

2020 3a Asian ESP Journal Shifting Ethnic Language

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Submission date: 04-Jun-2020 03:13PM (UTC+0700)

Submission ID: 1337561760

File name: 2020_3a_Asian_ESP_Journal_Shifting_Ethnic_Langauge.pdf (720.69K)

Word count: 8136

Character count: 44196



THE ASIAN ESP JOURNAL

² The Asian ESP Journal

April 2020

Volume 16, Issue 2.1



Chief Editor - Roger Nunn



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Published by ELE Publishing
(Division of the TESOL Asia Group)

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Publisher: ELE Publishing

Managing Editor of ELE Publishing: Dr. John Adamson

Chief Editor of the Asian ESP Journal: Professor Roger Nunn

Associate Production Editor: Ramon Medriano, Jr.

Production Editor: Eva Guzman

ISSN. 2206-0979



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Shifting from an Ethnic Language among Younger Generation in a Metropolitan City in Indonesia

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Abstract

Javanese is a language spoken by most people in East and Central Java. Javanese is well known as a language with three speech levels: *kromo* 'high level', *madya* 'middle level', and *ngoko* 'low level'. The use of Javanese in a metropolitan city, Surabaya is greatly decreasing because of the domination of Bahasa Indonesia as a national language. This phenomenon leads up the elementary students in Surabaya to use Bahasa Indonesia rather than Javanese. This study is based on the phenomena of language shift among Javanese elementary school students at the age of 7-11 years old in the metropolitan city, Surabaya. It is common among Javanese families these days that their children use the national language, Bahasa Indonesia, instead of their ethnic language. Javanese even becomes the second language. The result shows the domination

of Indonesian is almost in all students' language domains. Although Javanese is still used, the students mostly speak the low variety of Javanese. The difficulties in adhering to Javanese speech levels become one of the basic reasons for choosing Indonesian. However, identifying the language shift phenomenon without searching out for the effort of language maintenance is not enough. Thus, this is also to seek some efforts done by Javanese people in preserving or maintaining their indigenous language including the attitudes toward their languages. Although Indonesian dominates, the positive attitudes toward Javanese are still shown by the parents.

Keywords: *ethnic language, language shift, language attitude, language proficiency*

Introduction

Indonesia has a large population and huge geographical landscape which creates a large variety of local languages. The languages are spoken by their speakers within their territory. The varying language creates multilingualism because of the norm of many parts of the archipelago and the common areas where one language dominates, (Musgrave, 2014). The dominance of one language, sometimes, makes some migrants get difficulties to communicate then the shift which is taking place. It is one of the best viewed as changing patterns of multilingualism rather than a shift of larger population from one language to another language. One of the examples is the shift happened in the east part of Indonesia as the result of treating the viability of some languages used by the smaller population there. The size of the language group in East Java, especially in metropolitan city Surabaya, has consequences for language shift. According to Simon (2014), the Indonesian language has spread throughout the population and it has gained enormously in the proportion of people who use it as either their first language or as a second language. But there is not just one simple process of shift from other languages to the national language.

The multilingual community appears when people from different ethnicities live together. Relating to the social and economic factors and the four dimensions of language choice, the Javanese people nowadays tend to use Indonesian since it can serve as a proper medium of communication. The fact makes language shift unavoidable. On a smaller scale, a phenomenon happens on Javanese families these days that children tend to use the national language, Indonesian, instead of their ethnic language, although Javanese is still used when those children talk to the addressee at the same ages. Yet, instead of Javanese, Indonesian is used when they are talking to older people or being in a formal situation. The decreasing number of Javanese speakers shows that there is a tendency of language shift in the Javanese community, especially

those who live in a metropolitan city like Surabaya. As Errington (1998:195) proclaims that by the year of 2010, all Indonesian citizens will be the speakers of the national language since it was spoken by 83% of the 131 million citizens over the age of five according to 1980 the census.

A society is said to be in a diglossic situation when it has two distinct codes that show a clear functional separation (Wardhaugh, 1999:87). The diglossic situation consists of “H” (high) variety and “L” (low) variety (Holmes, 1992:32 and Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015, 91). In this case, Javanese can be generally said to have *krama* as the high variety and *ngoko* as the low one. *Krama* as the H variety is spoken when the setting of conversation is formal and the addressee is considered having a higher status. Whereas *ngoko* is spoken in an informal situation and the addressee is in the same or lower status (see Geertz, 1960 for detail terms). Nowadays, these speech levels are often ignored by many Javanese because it is considered too complicated to use. Suharsono, (2014) found that Javanese struck him one day in 2017 after witnessing a Javanese mother, who was his neighbor in Surabaya, saying that she always spoke Bahasa Indonesia to her children. In her view, it was important to maintain speaking Indonesian with her children because their ability to speak the language would make them better prepared for school. Teachers, she continued, would expect beginning school children to understand Indonesian and would use the language as the medium of instruction right from the first year of primary school. As a result of the statement, Bahasa Indonesia is more dominant in Surabaya rather than Javanese that is one of many reasons why Javanese speakers decrease in numbers and Bahasa Indonesia becomes the solution of communication. The case is becoming a problem since Javanese children have less proficiency in their own indigenous. Wardhaugh (1999:90); Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) claim that people living in a diglossic community do not usually regard diglossia as a ‘problem’ because it is not an ephemeral phenomenon. It becomes a problem only when there is a growth of literacy, or when there is a desire to decrease regional and/or social barriers, or when a need is seen for a unified ‘national’ language.

There is a tendency of shifting the first language from Javanese to Indonesian since Indonesian, as the national language, serves people’s needs in communication. Language shift occurs when a community begins to choose a new language to use in everyday conversation. Fasold (1984) says that “Language shift is a condition where a community begins to choose a new language in daily talk than the old one.” Pauwels (2016:18) uses the term ‘language shift’ when there is an abandonment of one language for another language, even though the result is not in the complete disappearance or death of the former, but it is merely a disappearance of it from the

specific speech community that finds itself in the contact situation. Javanese people shift their language to Indonesian since this national language can be a solution for the language use in a multilingual community. The main reason for using Indonesian as a national language is not only to serve the needs of interaction among the multilingual community but also to establish a distinct national identity (Alwi, 2000). Then, the occurrence of the large shift from Javanese to Bahasa Indonesia is due to the loss of potential speakers of Javanese in both endogamous and exogamous families. Strategic actions are needed to change this language situation, especially in terms of home transmission and a supportive school environment. These actions can facilitate Javanese youths to acquire, learn, and habituate to use Javanese (Andriyani, 2020).

Language shift and maintenance are one of the interesting topic and several previous researchers conducted in the same field, the first study was conducted by Wijayanti's (2008) which indicated that the Bataknese who lives in Surabaya shift to a new and maintain the old one. She also wants to describe the social contexts which are responsible for language shift and language maintenance by Bataknese in Surabaya. Wijayanti divided the informants into two groups: young and old generations of Bataknese in Surabaya which were chosen randomly who might represent their community in Surabaya. The young generation represented language shift while the old generation represented language maintenance. While the second previous study was conducted by Windarti's (2007) is concerned about the shift of Flores language because of the speakers' movement to another place (in this case, Flores people move to Java). Although the Flores people have a very good ability to master Flores language, they have a very positive attitude towards Flores language, and they also have such organization Flores family in Surabaya, most of the Flores people (parents) have never taught Flores language to their children. It is because Flores people think that it is unnecessary to teach Flores language in Surabaya. Besides, Windarti's study took ten Flores families as the informants, who were divided into two categories, original Flores families (OFs), and mixed marriage Flores Families (MMs). The recent studies conducted by Sari et al. (2019) amplified that being bilinguals are beneficial, yet, the use of Indonesian as lingua franca and national language at the same time contributes to their well-being.

The previous studies concerned the language shift which occurs to the speakers who migrate to another city and shift the language to the majority language that is the Surabaya language. Migration is the position which shows that most people who migrate to another city will use the language in the place they migrate to. While this study is concerned about some efforts done by Javanese people, especially elementary students, in preserving or maintaining their

indigenous language including the attitudes toward their Javanese languages. This gap of the study is from the subject of the study who are elementary students or local population children in maintaining the indigenous language but both of previous studies concern migrants who came to Surabaya in using the Javanese language.

This study intended to find another prove of language shift among Javanese people. Unlike the previous studies, this study concerns with not only the language proficiency of Javanese children (at the age of eight to twelve years of age) but also parents' and children's attitudes toward Javanese and Indonesian relating to their backgrounds of origin. This study is also different from the previous studies in the case of searching for any effort from the Javanese community to maintain their ethnic language.

Method

Qualitative and quantitative methods were used in this study. The former relies on text and image data, has unique steps in data analysis, and draws on diverse designs (Creswell and Creswell, 2018:252). In this study, observation and open-ended questionnaires were employed. The latter is used to analyze the language tendency based on close-ended questionnaires.

Fourth to sixth grade of elementary school students were chosen as the informants of this study since they are learning formally the basic Javanese and Indonesian. The total subject is 45 students. The samples are collected from three different elementary schools of random areas in metropolitan city Surabaya to obtain valid data. Four to six grades of elementary school students are the appropriate subject of the study since they are beyond their 'operational' period. Children in the age of 7-11 years old are entering the period of 'concrete operational' in which their abilities to think logically and to solve a problem are improving (Piaget in Slavin, 2003). The instruments of study are meant to collect the backgrounds, language proficiency, and attitudes toward the languages. The instruments are Javanese passages taken from subject's book from each grade, questionnaires, tape recorder, and notes during the data collection. Questionnaires and observation were used. Questionnaires are used for capturing children's language background and proficiency. While the observation is needed get the real data from the subject particularly informant's interactions and oral performance. Recording and taking notes during the observation were executed. The data from questionnaires were analyzed by using simple statistical analysis.

Results

Informants' Background

All members of the informants (students) are Javanese since their parents are both from Surabaya or other cities in East and Central Java. Knowing the origin of informants' parents is important since parents have a great role in children's language development. Parents' origin can be the factor of language choice since culture influences people's opinions and perceptions of their language. Moreover, living in a multilingual-metropolitan like Surabaya may change their perception and belief toward their indigenous language, Javanese.

More than 50% of the total students have parents who graduated from high school and more than 10% have a university degree for D3 (vocation) and S1 (BA). The rest of the students' parents graduate from the lower educational institution. Parents have a responsibility for their children's language choice. It is due to parents' role in choosing their children's first language which is a very important step for children's language development. Based on the earlier study, parents' educational background can also determine their language choice for children, besides the social contexts involved. In a developing country, the people tend to think that the higher the education, the greater reasons parents give in choosing Indonesian as children's first language. Many reasons given by those parents since Indonesian are more applicable and visibly accepted in a multilingual community. The fact that parents' tendency to choose Indonesian influences their children –as the representation of other Javanese children in the metropolitan city, Surabaya- to do the same as their parents. Their ability in speaking Javanese decreases including their oral proficiency and understanding in reading Javanese passage or even in Javanese conversation.

Table 1: Parents' first language background

Informant background	Javanese				Indonesian		B1	
	Low		High					
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
First language	48	46.67	5	11.11	10	22.2	20	20

B1: Both Javanese and Indonesian with the domination of Javanese.

As seen in Table 1, the parents' first language is classified into two groups. They are Javanese and Indonesian. Javanese is divided into three varieties since this ethnic language has L, H, and

both varieties codes. However, it can be seen that more than 50% of the students' parents acquired Javanese as their first language (by summing up the percentages of Javanese acquisition in three varieties, Low, High, and both Low and High). Another finding, 46.67% of them acquired Javanese L variety as their first language. Only 11.11% acquired the H variety and 20% acquired both varieties. In this case, Indonesian is the minority language acquired by the parents as the first language. Only 22.22% acquired this national language as their first language.

From the fact above, it may suggest that Javanese dominates parents' first language since this regional language was acquired when the language shift phenomenon had not greatly occurred at that time. Javanese was taught for the perception of this language was still positive. Moreover, more than half of the parents (both husband and wife) are Javanese couples from the same city in East and Central Java or even intermarriage couples within the same ethnic group of Javanese from Surabaya and another city in East or Central Java. Most Javanese parents from outside of Surabaya usually still hold a strong perception toward their language. It is because they come from a city, unlike Surabaya. They live in a monolingual community in which Javanese (with its L and H

Based on Table 2, more than half of total parents reported using Javanese L variety to speak with their spouses in the family domain. On the contrary, 4 parents (8.9%) who speak H variety of Javanese to their spouses are female parents –informants' mothers-. From this evidence, it can be inferred that most of the informants' parents still hold Javanese traditional culture by applying Javanese speech levels to their spouses.

Table 2: Parents' Language Domain

Domain	Addressee		Javanese				Indonesian			
	/ Partici- pants	Setting	Low		High				B1	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Family	Spouse	Home	29	64.4	4	8.9	10	22.2	2	4.44
	Children	Home	19	42.2	2	4.44	24	53.3	-	0
Neighbour- hood	Neighbour	Neighbour- hood	18	40	17	37.8	8	17.8	2	4.44
Friendship	Friend	Workplace	29	64.4	3	6.7	9	20	4	8.9

Public	First meet	Public									
	People	Places	4	8.9	3	6.7	38	84.4	-	0	

B1: Both Javanese and Indonesian with the domination of Javanese.

Other important information provided in Table 2 is friendship and public domains. Friendship domain shows that more than 60% of parents speak L variety of Javanese to their friends at the workplace. It is due to their perception that friends know them well and have equal or the same status. The term of equal status cannot serve their needs when they speak in the public domain. They tend to choose Indonesian when they speak to first meet people in public places. More than 80% of those parents use Indonesian since public places and first meet people belong to the formal participants and scenes. A far social distance makes them choose Indonesian to communicate in the public domain. Javanese H variety also becomes a solution for three parents –who choose H variety- in communicating with first meet people in public places. In this case, it can be stated that Javanese H variety and Indonesian have equal status since both codes are used in a formal situation. A contradictory situation is shown by 4 parents who speak Javanese L variety to speak in public places with first meet people.

The striking phenomenon was found that almost 70% of all parents said that Indonesian was more important in the case that this language was more communicative and easier to apply in any kind of situation. By speaking Indonesian, they do not have to think whether the situation involved is formal or informal and whether the addressee has higher or lower social status. Moreover, Indonesian is used as a medium of instruction in all formal institutions including schools. This fact shows that Indonesian has indeed held more power than Javanese and has dominated Javanese people. Mastering the Indonesian language can secure a better career.

The First Language of Javanese Elementary School Students

The elementary school students in the metropolitan city, Surabaya show the tendency of lacking Javanese proficiency. Meanwhile, this study is intended to seek the basic factors that cause language shift phenomenon among those Javanese students. Entering the period of concrete operational, their proficiency in Javanese is determined by their first language.

Lacking Javanese proficiency, especially oral proficiency –including their understanding of Javanese-, can be caused by the lack of Javanese learning process. The language shift phenomenon among Javanese in Surabaya shows that shifting language –from Javanese to Indonesian- has already begun since the informants were acquiring their first language. Around

22 parents (from 32 parents who choose Indonesian as their children's first language) whose first language is Javanese prefer Indonesian as their children's first language. Many reasons were given to clarify their decision.

All parents who teach Indonesian as their children's first language consider that national language is more appropriate for the children to enter schools. According to their perception, teaching Indonesian as the first language supports children's ability in learning their school subjects since Indonesian is used as a medium of instruction at schools including in the school subject books. Few parents even include the term of nationalism as a basic reason in teaching Indonesian as children's first language. In this case, solidarity among people from different ethnicities plays as a major point. However, most of those parents give more acceptable reasons to clarifying their decision in choosing Indonesian as their children's first language. Indonesian is chosen since it is more communicative to use and is more suitable in any kind of situation. This statement is indeed right because the use of Indonesian does not involve speech levels as in Javanese. Setting and scenes –whether it is formal or informal- taken place can be neglected when they speak Indonesian including the social distance or status difference.

Although Indonesian dominates in the case of students' first language, there are still some parents who concern more about the use of Javanese as the children's first language. They teach their children Javanese to get them used to their indigenous language. Even three students have been taught the H variety of Javanese since they were very young. In this circumstance, parents' origin plays an important role in language choice. Unlike the educational background, the background of origin determines parents' attitudes and perceptions toward Javanese. Figure 1 shows the use of Javanese based on the background of origins.

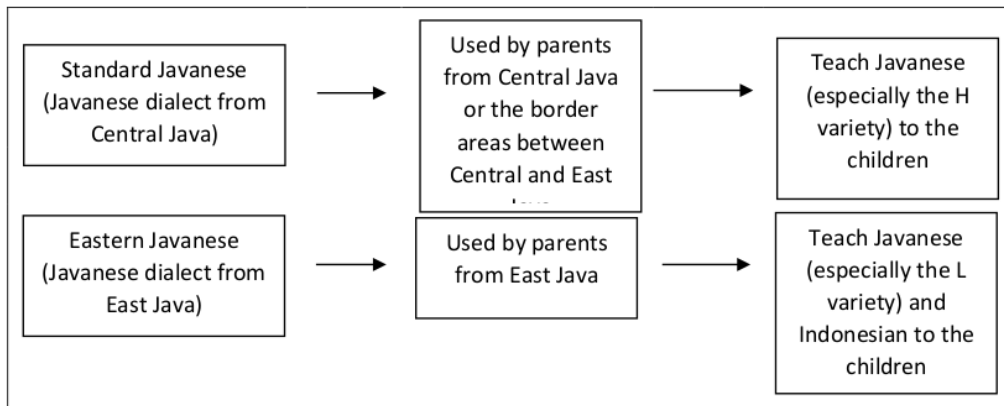


Figure 1: The Use of Javanese as the First Language Based on the Background of Origins

Those who choose H variety of Javanese feel that this code is important to acquire since its implication can also teach politeness on children besides the reason for Javanese identity. Those parents mostly come from Central Java. The rest of the parents who choose H variety come from the border areas of East Java and Central Java. In this case, the influence of Javanese cultural value which is strongly held by people from Central Java impacts more on the language choice. By teaching Javanese H variety to the children, the term of '*unggah-ungguh*' (politeness) can be well-preserved. Javanese is chosen as the children's first language by only 30% of all parents. Surprising evidence even comes from three parents (6.67%) who teach Javanese H variety as their children's first language. Two basic reasons behind parents' choice of Javanese are politeness and cultural identity.

Table 3 shows the language proficiencies of 45 informants as the students of elementary school. Given Javanese passages according to the grade of each student, all of them obviously cannot retell the points or what the story is all about with the good proficiency of Javanese. Twenty-six students (from the three criteria of good, fair, and poor) choose Indonesian as the medium of retelling the story as they are not able to speak or to use Javanese appropriately. However, only 11 students (by summing up the numbers of students who choose two codes, code-switching, in retelling the story given) use both Indonesian and Javanese.

Students who choose Indonesian feel that this language is easier to use. Five students have good proficiency in Indonesian. It means that they do understand the story (even though it is in Javanese) and can retell the whole points of the story smoothly although they use Indonesian. This type of students tends to be confused when they use Javanese. Another type of students who also choose Indonesian only have average (fair) proficiency since they can only retell some points of the story. Students with average proficiency find difficulties both in Javanese

and Indonesian. However, they prefer Indonesian because they even cannot find a proper way to speak Javanese. Reading the Javanese passage is not so difficult for the students. But to retelling, it is a different matter.

Other 3 students (6.67%) who choose Indonesian even miss many points of the story. In this case, they do not understand the meanings of a lot of words in Javanese. By using Indonesian, they only tell a little about the story given. They feel that it will even be more complicated if they use Javanese. These students lack Javanese vocabulary.

Table 3: Students' Language Proficiencies

	Single Code						Two Codes		
	Javanese			Indonesian			(Javanese and Indonesian)		
	Good	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair	Poor	JF-IG	JF-IF	JP-IF
N	-	5	3	5	18	3	1	4	6
%	0	11,11	6,67	11,11	40	6,67	2,22	8,89	13,33

JF: Fair Javanese

IG: Good Indonesian

IF: Fair Indonesian

JP: Poor Javanese

A different result is shown by 11 (in Table 3, Column 'Two Codes') students who choose both languages in retelling the passage given. Most of them are in grades 5 and 6. In this circumstance, they may have better proficiencies since they are older and their logical thinking develops better. More experience in Javanese and Indonesian subjects at schools may also be the reason. Yet, their best efforts can only reach an average level. It seems that Javanese is really difficult for them to apply.

From the above explanation, it can be inferred that growing up by acquiring Indonesian as the first language has made the students have less proficiency in Javanese. Since the first word they said, Indonesian has shaped their logical thoughts. Every object they know is in Indonesian. Consequently, their minds also grow in Indonesian. It can be seen by their way they restating the sentences in the story. Some of them even memorize those sentences though they do not understand the meanings.

Factors of Language Shift that Influence Students' Way of Communication

There is an indication of shifting language phenomenon from the Javanese to the Indonesian language among the elementary school students in Surabaya. Some factors involved are 1) social factors; 2) demographic factors; and 3) attitudes and values. The discussion of these factors is in turn as follows.

Social Factors

From the preceding analysis and explanation, it can be inferred that social factor tends to be the biggest factor promoting language shift phenomenon. Living in a multiethnic community makes the informants feel more of social awareness. In this case, parents hold the most important role as the role models for the children. Besides, having interaction with many friends in the neighborhood and school domains has raised the informants' solidarity as the same Indonesian. It is reflected by the minority parents who intend to teach Indonesian as their children's first language to develop their nationalism. It seems that solidarity has endorsed a perception of nationalism among the children and parents due to the multilingual society in which they live and grow.

Being the students of elementary schools, the informants certainly have two other domains which are significant to determine their language development besides the home domain. They are the neighborhood and school. In this circumstance, friendship in both domains can be a convincing measurement to find out students' communicative competence and performance in both Indonesian and Javanese. To what extent the students' language development grows can be determined from their interaction in both domains. It is based on the fact that students in their ages tend to interact more with friends. Parents do influence students' attitudes toward their languages. The students bring up these attitudes into their interaction with friends in the neighborhood and school. When parents chose Indonesian for the children's first language, they started to speak and think in Indonesian. This national language controls both of their mind and their oral proficiencies. As a result, their Indonesian develops even greater when their community legitimizes it. It means that their friends in the neighborhood and school domains do the same as they do –using more Indonesian than Javanese-. Moreover, Javanese certainly becomes useless when they interact with friends from different ethnicities. To make it easier for children to learn a language, parents finally choose Indonesian as the best solution.

In this case, social factors also cover the education attained by the students. Acquiring Indonesian as the children's first language can be a very supporting effort to help them entering and obtaining all subjects at schools. Encouraged by the reason for students' interaction in neighborhoods and schools there is no reason for the parents not choosing Indonesian as their

children's first language. Economic and political factors are not explained and clarified in this part since both factors do not show great influence on the informants' way of communication.

Demographic Factors

As described in the background of the study, Surabaya is the metropolitan city in Indonesia to which people from different ethnicities come with different purposes or factors. The languages are spoken even diverse and vary. Ethnic language is spoken among the same ethnicity. When there is an interaction among different tribes or ethnicities, Indonesian is used.

Yet, Javanese still dominates the population even though other ethnicities also live in this city. It can be seen from the easiness of looking for Javanese students as the informants of the study. Almost 90% of the students in each class are Javanese. Even Javanese is not only spoken by the natives but also by those who come from different ethnicities or tribes and have lived for years in Surabaya. Javanese is not fully spoken by those from different tribes. They sometimes switch into Indonesian when they speak with Javanese and switch into their codes or do the reverse when they speak to the same ethnic interlocutors. Lacking Javanese proficiency can be the biggest reason for this situation. However, regardless of the use of Javanese by other ethnicities, Indonesian still dominates in a multilingual community.

Related to the demographic factors, the patterns of both Indonesian and Javanese used by the informants and their parents can determine the informants' language proficiencies. From the previous section, it can be seen that Indonesian is mostly used by the informants in their language domains. Even all of the informants speak Indonesian to their teachers. These patterns may reflect the influence of the parents since based on the fact, most parents do speak Indonesian especially to their children and in the public domain. Even if they use Javanese, Indonesian still becomes the solution in solving the difficulties of speaking Javanese.

Attitudes and Values

The factors of attitudes and values influence both language shift and language maintenance. In this condition, the attitudes are based on the parents' perception since the informants are divided into two classifications. They are positive and negative attitudes. Based on the evidence of the informants' attitudes toward Javanese and Indonesian, the steps taken for language maintenance can be determined.

Positive attitudes

This part of this section presents the positive attitudes toward Javanese as the informants' indigenous language shown by their parents.

Table 4: Parents' Attitudes toward Javanese

Questions	+		-		0	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Javanese Maintenance	42	93.33	1	2.22	2	4.44
Javanese Speech Levels	35	77.78	8	17.78	2	4.44
Acquiring Javanese	40	88.89	4	8.89	1	2.22

+ : agree - : disagree 0 : give no reason

Based on Table 4, more than 50% of the informants' parents agree on three questions. They agree on the efforts of Javanese maintenance, the acquirement of Javanese speech levels by the students, and the acquirement of Javanese by all of native Javanese. These positive attitudes toward Javanese reflect on the way parents speak in all domains. Javanese is still used even only in the minority in some domains. In this case, parents' attitudes toward Javanese do influence the informants' perceptions and attitudes toward their native language since the informants' language patterns tend to imitate the parents'. By looking at the parents' attitudes, the informants are hoped to have comparable attitudes.

Yet, such a fact can be great support on Javanese maintenance. The parents (42) or around 93% of them agree on the effort of Javanese language maintenance. The acquirement of Javanese speech levels by the students or the informants is even agreed by more than 77% of the informants' parents. In this case, those parents give two reasons as the basis of their agreement. By acquiring or learning Javanese speech levels, parents think that children can not only maintain the culture but also obtain the value of politeness. As explained previously, the term of politeness (*unggah-ungguh*) is strongly related to the speech levels applied in Javanese. Since the implication of each level has to consider the status or social distance between the speaker and the addressee and the setting involved, it needs a thorough knowledge to apply all levels. When the speech levels are acquired, the term of politeness is automatically attained. Javanese people commonly regard others from the way they properly apply Javanese speech levels.

More than 88% of all parents agree that Javanese culture should be maintained by Javanese people. The 29 parents from those who agree that Javanese should be maintained by Javanese to show their cultural identity. Eight of them say that Javanese culture can be both learned and maintained by other people of different ethnicities while the rest gives no reason. These facts show a positive signal to the support of Javanese language maintenance.

Negative Attitudes

Suggesting the fact of positive attitudes toward Javanese to support its maintenance is unlikely to succeed without considering the opposite effect. Negative attitudes have a role in determining the accomplishment of language maintenance. From identifying the negative attitudes toward language use, a significant step can be found out to resist the language shift phenomenon. Table 5 presents the fact of parents' negative attitudes toward Javanese.

Table 5: Parents' Attitudes toward Javanese Language Maintenance

Solution for Javanese Language Maintenance	N	%
Taught at schools	15	33.33
Applied all the times	15	33.33
Learned as L1	1	2.22
Preserving Javanese tradition	2	4.44
Cannot be maintained due to Indonesian domination	1	2.22
0	11	24.44
Total	45	100

0: give no reason

From Table 5, there is a signal of negative attitudes toward Javanese though it is shown only by the minority parents. Fifteen parents handed over their responsibility in teaching the children Javanese to the teachers at schools. In this case, it seems that school is the only place for children –the informants- to learn their second language which is ironically their indigenous language. Most of them said that Javanese language maintenance can be attained at school by giving the students extra-hours of Javanese subject. This evidence may indicate that the informants as the elementary school students only learn Javanese including its speech levels at school. There is no chance for them to learn their indigenous language in other domains since the parents fail to do that and give away the responsibility to the teachers at school. One parent even disagrees with the efforts on Javanese language maintenance since Indonesian domination is unavoidable in all domains.

Discussion

The first finding shows that all of the informants are Javanese since both parents are from East Java and Central Java where Javanese is the native language. The informants' parents'

educational background also varies, but most of them have graduated from high school. In this case, the factor of parents' education in language choice and language shift as stated in the earlier study conducted by Megasari (2005) seems not completely proven in this study. The earlier study shows that the lower the education attained by the parents, the more possibilities for native language to be maintained. While in this study, parents' education seems ineffectual in language shift. However, parents with educational backgrounds lower than high school even belong to those who choose Indonesian as their children's first language. The term native language maintenance shown by the earlier study can only be seen in this study from the language domains. It is proven that parents with lower education than junior high school use Javanese more in their language domains and so do the informants. Yet, the use of Javanese only covers the L variety whereas the H is rarely spoken as the parents and the informants choose Indonesian to replace the H variety.

The second finding is due to the informants' and the parents' first language. In this circumstance, the first signal of language shift can be seen. The data proves that more than half of the total parents acquired Javanese as their first language. By contrast, the children's first language is mostly Indonesian. This fact can be a signal that there is a tendency of Javanese language shift among elementary school students in the metropolitan city, Surabaya. This finding confirms the study by Suharsono (2004) and Andriyanti (2020). This language phenomenon in terms of language proficiency is also found in another ethnic language of Northern Sotho in Africa (Phaahla, 2006); and in Thailand (Premsrirat, 2007).

The third finding is the signal for weak Javanese language maintenance. This is based on the evidence that only revealed by the minority of the informants. It is hopeless to rely on an individual's effort to maintain the Javanese language. Grenoble and Whaley (2006) referred to factors influencing language vitality and endangerment (UNESCO 2003), one of them is institutional support. In this regard, the government through the language planning program plays a key role in revitalizing and maintaining ethnic languages. This effort has been initiated towards indigenous African languages (Phaahla, 2014) that are implemented in higher education and also reported by Chivhanga & Chimhenga (2013) for Shona language. The comprehensive language planning has also been reported by Makoni et al. (2006) in Zimbabwe context.

The fourth finding is related to the patterns of language use. In this case, the children's language patterns tend to be similar to the parents' ones. This proves that parents have a great role as models in the informants' language development since their ages which belong to the operational period. This indicates regardless of the language, language transmission from the

older generation to the younger generation is successful. Another finding is that code-switching occurs in their communication in the school domain when telling stories. This phenomenon is also detected by De Cruz (2018) in her study that students use their mother tongue to facilitate understanding the literary works as well as increasing the comfort classroom atmosphere. The striking finding that elementary school students in the metropolitan city Surabaya avoid using their mother tongue dealing with school subjects. They use Indonesian instead. This finding is on the opposite track as reported by Go Silk et al. (2020) whereby in primary grades in the Philippines, almost all subjects even usually taught using mother tongue. When this is applied in Surabaya, the basic concept of the subjects would not be grasped by the students.

A positive attitude towards Indonesian becomes the fifth finding. Most parents choose Indonesian as a medium of communication. The positive attitudes toward Indonesian have somehow endangered the Javanese language since its speakers shift to Indonesian. The children's negative attitudes toward Javanese can also be seen from the result of their oral performance. Most children choose Indonesian as the medium of retelling the story given. They give up Javanese since they face many difficulties in using it. Meanwhile, the rest who choose Javanese or both Javanese and Indonesian can only memorize or restate some sentences from the story without understanding the meanings. Changing one's attitude is not easy; the government is expected to create a policy that is in support of ethnic languages. This is in line with Wurm's claim as cited by Grenoble and Whaley (2006:7) states that "A change from negative to more positive attitudes and policies at the national level can result in positive change to the vitality of local languages".

The sixth finding refers to the reasons given by the parents in choosing whether Indonesian or Javanese to be their first language. Parents who choose Javanese say that it is the proper language to be firstly acquired because by learning Javanese, the informants may understand the value of Javanese language as the identity of Javanese people and also be aware of the term *unggah-ungguh* (politeness) by comprehending the use of Javanese speech levels. Even though some parents did choose Javanese as their children's first language, some other parents choose Indonesian due to the reasons of language at schools, communicative reason, and nationalism.

Conclusion

To find out the tendency of language maintenance and language shift phenomenon among Javanese elementary school students as the informants of the study, in this case, most of the informants acquired Indonesian as their first language. Indonesian dominates the first language acquired by the informants. The reasons for politeness and cultural identity become the basic

causes of choosing Javanese as the children's first language whereas the reasons for language at schools, communicative reasons, and nationalism become the motives of choosing Indonesian as the children's first language. The third one, the data proves that most of the informants have low proficiency in Javanese which is their indigenous language. No one can reach a 'good' level in the proficiency test given. Indonesian is acquired better. Indonesian dominates in the domains of friendship and education. Though some informants say that they use both languages, Indonesian still dominates since it serves as the solution for the informants when they face difficulties in using Javanese. The last, factors like social, the patterns of language use, demography, attitudes and values, and institutional supports influence the informants' way of communication. Those factors tend to support the domination of Indonesian. Although there is an effort of language maintenance, still, it belongs to the minority. Some steps should be taken to preserve Javanese as the native language of Javanese people.

Pedagogical Implication

The phenomenon of shifting from the ethnic language to Bahasa Indonesia as the national language does not only occur in Java. This has also been spreading to all indigenous languages across the nation. Even many tribal languages in the western part of Indonesia have been extinct. When these languages are dead, the valuable-local wisdom also goes along with the languages in question. As might be predicted, the future younger generations will be losing their ethnic identity.

Since all ethnic languages are now not becoming a threat to the national security and national unity any longer, the government must take a radical action to revitalize all regional languages. The effective way is promoting those all languages through education by implementing bi-/multi-lingual education. The curriculum designer should consider including the ethnic language as the primary subject that every student must enroll in the primary and secondary level of education. The radical changes should also be done concerning the teaching materials, teaching methods, media, and classroom management systems. All these should be compatible with the present demands by making use of technology. These efforts may attract the young generation to learn their respective ethnic language and at the same time preserve their ethnic identity.

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