Njuk, kowe sinau apa ning kuliah?

Then, you study what at college?

'Then, what are you studying at college?'

A: Sinau basa Inggris.

Learn language English.

'(I) learn the English language.'

Q: Kowe ngomong basa opo wae?

You speak language what only?

'What languages can you speak?'

A: Basa Jawa, Indonesia.

Language Java, Indonesian.

'Javanese, Indonesian.'

Q: Njuk kowe luwih seneng ngomong ng-anggo basa apa?

Then you more like speak ng-use language what?

'Then what language do you prefer to use?'

A: Basa Jawa soale penak.

Language Javanese because comfortable.

'Javanese language since it is comfortable (to use).'

Q: Terus, kowe bakal iki 'ra, kaya ganti bahasa ning

Next, you will this no, like change language in

percakapan sing pada?

conversation that same?

'Next, would you change the language (that you use) in the same conversation?'

A: Iya-lah, kan agak-nya basa-ku udu Jawa Jogja  
yo,

Yes-lah, kan somewhat-nya language-my not Javanese  
Jogja yes,

Kan aku Jawa Ngapak dadi nek ora ngerti yo  
tak-campur

Kan I Javanese Ngapak so if not know yes  
I-mix

ng-anggo basa Indonesia.

ng-use language Indonesia.

'Yes, of course. My language is not Javanese Jogja, I speak Javanese Ngapak\*  
so if I do not know (the word) I will mix it with Indonesian. (\*Ngapak is a Javanese  
dialect used by people from Cilacap, Banyumas, Purbalingga, dan Banjarnegara.)'

Q: Kowe ngapa pindah-pindah basa, ngapa kok kowe ngana?  
Ning

You why change-change language, why kok you that?  
But

iki 'ra, beda wong beda basa ngana 'ra?

this no, different person different language like.that no?

'Why do you use language shifting? Do you use it when talking with different people?'

A: Iya-lah tergantung wong-e, kan 'ra kabeh wong ngerti basa

Yes-lah depend person-the, kan not all people know language

Jawa.

Javanese.

'Yes, since not all people understand Javanese.'

Q: Dadi karo sing ra dong basa Jawa, B.Indo?

So with that no understand language Javanese, L(Language). Indo?

'So, with people that do not understand Javanese, you use Indonesian?'

A: He'eh.

Uh-huh.

'Uh-huh (right).'

Q: Njuk, kowe nge-rasa luwih cedak 'ra, luwih intimate, nek kowe

Then, you nge-feel more close not, more intimate, if you

ng-omong ng-anggo basa Indonesia?

ng-talk ng-use language Indonesia?

'Then, do you feel closer – more intimate, or not, if you talk using Indonesian language?'

A: Ora sih, biasa wae yo.

No sih, normal just yes.

'No, just normal.'

Q: Pada, njuk, menurut-mu penting 'ra, apa jeneng-e, ngerti

Same, then, according-you important no, what name-e, know

basa Indonesia? Kayak, soale kowe bakal duwe kesempatan

language Indonesia? Like, because you will have opportunity

sing luwih lebar dinggo kowe.

that more broad for you.

'Me too. Then, do you think knowing Indonesian is important? For example, you will have a broader opportunity for a job (by knowing the language).'

A: Ya iyalah, kan golek pahal-an yo agaknya interview-ne

Yes of.course, kan find job-an yes like-nya interview-the

ng-anggo basa Indonesia yo.

ng-use language Indonesia yes.

'Of course, even job interviews use Indonesian.'

Q: Sapa reti basa Jepang.

Who know language Japanese.

'Who knows, (maybe they use) Japanese.'

A: Yo nek kowe kerja ning Jepang, basa Jepang anjing.

Yeah if you work at Japan, language Japanese dog.

'Yeah, if you work in Japan, (of course they use) Japanese, dumbass.'

Q: Njuk, keluarga-mu ngomong iki 'ra, basa liyan-e sing kowe

Then, family-your speak this no, language other-e that you

ora ngomong?

don't speak?

'Then, does your family speak using other languages that you don't use?'

A: Ora sih.

No sih.

'Not really.'

Q: Ho, emang kowe iso krama 'po ay?

Oh, indeed you can krama what hun?

'Oh, so you can (speak Javanese) Krama, hun?'

A: Iso, ya kan aku nek tuku sate wae ngomong-e Krama,



Can, yea right I if buy satay just speak-e  
Krama,

inti-ne nek karo wong sing 'ra kenal terus luwih  
tuwa

point-ne if with people that not know and more old  
'nggo Krama cuk.

use Krama bro.

'I can, at that time when I bought satay I was speaking (Javanese) Krama, the  
point is,

when talking to strangers and older people, use Krama.'

Q: Nek karo bakul-e ning angkringan?

Nek with merchant-the at angkringan?

'If (talking) with the merchants at the angkringan?'

A: Oh nek angkringan mah Ngapak Ngapak wae, kan wis  
kenal,

Oh if angkringan mah Ngapak Ngapak just, kan done  
know,

kan aku ngomong-e sing urung kenal kocak.

kan I talk-e that yet know lol.

'Oh, if at the angkringan I just use Ngapak since we already know each other, I  
was talking about people who we do not know yet.'

Q: Menurutmu tingkat kesopanan sing di-apply ning percakapan  
sehari-hari

According.you level politeness t hat di-apply at conversations  
daily

saiki 'ki kaya piye menurut? Apakah wis sopan apa

currently this like how for.you? What already polite or  
mengalami penurunan kesopanan?

experiencing decrease politeness?

'Do you think the level of politeness in daily conversations nowadays is decreasing?'

A: Aku merasakan penurunan kesopanan sih soale Krama Inggil-ku

I feel decrease politeness sih since Krama Inggil-my

mulai sithik sithik kelalen soale wis ratau taknggo.

start little little forget since already never I.use.

'I feel a decrease in politeness since I forget Krama Inggil\* little by little since I rarely use

it. (\*Krama Inggil is the highest/most polite form of Javanese language)'

Q: Terus nganggone Krama apa?

Then use Krama what?

'Then what kind of Krama do you use?'

A: Yo Krama campur iki lah, Ngoko, karena aku kadang Krama

Yea Krama mix this lah, Ngoko, since I sometimes Krama

tak-campur basa Indonesia ben ketok luwih sopan ngana lho.

I-mix language Indonesia so look more polite like that.

Daripada kowe pilihan-e Ngoko atau basa Indonesia

Rather than you option-the Ngoko or language Indonesia

yo aku trima campur krama karo basa Indonesia.

Yeah I prefer mix Krama with language Indonesia.

'Well I mix Krama with Ngoko, I sometimes mix Krama with Indonesian so it looks more polite. If the option (is mixing Krama with) Ngoko or Indonesian, rather than Ngoko, I prefer mixing Krama with Indonesian.'