2013 conflicting idea between language and identity

by Slamet Setiawan

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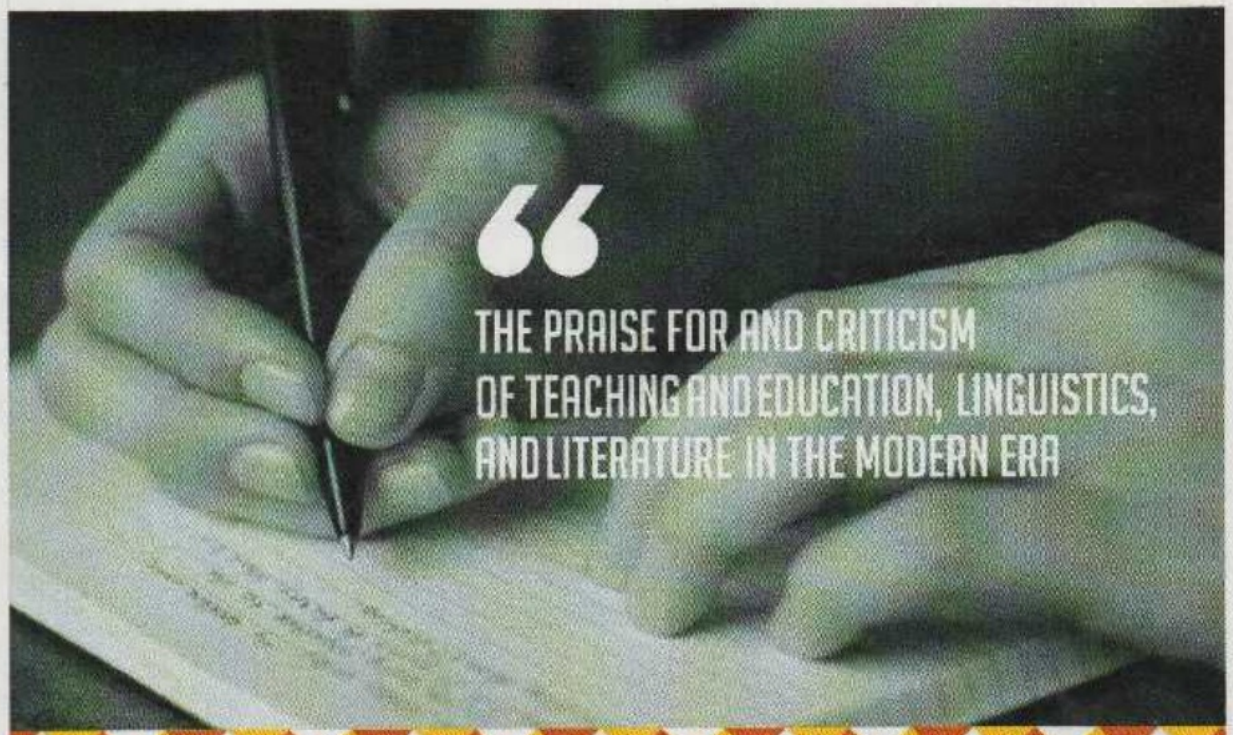

THE PRAISE FOR AND CRITICISM OF TEACHING AND EDUCATION, LINGUISTICS, AND LITERATURE IN THE MODERN ERA

PROCEEDING

6 - 7 September 2013
Auditorium Lantai 9
Gedung Wiyata Mandala
(Program PPG UNESA)
Kampus Lidah Wetan Surabaya

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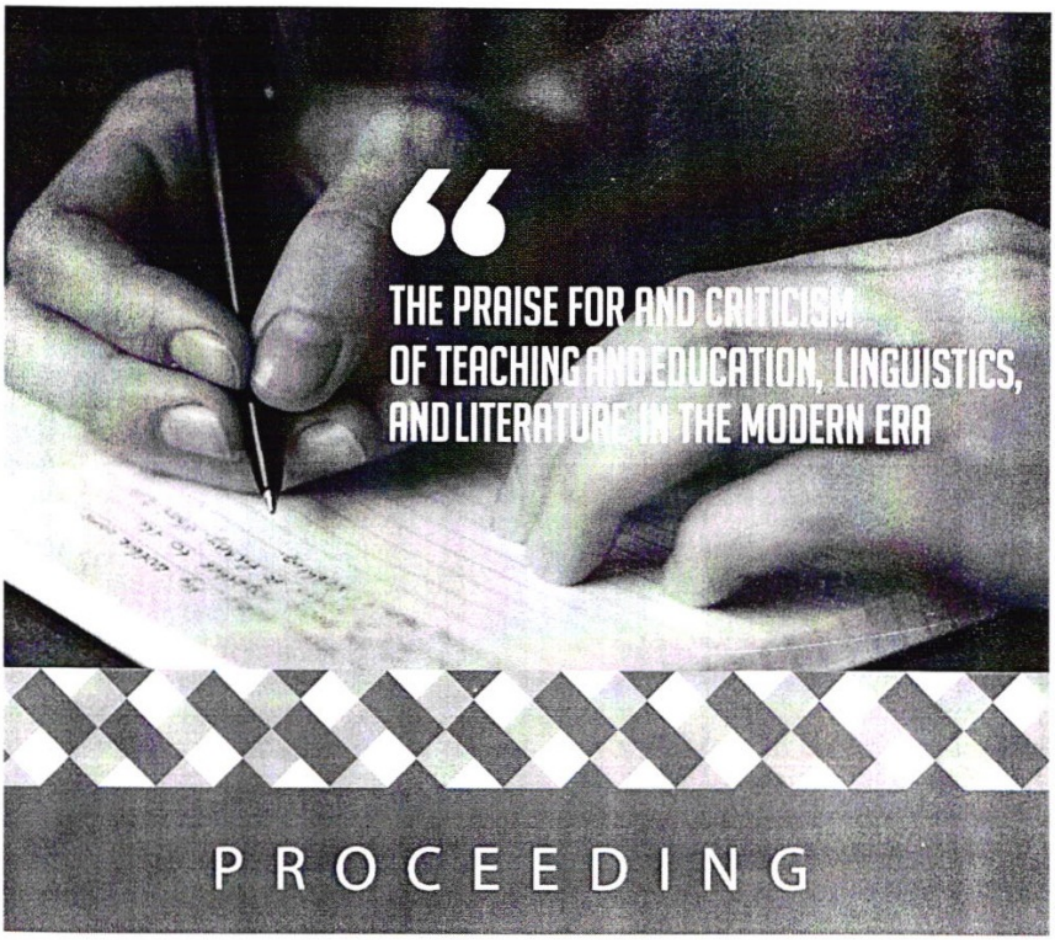

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FOREWORD

Modern era with the tidal waves of globalization brings two polar perspectives which ıfluences people's way of lives. Some welcome this era positively. They may consider ıodernity as a new phase where activities should be in line with the time advancement.)thers, however, view it as threats to traditional harmony. These two opposite stands also ffect their view on teaching & education, linguistics, and literature. On the one hand, some ractitioners of the respective above fields may converge on their works so as to follow the ıodernity, and to some extent, the traditional or regional values are faded away. On the other and, some of them may diverge on their works. They may intend to safeguard the traditional alues and consider it as precious heritage. In short, the modern era generates two ichotomies: the praise for and the criticism of all aspects of lives.

With respect to the above thoughts, the **International Conference** on ***Sang Guru 2*** as placed its specific topics on language teaching, linguistic and literature in terms of their raises and criticisms. Therefore, the theme of the conference is on: **The Praise and Criticism of Teaching and Education, Linguistics, and Literature in the Modern Era**. 'he theme is elaborated into sub themes and related topics as follows:

1) Teaching of Language&Literature

1. Teaching languages in the modern era
2. Hindrance of being successful learner in the modern era
3. Helping learners with modern devices
4. Developing handicapped learners with modern technology
5. Redefining the teachers' role in the modern era

2) Linguistics

1. Minority languages in the modern era
2. Living in multilingual community
3. Identity in relation to the language mastery
4. The status of regional, national and international languages in this era
5. Government's role in maintaining and revitalizing languages

3) Literature

1. Children's literary works as the influence of modernity
2. Direction of literary works in the modern era
3. Praise and criticism of modern literature
4. Reshaping literary works in the global era
5. Development of literature theory in the modern era

This conference produces proceedings. This publication is expected to contribute to ıe development of language teaching, linguistics and literature which will in turn give ıpacts to the development of social and cultural studies in Indonesia.

The publication of the proceedings is not without any problems and difficulties. Therefore, the committee shares their gratitude to:

1. The Rector of the State University of Surabaya;
2. The Vice Rector for Academic Affairs of the State University of Surabaya;
3. The Deansof all Faculties, the State University of Surabaya;
4. The Vice Deans for Academic Affairs of all Faculties, the State University of Surabaya;
5. The Vise Dean for Administration and Manpower of the Faculty of Languages and Arts;
6. The Faculty Members of Languages and Arts Faculty, the State University of Surabaya;
7. The members of International Committee: ***Sang Guru 2;***
8. The Keynote speakers;
9. The paper presenters;
10. The moderators;
11. The participants: teachers, lecturers, researchers, students, and everyone who has joined the conference.

Thank you very much for your support and participation. God bless you all.

Committee

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Conflicting Ideas between Language and Identity: the Case of Children in Surabaya

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Abstract
In the past, the saying Bahasa menunjukkan bangsa "Language indicates one's identity" was not debatable. However, I believe that this is not always the case in the present time. This holds true value particularly when it is related to phenomena among children in metropolitan cities whereby people are mobile; communication across ethnicities is borderless; and personal drive of individual who wants to be the winner in future competition. This paper tries to provide evidence of my claim by relating Javanese children in Surabaya and their ethnic language seen from: 1) their daily language practice, 2) their language proficiency, 3) their view of their ethnic language. By employing observation, questionnaires including written interview, and language proficiency test of 24 Javanese children in Surabaya, the results support my hypothesis. Firstly, they reported that most Javanese children in Surabaya used Indonesian to all interlocutors. Secondly, they reported that they did not have good command in Javanese. The last, surprisingly, based on their report, they even had negative view of their own ethnic language. These may indicate that language is not the sole symbol of ethnic identity. Being Javanese may not be upon language but perhaps something else which is much more prominent.

Keywords: *ethnic language, symbol of identity, language proficiency*

1. Introduction

As a consequence of the fast growing city, Surabaya is the favourite destination of people from different places across Indonesia. Surabaya is the melting pot of people from different linguistic background from the extreme most west until east of Indonesia; from Sabang to Merauke. People in Surabaya, presumably, can speak more than one language. In addition, not only do the inhabitants speak their own ethnic languages, they also speak Indonesian as their national language. Thus, based on such linguistic situation, Surabaya may deserve to obtain label as a bilingual/multilingual city.

As a bilingual/multilingual city, the saying *Bahasa menunjukkan bangsa* "Language indicates one's identity" is not always true. In other words, language may not be the strong indicator to determine one's ethnic identity. This holds true value particularly when it is related to phenomena among children in Surabaya in which people are mobile; communication across ethnicities is borderless; and personal drive of individual who wants to be the winner in future competition.

This paper focuses on the seeking evidence of my claim by relating Javanese children in Surabaya and their ethnic language, particularly to seek the answer to these questions: 1) What is Surabayanese children's language repertoire in their daily practice, 2) How is their language proficiency, 3) How is their view towards their ethnic language. Thus, the organization of this paper has sequence which is in accordance with the above questions.

Note that this paper is part of the research for my Ph.D. project conducted in 2009-2010 (see Setiawan 2013). However, the data and theories are customized as the need for the current issues. This study involved 24 elementary students in Surabaya (9 – 11 years old) whose parents are both Javanese. Some techniques were employed to get the data, namely: observation, language proficiency test, questionnaires, and written interview.

2. Evidence of Conflicting Idea between Language and Identity

This section presents evidence of "This is not always the case that *Bahasa menunjukkan bangsa* "Language indicates one's identity". For the simplicity, the results of this study are directly linked to the related theories and previous studies. Three sections in accordance with the research questions are presented after addressing the question whether Surabaya is a bilingual community. The discussion is in turns below.

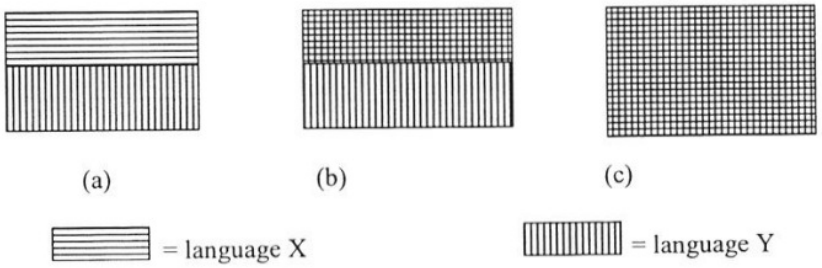
2.1 Bilingual Community and Children

"Are Surabayanese children bilingual?" The notion of bilingualism is not straightforwardly defined. In fact, linguists do not always agree on this issue. To start with, two types of bilingualism are distinguished: 'societal bilingualism' and 'individual bilingualism'. According to Appel and Muysken (1987:1), societal bilingualism "occurs when in a given society two or more languages are spoken". This is in line with Hoffmann's proposal (1991:10),

> ...when speaking of a bilingual or multilingual community we are referring to the presence of two or more languages in that setting, without implying that all (or most) of the members of the group in question have competence in those languages.

Based on this definition, three situations are possible as presented in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Schematically represented forms of societal bilingualism (adapted from Appel & Muysken 1987:2)



The above figure can be explained as follows.

(a): Two languages are spoken by two different groups and each group is monolingual. In this situation, a few individuals can handle intergroup communication.

(b): One group is monolingual and the other is bilingual. In this situation, there is a group that speaks their language as monolinguals and another that learns a language other than their mother tongue (or learn both natively).

(c): The majority are bilingual. People in this situation have ability in two or more

languages.

In the case of Surabaya, the third category (c) is close to the real situation in which people have ability in two or more languages. At least they can speak their ethnic language and national language, Indonesian.

In this study, furthermore, the terms bilingual and bilingualism are not bound by only two languages but the definition also covers situations "where more than two languages are involved" (see Appel & Muysken 1987). This is underpins Mackey's claim (2000:27):

> We must moreover include the use not only of two languages but of any number of languages. We shall therefore consider bilingualism as the alternative use of two or more languages by the same individual.

The reason for adopting this broad interpretation of bilingualism is that in East Java there may be children able to use more than two languages, possibly Javanese, Indonesian, and another language. The latter can be another regional language or an international language. In Surabaya, there is a possibility that Madurese is the additional language, as Madurese is the second majority ethnicity in Surabaya after Javanese. Besides, English is now introduced to children an early age in most pre-primary and primary schools in East Java, and adds a further global language to the mix.

There are many reasons for speakers of different languages to come into contact. Some do so because of their own choosing, while others are forced by circumstances. Possible reasons include politics, natural disaster, religion, culture, economy, education, technology and many more.

Note that the language contact situation in Indonesia is somewhat unusual. It has occurred because of the extensive language planning and policy for the sake of national unity and stability of a new state, as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. People who predominantly speak their ethnic language are being 'forced' to speak the national language, Indonesian. The trend is for increasing numbers of Indonesian speakers but decreasing numbers of ethnic language speakers. As a result, the decline and even the extinction of ethnic or local languages can be seen everywhere.

Now, this is the turn to answer "Are Surabayanese children bilingual?" For this question, Li Wei (2000) presents 37 terms to describe the outcome of individual bilingualism (see further Li Wei 2000:6-7 for the complete list). However, for the purpose of the study, Li Wei's list is adapted and modified based on the individual mastery and time of acquiring languages, as presented in Tables 1 and Table 2 respectively.

Table 1: Individual bilingual outcome based on proficiency

LEVEL	TYPE OF BILINGUAL	DESCRIPTION
1	balanced bilingual	Someone whose mastery of two languages is roughly equivalent.
2	dominant bilingual	Someone with greater proficiency in one of his or

		her languages and who uses it significantly more than the other language(s).
3	asymmetrical bilingual	Someone who understands either first or second languages, in either its spoken or written form, or both, but does not necessarily speak or write it.
4	recessive bilingual	Someone who begins to feel some difficulty in either understanding or expressing him or herself with ease in either first or second language, due to lack of use.
5	minimal bilingual	Someone with only a few words and phrases in either first or second languages.

This study focuses on children's language in Surabaya. The possible outcomes of their developing language proficiency in Javanese and Indonesian or other ethnic languages may fall into particular categories, as listed in Table 1. The possible outcomes of developing individual bilingualism are put on the continuum in 'balanced bilingual' is on one end (Level 1) and the 'minimal bilingual' is on the other end (Level 5). In between, there are 'dominant', 'asymmetrical' and 'recessive' bilinguals.

Unlike Table 1 which indicates the level of language mastery, Table 2 provides classification of bilinguals based on when they acquire languages. What type of bilingual best describes Surabayanese children? As the word 'bilingual' primarily describes someone with the possession of two languages (Li Wei, 2000:7) no matter the degree of mastery and by Romaine's proposal (1995:10) with her label of 'minimal definition of bilingualism', the Surabayanese children of this study may fall into one of the categories listed based on their level of proficiency and time of their language acquisition.

Table 2: Individual bilingual outcome based on when acquiring languages

PHASE	TYPE OF BILINGUAL	DESCRIPTION
1	simultaneous bilingual	Someone whose two languages are present from the onset of speech.
2	early bilingual	Someone who has acquired two languages early in childhood.
3	successive bilingual	Someone whose second language is added at some stage after the first has begun to develop.
4	secondary bilingual	Someone whose second language has been added to a first language via instruction.
5	incipient bilingual	Someone who is at the early stages of bilingualism where one language is not fully developed.

Studying the above discussion, indeed Surabaya is a bilingual community. No matter in what level their language proficiency and no matter when their acquisitions of languages, Surabayanese children are, in fact, also bilingual. Under such circumstances, children may use more than one language and for the long term their ethnic background may not be able to be detected simply from their use of language. The following sub sections are the evidence.

2.2 Surabayanese Children's Language Repertoire

Children have their own social networks which are different from adult. To get the data what language Surabayanese children use, comic-strip questionnaires and observation were used. There are thirteen interlocutors proposed to whom children may have in contact. These addressees are grouped into three domains: home (parents, siblings, grandparents, and maids), school (teachers in the classroom, teacher out of the classroom, classmates, and food sellers at school), and community (older neighbours, neighbour friends, religion teachers, street vendors, and strangers). Questions "What language do you usually use to speak with ... (the thirteen interlocutors)?" were given to them with three options "Javanese", "Indonesian", and "Both".

To the thirteen interlocutors, most Surabayanese children reported that they used Indonesian when communicating with them regardless of the domains. Only a small number of them reported using their ethnic language. It seems clear that Surabayanese children prompt language shift from Javanese to Indonesian. This may be the consequence of their language proficiency as discussed in section 2.3 below.

The declining use of Javanese on one hand and the increasing use of Indonesian on the other hand occur in the city like Surabaya. Sneddon (2003:201-202) describes that initially "When a family moves to a city, it is likely that the regional language will be the language of the home". However, Indonesian is usually used to communicate with people from other regions. The children of this family might speak the regional language in the home domain but might use Indonesian with friends at schools. When these children grow up and set up home, they may speak Indonesian with their children. Some of them possibly speak both Indonesian and the regional language. "Their own children will probably have only a passive knowledge, if any, of the regional language". Sneddon (2003:202) continued that in 1990 the census shows that 37.1% of the urban population used Indonesian as the home language, "many of whom are monolingual in the language". The declining use of Javanese is reported by Sneddon based on the 1990 census. The findings of this study provide more evidence that Javanese alone is used as the home language by only 8% of 24 families. The remaining families reported using Indonesian or both languages. For Javanese generations yet to come in Surabaya, it is very likely that Indonesian will be the only language they master.

A similar case of rapid shift similar to that from Javanese to Indonesian in the city context is also found in Zimbabwe. Makoni et al. (2007:33) explain that urbanisation triggered language shift from indigenous languages to the dominant language. They also claim that the urban environment encourages language shift and the rural environment contributes to language maintenance. Any understanding of language shift necessarily begins in this urban context, since, like much of the rest of the world, Zimbabwe has been

undergoing rapid urbanisation that has brought different language groups together in a small geographic space.

In the Indonesian context, the use of Indonesian to fill the gap can be seen in Nababan (1979) as summarised by Poedjosoedarmo (2006:113). Nababan argues that Indonesian has influenced many local languages particularly the use of Indonesian words into many or most indigenous languages, including Javanese, to talk about many facets of modem life, including government, law, education and commerce. The symptoms of "code-switching" and "code-mixing" were detected by Florey's (1990) study in Central Maluku and Syahdan's (1996) study in Lombok. In relation to Javanese and Indonesian, "code-switching" can be found among bilingual Javanese. Some studies have signalled the occurrences, such as Errington (1988a), Goebel (2002; 2010). These studies took place in Central Java.

Language choice in bilingual or multilingual communities is influenced by a variety of factors. Weinreich argued several decades ago (1953:3) that language choice in a bilingual community is determined by: 'intra-linguistic' and 'extra-linguistic' factors. The former refers to the speakers' proficiency in a given language or "competence-related preference" (Torras & Gafaranga 2002 as cited by Gafaranga 2010:248) and the latter relates to "esthetic or ethical codes of behaviour" (Smith 1973:105). This means that when someone decides to use "one language instead of another in a given communicative situation, this shows that he has acquired knowledge of the appropriateness of using both languages" (Suharsono 1995:13).

Similarly, Garafanga's study (2010) of Rwandan children in Belgium reveals that language proficiency is the prominent factor in their language choice. This is called "competence-related preference". Rwandan Children preferred using French simply because their proficiency in French was better than in Kinyarwanda. The research also found that shifting from this minority language to French was in progress because community members' competence in the language varies from perfect competence to zero competence.

Another driving force of language choice among children is avoiding negative comment and criticism from their family and other people. Meek (2007:25) stated, "that people can often refrain from or stop speaking their ancestral languages because of the discourses of shame that surround the use of such languages". Due to the imperfect mastery of their ethnic language, children often received comments and criticism from their family, peers and other people. The practical way to avoid this situation is to choose another language. This reason may be similar to the Javanese children who avoid using Javanese and shift instead to Indonesian. They do not want to be singled out *ora ngerti tata krama* 'not knowing how to speak properly'; or *ora ngerti unggah ungguh* 'not knowing how to behave properly' (Marsono 2004:6) because of their lack of ability to manipulate Javanese speech levels.

In Summary, most Javanese children in Surabaya, according to their report, do not use Javanese as their ethnic identity when speaking to their interlocutors. This is also proven when observation was conducted to see their communication with their interlocutors in the school domain. No matter whom they spoke in this domain, they used Indonesian. The most use of Indonesian, but not Javanese, to their addressees could be

influenced by their language proficiency as discussed in the next section.

2.3 SurabayaneseChildren's Language Proficiency

To obtain data of language proficiency, two instruments were used: questionnaires and test. For the questionnaires, Surabayanese children and their parents were asked to rate their ability in Javanese as well as in Indonesian. The question is "How do you rate your – e.g.: listening, speaking, reading, writing – ability in the following languages?" Boxes to tick were provided with four options: 'no ability', 'little', 'good' and 'very good'.

The result shows that most Surabayanese children reported to be almost perfect in Indonesian. The average ranges between 3.8 – 3.9 or overall 3.9 from four-value scales which falls almost at the 'very good' level. The finding suggests that Indonesian is widely accepted in Surabaya. It may also reflect the fact that Indonesian is introduced to children from an early age as their first language. As a result, their Indonesian proficiency is 'very good' when they sit in the fourth and the fifth grade when this research was conducted.

On the other hand, Surabayanese children's proficiency in Javanese was reported low. Their average ability in all skills ranges between 2.7 – 3.1. This falls between the 'little' and 'good' levels or the overall ability in Javanese is only 2.9. This also means that the Suabayanese children's ability in Javanese is one level lower than that of in Indonesian. This finding suggests that Indonesian is perceived as the language in which children are more proficient in Surabaya. This reported language proficiency is also confirmed with the result of the language proficiency test.

The following part looks more closely at Javanese language transmission across generations among Javanese family in Surabaya. Fought (2006:87) considers that comparing language competence across generation is an interesting issue. For the sake of simplicity, overall language proficiency is considered. Firstly, Surabayanese parents' reported overall proficiency in Javanese is between the 'good' and 'very good' levels.

Why do parents have almost perfect ability in Javanese? The data collected from the parents show that even though they live in city, they mostly were born in villages or small towns outside of Surabaya in which Javanese is widely used in the community. This evidence may suggest that these parents left their villages after their Javanese proficiency had been established. It is not surprising that when they were asked to report their Javanese ability, they reported 'good' or 'very good' levels. They may want to demonstrate that Javanese language is one of the ethnic identifiers that should be attached to anybody who claims that he is Javanese. The Surabayanese parents seem to wish to retain language as part of being Javanese. This claim is in line with most Surabayanese parents (58%) still wanting Javanese to be maintained from generation to generation. One of the Surabayanese parent's comments is presented below.

C33	*Ya harus mau belajar bahasa jawa, masak orang jawa kok gak bisa bahasa jawa. Kalau bahasa jawa nggak dipelajari nanti bisa-bisa orang jawa kehilangan bahasa*	Yes, they must learn Javanese language. It doesn't make any sense that Javanese people could not speak Javanese. If Javanese is not learned, it is not impossible that

Jawanya.	Javanese people will lose their language.

Although Surabayanese parents' overall Javanese ability is almost perfect; and they had spirit to maintain Javanese as their ethnic identity, in fact, their children have overall reported proficiency 2.9, falling between the 'little' and 'good' levels. This may suggest that Javanese language transmission across generations in Surabaya works somewhat unnaturally. Children's reported Javanese proficiency in these two locations is one level lower than their parents. This phenomenon also indicates that there are Javanese families in Surabaya where Javanese is not nominated as their children's first language nor home language.

In relation to the discussion presented in section 2.2 above, language proficiency is also connected with language use in certain domains. Lewis argues, on one hand, that the future of minority languages such as Welsh depends on not only raising competence in the language among second language learners through schools, but also on maintaining and promoting its use in the home domain (Lewis 2008:73). On the other hand, the use of language in certain domains reflects speakers' proficiency in the language. Munoz (2005:79) claims based on her study on Catalan, that "the home language environment, the school (classmates) environment and the language of instruction were the more powerful predictors of proficiency in Catalan". This study also shows the evidence that "dominant bilingual", following Li Wei in Table 1, whereby Surabayanese children's ability in Indonesian is higher than in Javanese, may contribute to the use of Indonesian when communicating to all their interlocutors.

Language proficiency can be viewed not only in terms of individuals, but also across generations. Govindasamy and Nambiar (2003:31), following Clyne (1976) and Demos (1988), state that language maintenance and shift are significantly affected by intergenerational differences in language proficiency. The reason is that when the older generation do not want to give up their own language and use another language in their lifespan, the language shift is likely to occur with their children. One possible scenario is that children's proficiency in their own language may be stagnant but they are more proficient in the dominant language. This unbalanced proficiency firstly causes code-switching (Romaine 1995:232) before shifting to a dominant language. This claim is also supported by this research when observation was conducted.

This also implies that bilingual speakers are aware of consequences that may arise when they use one language rather than another. In respect to the language situation in Surabaya, whereby there are two or more languages present, the language behaviour that is indicated by language choice is in fact governed by a system of socio-cultural norms. For example, politeness, which is reflected to the use of speech levels (Puspitorini 2011:1)[1], is paramount in Javanese society, whereas formality is a major concern for

[1] Dwi Puspitorini. Bahasa Jawa dan Pengajaran Bahasa

http://staff.ui.ac.id/internal/131881139/publikasi/BahasaJawadanPengajaranBahasaJawa.pdf (accessed on 7 August 2011)

Indonesian.

Examples of the study of language choice in a bilingual or multilingual community are found in Blom & Gumperz (1972) and Premsrirat (2007). Blom's & Gumperz's study was on language choice in Norway where speakers choose between the local variety and the standard variety, whereas Premsrirat focused on Thai. Both situations are similar to Indonesia in that people are supposed to choose between a regional language or national language in a given communicative event. When the situation is formal and relatively free from local or personal matters, the standard variety is chosen, whereas the local variety is chosen to be the vehicle when the situation is relatively informal. This is reflected in the language situation in Indonesia, as a result of the implementation of language planning. On the other hand, when participants are fellow community members, they use their ethnic language. Blom & Gumperz found that in offices, people use the local variety instead of the standard variety although the standard variety is predicted to be chosen. People greet others in the local variety and ask about family matters as well. In this situation, the local variety functions as the symbol of a friendship role relation and, borrowing from Hill (1989) cited in Makihara (2005:756) as "a solidarity code".

2.4 Surabayanese Children's Language View

"Attitude is everything" is the title of work by Keller (1999) and Harrell (2003) on the topics of motivation and life-change. This message may also apply to language. Harding and Riley (1986:63) emphasised that, "The importance of a learner's attitude towards a new linguistic community is central." To start with, in order to reach a common perception of language attitude, a simple definition proposed by Coulmas (2005b:234) is adopted. That is "The feelings and ideas people have about their own language and other languages." In this study Javanese children's feeling and ideas about Javanese as their ethnic language and Indonesian language are the main concern.

To reveal children's language attitudes, questionnaires were provided. This contains general statements about the Javanese and Indonesian. For this purpose, students were given lists of polar pairs of short statements about their belief, opinion and feeling towards Javanese and Indonesian, such as 'prestigious' – 'unprestigious', 'out of date' – 'up to date/modern' and so on, as on the list below.

1. (Javanese/Indonesian) is a ... (cool/uncool) language.
2. (Javanese/Indonesian) is a symbol of ... (out of date/up to date=modern) life.
3. (Javanese/Indonesian) conveys an ... (urban/village-like) impression.
4. (Javanese/Indonesian) is a symbol of ... (being rich/being poor) for its speakers.
5. (Javanese/Indonesian) is a ... (prestigious/unprestigious) language.
6. (Javanese/Indonesian)... (contributes/does not contribute) to its speaker's self-confidence.

Nowadays, a new discourse in relation to the function of language is emerging among Indonesians particularly the youth, including the Javanese community. The

discourse is labelled *gaul*. It is hard to find an equivalent English word for it: it describes a personal state that is 'easy going', 'modern', 'friendly', 'cool', 'sociable', and other similar meanings. 'Cool' is the best approximation. The word *gaul* can be combined with other noun phrases such as *anak gaul* 'cool child', *orang tua gaul* 'cool parents', *motor gaul* 'cool motor bike', *hp gaul* 'cool mobile phone', *bahasa gaul* 'social language'. Smith-Hefner (2007:184) explains that "*Bahasa gaul*, literally 'social language' or the 'language of sociability', is a speech variety associated with Indonesian youth and based on Indonesia's national language, *bahasa Indonesia*." The function of *bahasa gaul* is to show solidarity among speakers and form a social identity which is different from that of the older generation. Smith-Hefner (2007:184) continues that "*bahasa gaul* emphasises a shared social identity and sense of belonging among its speakers. It speaks to solidarity rather than status differentials and to a shared positive value placed on cool and occasionally ironic distancing from the formality and hierarchy of an earlier generation."

When children were asked as to whether the language in question was *gaul* 'cool' or *tidak gaul* 'uncool' their response wasmost of them judged that Indonesian is a 'cool' language. From these responses it can be predicted that children would choose a language that carried the 'cool' label. The consequence of this judgement is that Indonesian would be the preferred language whereas Javanese would likely be neglected.

Another discourse term in the community is that of *jadul* (the acronym of *jaman dulu*) lit: 'long time ago' or 'out of date'. This term is used with reference to someone who practices things no longer appropriate in the present time. When this concept is applied to Javanese and Indonesian, most childrenidentified Javanese as an 'out of date' language while almost all of them labelled Indonesian as an 'up to date/modern' language.This is another piece of evidence that might support Javanese children in Surabaya choosing Indonesian as their primary language for communication. Despite the fact they are the future generation of Javanese, they have positive attitudes towards Indonesian but relatively negative attitudes towards their own ethnic language. Javanese is considered old fashioned, traditional, *kuna berasal dari masa lampau* (Baird 2009) i.e. unable to deal with modern idioms and concepts.

In short, given all the above six statements, most of Javanese children's attitudes towards their ethnic language were surprising. Most of them judged Javanese negatively. Their ethnic language was considered old-fashioned and not 'cool' language. They also believed that Javanese did not contribute self-confidence and prestige to its speakers. It conveyed the impression that its speakers were poor and village-like. On the contrary, they expressed positive attitudes towards Indonesian for every given statement. The negative attitudes towards Javanese might indicate that it will not be a preferred language in the future as there is no positive value attached to it. This evidence indicates that Javanese is judged negatively by its own speakers. If this is the case, Javanese, sooner or later, will be neglected by Javanese children as they take no pride in it. This might prompt a further shift towards the national language which is positively valued.

Sociolinguists are in agreement that language is not only used as an instrument of communication but also as a sign of social or group identity, an emblem of group membership and of solidarity (Grosjean 1982:117). Therefore, in the setting of language contact, it is expected that there will be favourable and unfavourable attitudes toward the

languages (Haugen 1956:95-96), or other polar pairs such as 'preferred' and 'not preferred', 'liked' and 'disliked', 'comfortable' and 'uncomfortable' and so on. The emergence of such attitudes is due to the fact that language attitude is accompanied by values attributed to a language such as 'beautiful', 'good', 'efficient', 'simple', 'rich' etc. In regard to Javanese and Indonesian languages, the values such as 'cool' (Smith-Hefner 2007), 'simple' and 'modern' (Sneddon 2003) can be considered.

Language attitudes are related to the subjective vitality possessed by an individual or community. This presumably can determine the future of the language. Positive attitudes may help the survival of the language, whereas negative attitudes may lead to language shift. The remainder of this section provides evidence on this issue. The success of Basque revitalisation involves the community members' positive attitudes toward the language from the outset. Many of them believed that "Learning and speaking Basque is considered an essential part of Basque identity…" (Cenoz 2008:23). Coulmas (2005a:10) supports this idea. She describes language as "being the potent symbol of ethnic identity…" This positive attitude was consistently retained; and "the majority of the population is in favor of positive action to promote the Basque language" (Mateo 2005:20).

It seems that many Javanese adults have neglected their ethnic identity. Wardhaugh (2010:7) argues that "Language is a profound indicator of identity, more potent by far than cultural artifacts such as dress, food choices, and table manners". However, some parents feel reluctant to use Javanese rather than Indonesian when communicating with their children. As a result, children were not able to use Javanese any longer. This is a piece of evidence that parents' attitudes towards language determined the choice of language to their children and, thus, influence the survival of the language. De Klerk (2000) as cited by Mesthrie (2010:193) emphasised that "...the seeds of language shift were in place, and shown first in the minds of parents rather than their children". Similarly, Harris (2008:64) pointed out that "the hands-off attitudes of parents to Irish" lead them not to speak Irish to their children.

Language proficiency influences language attitudes. Tiessen's study (2003) on Talysh finds that parents' attitudes correlate positively with their proficiency and the use of the language as the home language. This means that "A parent was said to have positive Talysh orientation if they had good active Talysh language proficiency and used Talysh in the home with adults and children" (Tiessen 2003:109). Children have the same sense; their attitudes towards a given language correlate positively with their mastery in the language.

The discussion in this section can be summarised as follows. The finding may indicate that Javanese children's language attitudes towards their ethnic language could be influenced by other factors such as their language at home, first language, proficiency and language use in the community. Tiessen (2003:44) identifies that "Language use, language proficiency and social networks are three of the most individual domains of sociolinguistic behaviour in which vernacular orientation can be identified." It could be a single cause or a collection of factors which lead to the "overt" language attitudes.

3. Conclusion

This study provides evidence that individual and ethnic identity cannot be detected through language. Being Javanese does not always require someone to speak Javanese. Most Javanese children in Surabaya reported that they used Indonesian in daily practice when communicating with all their interlocutors. The use of Indonesian may be the consequence of not having good command in Javanese. Surprisingly, based on their report, they even had negative view of their own ethnic language. These may indicate that language is not sole symbol of ethnic identity. This study has proven that the saying *Bahasa menunjukkan bangsa* "Language indicates one's identity" is not always the case. In the case of Javanese children in Surabaya, being Javanese may not be upon language but perhaps something else which is more prominent.

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