

Language Shift among Javanese Youth and Their Perception of Local and National Identities

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ABSTRACT

It is not uncommon for language to play an important role in identity issues in multilingual countries. Declaring one of the important community languages as the official language in such a country can pose a threat to the survival of the other languages. Bahasa Indonesia is an example of this phenomenon. Its successful establishment as the national language has altered the local language situation throughout the country. Relevant to this study, it has had an important effect on young people's use of Javanese, the dominant local language of Yogyakarta. This study analyses the extent of language shift among the young multilinguals in the city and investigates the youth's search for authentic local and national identities. A questionnaire was used to elicit the youth's mother tongue as well as their attitudes and perceptions towards Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia and local and national identities. Their real use of languages was obtained through non-participative observations. A sample group of 1,039 students from 10 junior and senior high schools was surveyed. The findings reveal the current status of Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia as mother tongues and the identity-language choice links. Most young people with Javanese parents claimed that Bahasa Indonesia is their first language. This signals a weakened intergenerational transmission of Javanese. With regard to identity, the youth's sense of national identity is stronger than their sense of local identity. To elevate the vitality of Javanese and strengthen the local identity, intergenerational transmission and intensive use of Javanese at school is imperative.

Keywords: Bahasa Indonesia; Javanese; language shift; multilingualism; youth's identities

INTRODUCTION

Language can function as an identity marker for individuals or groups and is more flexible, compared with other more stable markers such as race, gender, and religion, in representing its speakers' identities (Cleveland, Laroche, & Papadopoulos, 2015; Joseph, 2004). Therefore, language becomes one of the keys to identity negotiation in multilingual context (Niño-Murcia & Rothman, 2008). In multilingual countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and Brunei, a language can be promoted to stimulate national identity (Simpson, 2007). The consequent elevation of prestige value of that language might drive people from diverse language background to share the same identity as a nation.

However, the declaration of a national or official language among other community languages might raise some language shift and identity issues. For example, the Buang and Taiap languages in Papua New Guinea have gradually declined because people speak more Tok Pisin, the official and most widely used language (Romaine, 1995). In the case of Taiap, this shift is most likely caused by increasing identification with the Christianity values associated with Tok Pisin (Kulick, 1992; Stroud, 2002). Another example is from Botswana, where young people prefer to use the national language Setswana to the local languages, such as Otjiherero, Sekgalagadi, and Ndebele (Arua & Magocha, 2002). The study shows that

young people's preference to Setswana as well as English, which is also official, leads to a conclusion that this country has a high risk of losing the local languages.

Language conflict is also recognised in Tehran, where the use of Farsi as the majority and official language is greater than that of the two ethnic groups' mother tongues: Armenian and Turkish, which are commonly used in intergroup and informal interactions (Nercissians, 2001). The study concludes that although both groups value Farsi and intend to preserve their mother tongues at the same time, the trend towards language shift and subtractive bilingualism is evident.

A similar threat to ethnic languages also exists in Indonesia due to the establishment of Bahasa Indonesia as the national language. Originated from a lingua franca Riau Malay, Bahasa Indonesia was adopted to unify the ethnolinguistically and culturally diverse nation. The Constitution declared Bahasa Indonesia its official status (Sneddon, 2003), functioning in state affairs, education, mass media, and trade documentation. The successful establishment of Bahasa Indonesia has affected the local languages. The shifts in patterns of language use are occurring throughout Indonesia and may endanger the viability of local languages, especially with small speaker populations, such as Marori, Sentanu, and Totoli languages (Anderbeck, 2015; Musgrave, 2014). However, it is worth considering that there is no significant correlation between the number of speakers and language vitality within the Indonesian context (Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014). This study focuses on the shift of Javanese, an Indonesian local language with most speakers. Its number reached 84 million speakers (Simons & Fennig, 2017), which is declining to 68 million (Eberhard, D.M., Simons, G.F., & Fennig, C.D (Eds), 2019).

A number of studies specifically examine the occurring shift of Javanese in Yogyakarta (e.g., Kurniasih, 2006; Nurani, 2015; Smith-Hefner, 2009) and in other regions (e.g., Purwoko, 2011; Setiawan, 2013; Zentz, 2012, 2014). These studies mostly relate the shift to the speakers' attitudes and identity, based on qualitative, quantitative, or mixed-data from less than 110 participants. Other scholars (e.g., Anderbeck, 2015; Musgrave, 2014; Ravindranath and Cohn, 2014) include Javanese in the discussion of the language shift of regional languages in Indonesia. Anderbeck (2015) portrays the widespread language shift and considers that seeking information on the vitality of Indonesian regional languages is essential because "the pace of language endangerment in Indonesia has significantly quickened" (p.33). Musgrave (2014) shows the trends in the declining number of speakers of Javanese and other regional languages and the increasing number of speakers of Bahasa Indonesia as the first language. Based on Ravindranath and Cohn (2014), a large number of speakers are permissive of the language shift.

This mixed-methods study investigates the language shift among young people in Yogyakarta, which is the heartland of Javanese language and culture. Most Yogyakarta youths speak Javanese, Bahasa Indonesia, English, and Arabic in their language repertoire. Javanese has two main speech levels: Low Javanese (LJ) referred to as Ngoko and High Javanese (HJ) referred to as Krama. The research questions are 1) to what extent is the shift from Javanese to Bahasa Indonesia among Yogyakarta youths?; and 2) how does the shift manifest the youths' perception of their local and national identities? This study is important for two reasons. First, as suggested by Anderbeck (2015), measuring the extent of language shift and providing information on its vitality might contribute to strategies of maintenance or revitalisation. Second, language plays a significant role in representing people's identities and through which others can understand and interpret their identities.

LANGUAGE SHIFT

Language shift takes place when a mother tongue or a minority language is less or no longer used by a group of speakers due to their use of a language of a wider society, such as a majority or national language (Romaine, 1994). This majority language replaces the range and functions of a minority language (May, 2012) and a community increasingly uses one language at the expense of another (Karan, 2011). This loss of a mother tongue tends to occur in bi-/ multilingual societies where another language is dominant (Fishman, 2006).

Also known as ‘vernacular’, ‘mother tongue’ literally evokes the notion of the mother passing the language to her children (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 19; Romaine, 1994, p. 37; 1995, p. 19). Yet, the concept of ‘mother tongue’ is problematic at least for two reasons. First, in some patriarchal communities the fathers’ language is transmitted to children. Second, the first language learnt may not become one’s mother tongue or the one in which s/he is most proficient (Romaine, 1994, 1995). In Singapore, for instance, a mother tongue is more closely associated with someone’s father’s race (Bokhorst-Heng & Caleon, 2009; Romaine, 2006a). Moreover, the concept of mother as the origin of a language does not always mean a biological mother. It means any first male or female person who transmits a language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). UNESCO (1953) defines mother tongue, or native tongue, as the language acquired in one’s early life that becomes one’s means of daily thought and communication. Similarly, Skutnabb-Kangas (1981, p. 15 & 17) sets a criterion of one’s mother tongue as “the language someone uses most”.

This study defines mother tongue as the first language a multilingual acquires, whether passed on by their mother or not. A respondent’s mother tongue was derived from his/her self-reports. Given that this research was carried out in Bahasa Indonesia, it is important to note that the term *bahasa pertama* ‘first language’ was used in the questionnaire to replace the actual translation – *bahasa ibu* – which would be literally interpreted as ‘mother’s language’.

Language shift has three stages (May, 2012). The first stage shows increased pressure on minority language speakers to speak the majority language, particularly in some domains. In the second stage, speakers still use both minority and majority languages, yet the number of minority language speakers is decreasing, particularly among the younger generation. The third stage is when the minority language is no longer spoken widely, has been replaced by the majority language, and is only remembered by a small group of speakers. This study examines the language shift of Javanese based on these stages.

Language shift indicates language vitality (Karan, 2011) and might lead to language endangerment (Anderbeck, 2015). By assessing whether a language is at the safe or endangered level, efforts to maintain its vitality can be determined. The current study uses the E(xpanded) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) proposed by Lewis and Simons (2010) to analyse the Javanese shift among the youth in Yogyakarta. The EGIDS has 13 levels, with 7 labels categorised in safe value and 6 levels in unsafe value. The safe value means that a language is spoken by all generations and intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted. The unsafe value is distinguished from threatened to extinct labels. With regard to what scholars agree about the Javanese status as “shifting”, the six levels in unsafe value (Table 1) are used as the framework.

TABLE 1. The EGIDS’ unsafe levels (Lewis & Simons, 2010)

EGIDS level	Label	Description	UNESCO
6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well	Definitely

		enough but none are transmitting it to their children.	endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	Severely endangered
8b	Nearly extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically endangered
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

The connection between a language and identity of a group has cultural and political dimensions because culturally, the complex interconnection between individuals and social identities is surely mediated in, and through, languages. For example, as Broadbent and Vavilova (2015) found among Malay and Tartar people, balanced bilingualism is likely to be achieved by individuals who negotiate their cultural self-identification and accept the cultures of both relevant languages. Politically, it demonstrates the formal association between national language and national identity and informal association between local language and particular ethnicity (May, 2012).

Language and group identity are collectively owned, fragile, and in need of maintenance (Edwards, 1985; Tomlinson, 2003). As group identities, ethnic identity and national identity are similar due to a number of shared characteristics, such as language, nativity, and sense of belonging (Joseph, 2004). However, national identity has a wider scope because it commonly involves more political aspects, autonomy, and multiple ethnic elements (Ager, 2001; Edwards, 1985; Joseph, 2004). National identity is needed in the process of nation building in which people converge to a number of shared cultural, social and political elements (Grotenhuis, 2016). A national identity is often symbolised by, among others, a national language (Ager, 2001). However, the mutual influences of national language and national identity are debatable (Joseph, 2004).

On one side, a national identity stimulated through the promotion of a national language might raise the prestige value of that language and broaden its domains of use (Dorian, 2006; Simpson, 2007). On the other side, sub-national regional identities possibly influence negatively speakers' perception about a national language as a symbol of national identity (Simpson, 2007). The speakers of North-eastern Thai – also known as Isan or Lao – are a good example. They feel closer to the language sub-variety and culture of Laos than to those of Thailand (Simpson & Thammasathien, 2007). At an extreme point, there will be difficulties in balancing the relative status of ethnic and national languages. Such an issue is relevant in many regions of Indonesia, including Yogyakarta, mainly because of the wide use and high prestige of Bahasa Indonesia.

Ethnic group identities are observable from physical markers, including race, dress, and food, as well as from cultural markers, such as religion, ideology, music, and language (Fought, 2006). As part of a shared cultural heritage, a community language or a mother tongue is significant for the construction and continuity of ethnic group identity (Cleveland et al., 2015; Edwards, 2006; Feliciano and Rumbaut, 2018; Hun, Liu, and Chuang, 2019; Joseph, 2004; Lim, 2009). The use of a language possibly makes speakers feel as though they belong to a heritage group as well as distinguishes them from other groups (Ager, 2001; Cleveland et al., 2015). Joseph (2004) describes this as creating a “categorical distancing” that can become a “double-edged sword” for ethnic and national identities.

METHOD

This study is a part of a larger mixed-methods sociolinguistic research entitled “Multilingualism of high school students in Yogyakarta, Indonesia: the language shift and maintenance” (Andriyanti, 2016). It focuses on examining the 12-18 years old youths’ language shift and perception of local and national identities based on a survey and observation. These young people attended junior (grades 7 to 9) and senior (grades 10 to 12) high schools. The scope of Yogyakarta refers to the city (see Appendix B), not the Special Region of Yogyakarta province, which has five administrative areas including Yogyakarta City and four regencies (see Appendix A). Therefore, young Yogyakartaans in this study refers to young people who studied in junior high and senior high schools (coded JH 1-JH 5 and SH 1-SH 5 respectively) located in the city.

The population under investigation consisted of 61,016 students across 149 schools (BPS DIY, 2012). Sampling was decided with reference to Blaikie’s (2010, p. 186) and Bryman’s (2012, p. 197) figure of 1,000 as “ideal” and “the absolute size”, respectively, to gain representativeness. 1,039 students from 10 schools representing all school types volunteered as respondents (Table 2). The number of participants from each school ranged from 57 to 135.

TABLE 2. Distribution of sample by school types

No	School Types	JH Schools		SH Schools	
		Number of Schools	Number of Students	Number of Schools	Number of Students
	Under Ministry of Education				
1	State General Schools	3	285	2	245
2	Private General Schools	1	57	1	135
3	State or Private Vocational Schools	N/A	N/A	1	121
	Under Ministry of Religious Affairs				
4	State or Private Schools	1	81	1	115
	Total	5	423	5	616

Table 3 shows the break-down of the sample based on school year and gender. The majority of respondents were grade 10 students (33.4%) and the least number (5.3%) from grade 12. The number of female and male students was 60.8% and 35.9% respectively.

TABLE 3. Distribution of sample by school years and gender

School Type	School Year	Gender						Total	
		Female		Male		No gender identification		No.	%
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Junior	7	72	6.9	41	4	5	0.5	118	11.4
High	8	90	8.7	74	7.1	3	0.3	167	16.1
	9	77	7.4	59	5.7	2	0.2	138	13.3
Senior	10	214	20.6	117	11.3	17	1.6	348	33.4
High	11	141	13.6	68	6.5	4	0.4	213	20.5
	12	38	3.6	14	1.3	3	0.3	55	5.3
Total		632	60.8	373	35.9	34	3.3	1,039	100

A questionnaire was designed and assessed for contents and language through expert judgement, resulting in improvements related to the use specified verb phrases and

replacement of ambiguous words. The revised questionnaire was piloted to 72 students from one junior high school and one senior high school. Four returned questionnaires were not used because most of items were not responded and therefore only 68 students' responses were tested for validity and reliability. A small number of invalid items were dropped. The pilot data was not included in the result analysis.

The questionnaire items used in this study were grouped into demography, language attitudes, and local and national identities. In administering the questionnaire, the researcher always explained the procedure to the students. She was assisted by a research assistant or teachers from the schools in accordance with the schools' policy of conducting research on students. It took approximately thirty minutes to complete the questionnaire. The data collection lasted for three months.

To provide real examples of natural language exchanges, non-participative observation was conducted during lunch break. The settings yielded data of commonly small talks with various and unpredicted themes. The students' five-minute conversations were audio-taped and then transcribed verbatim.

Cross-tabulation with the SPSS 22 was employed to analyse the distribution of mother tongues by ethnicity and place of residence. The result helped to determine the language shift, which was considered to occur if young people with both parents having Javanese heritage have a mother tongue other than Javanese. The extent of the shift was interpreted based on May's stages of language shift (2012) and Lewis and Simons' EGIDS (2010). The descriptive statistics was also used to find the mean scores of items about relations between language and identity and aspects of Javanese and Indonesian identities.

The analysis of the youth's local and national identities was based on the ways the young multilinguals see and construct their group identities, with the focus on whether they feel that they belong to a group and how they perceive other people's attitude towards their identity.

FINDINGS

The measurement on the extent of the shift was conducted through the cross-tabulation of young multilinguals' ethnicity and mother tongue based on their birthplace. Only 912 data are relevant to this measurement (Table 4).

TABLE 4. Javanese youths' place of birth, ethnicity and mother tongue

Place of birth	Ethnicity	Mother tongue				Total
		HJ	LJ	BI	OL	
Javanese speaking area	Javanese	42	229	428	0	699
	Javanese by father's heritage	2	3	25	0	30
	Javanese by mother's heritage	1	10	44	1	56
	Non-Javanese	0	0	4	0	4
	Sub-total	45	242	501	1	789
Non-Javanese speaking area	Javanese	1	9	50	5	65
	Javanese by father's heritage	0	1	19	3	23
	Javanese by mother's heritage	0	0	13	1	14
	Non-Javanese	0	0	14	7	21
	Sub-total	1	10	96	16	123
Total		46	252	597	17	912

The number of young people who reported having both Javanese parents is 764, consisting of 699 people born in a Javanese speaking area and 65 in a non-Javanese speaking area. Among those who reported a Javanese-speaking area as their birthplace, 428 (61.2%) claimed to speak Bahasa Indonesia (BI) as their first language. Of the 38.8% reporting Javanese as their first language, 229 (32.8%) claimed Low Javanese (LJ) Ngoko as their mother tongue, and 42 (6%) claimed High Javanese (HJ) Krama. In the group of those born in a non-Javanese speaking area, 50 out of 65 people (77%) reported having both Javanese parents and claiming Bahasa Indonesia as their first language. The other 23% consists of 13.8% who reported LJ Ngoko as their mother tongue, 1.5% HJ Krama, and 7.7% other languages (OL).

This means that among 764 youths from Javanese endogamous families, 478 (62.5%) claimed Bahasa Indonesia and 281 (36.8%) claimed Javanese as their mother tongue.

Out of 123 young people from exogamous families and born in both Javanese and non-Javanese areas, 101 (82.1%) reported Bahasa Indonesia as their first language. In the Javanese-speaking areas, 25 of 30 (83.3%) young people with Javanese fathers also claimed Bahasa Indonesian, and 44 out of the 56 (78.6%) young people with Javanese mothers claimed the same. The number of young people born in non-Javanese-speaking areas with Javanese fathers who claimed Bahasa Indonesia as their mother tongue is 19 of 23 (82.6%), and that of Javanese mothers who claimed the same is 13 of 14 (92.8%).

The total of young people from the Javanese endogamous and exogamous families who reported having Javanese as their first language is 298 from the whole sample of 1,039 (28.7%) and those who reported having Bahasa Indonesia reaches up to 579 (55.7%). These figures can reasonably be viewed as a significant loss of potential Javanese speakers.

The dominant use of Bahasa Indonesia over Javanese in youths' informal talks is illustrated in the following four extracts. The Javanese words are italicised and underlined while the Indonesian words are italicised. Words belonging to both Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia are in bold.

Extract 1. A conversation between a female student (S1) and a male student (S2) in a donation collection in SH 1

- [L1] S1: *Mas nanti, aku punya receh*
'Please, wait. I have some coins.'
[L2] S2: *Mbok aja receh.*
'Not coins, please.'
[L3] S1: *Kan seikhlasnya. Boleh nggak?*
'But it is up to me, right? Would you receive it?'

Line [L1] shows that except for addressing the interlocutor, which was in Javanese, S1 used Bahasa Indonesia to initiate the conversation. She continued using Bahasa Indonesia [L3] despite the fact that S2 gave a response in Javanese [L2].

Extract 2. Female students' chat in SH 2 after lunch

- [L4] S1: *Serius?*
'Are you serious?'
[L5] S2: *Aku males ketemu. Eh, Putri, dijemput nggak?*
'I don't want to meet (someone). Eh... Putri, will you be picked up?'
[L6] S3: *Nggak.*
'No.'
[L7] S2: **Yuk.** (She pointed to a small crowd of students in a copy corner.)
'Come on.'

- [L8] S4: *O iya, ngantri neng foto kopi.*
 ‘Okay, let’s queue in the copy corner.’
 [L9] S3: *Ambil besok saja.*
 ‘Let’s take it tomorrow.’

Bahasa Indonesia was used in lines [L4], [L5] and [L6] and mixed Bahasa Indonesia-Javanese in line [8]. When asking her friends to go to a photocopy corner to pick their order [line 7], S2 said “*Yuk*”, a word belonging to both Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia. Student 4’s showed an agreement in Indonesian expression “*O iya*” but the next part is Javanese, marked by the preposition *neng*. If the associated Indonesian preposition *di-* was used, the utterance would become Indonesian because “*ngantri*” and “*foto kopi*” are used both in Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia.

Extract 3. Female students’ conversation in JH 2 at lunch

- [L10] S1: *Makan apa e?*
 ‘What are you eating?’
 [L11] S2: *Tempe.*
 ‘Tempe’
 [L12] S3: *Makan telur, Bro. Telur.*
 ‘I’m having an egg, Bro(ther). Egg.’
 [L13] S2: *Iki yo telur.*
 ‘It’s also an egg.’

Line [10] illustrates the use of Javanese particle *-e* to end the Indonesian utterance. S3 in line [12] used Bahasa Indonesia and an abbreviated English address term “Bro” despite her interlocutors being female. S2 in line [13] started with Javanese words “*Iki yo*” to show that she also had an egg. She did not use the associated Javanese word “*endhog*” probably because her friends used the Indonesian word “*telur*”.

Extract 4. Male students’ conversation in SH 3

- [L14] S1: *Eh, kowe meh njupuk opo?*
 ‘Hey, what do you want to major in?’
 [L15] S2: *Basa Inggris.*
 ‘English’
 [L16] S1: *Pertanian enak ra pertanian?*
 ‘Farming, do you think it good?’
 [L17] S2: *Pertanian enak yo.*
 ‘Farming is good, though.’

Male students were found to speak more Javanese, compared to female students who mostly spoke Bahasa Indonesia. Lines [14] and [15] are Javanese utterances while lines [16] and [17] are mixed because no Javanese word can suitably replace the word “*pertanian*”.

Table 5 illustrates the respondents’ perception in relation to their identity construction.

TABLE 5. Javanese youths’ perception of language in relation to local and national identities

No	Questionnaire items	N	MS	SD
1	Importance of their ethnic or local identity to be known by other people	1029	3.49	1.094
2	Importance of their national identity to be known by other people	1027	4.14	.968
3	Their sense of being Javanese or other ethnics	1029	4.33	.732
4	Their sense of being Indonesian	1028	4.65	.554

5	Language as a symbol of ethnic identity	1032	4.24	.674
6	Language as a symbol of national identity	1032	4.37	.690
7	Someone's speaking HJ Krama as a requirement to be called Javanese	1030	.41	.492
8	Someone's speaking LJ Ngoko as a requirement to be called Javanese	1029	.41	.492
9	Someone's speaking Bahasa Indonesia as a requirement to be called Indonesian	1027	.60	.489
10	Someone's speaking English as a requirement to be called English	1023	.21	.405
11	Someone's speaking a particular language as a requirement to be called a member of that language community	965	.36	.481

No 1-6 use Likert scales of 1 (the most negative value) to 5 (the most positive value)
 No 7-11 use Yes-No questions: 0 is "No" and 1 is "Yes"

Items 1-6 which are about respondents' self-perception of relations between their language and identity indicate positive responses on this aspect. They perceived it was important for them to have both their local and national identities recognised by other people, indicated by mean scores of 3.49 and 4.14. They claimed to have strong feelings about being Javanese or other ethnic groups and being Indonesian, shown by mean scores of 4.33 and 4.65. They also reported their agreement with the statements about languages as symbols of ethnic and national identities, marked by mean scores of 4.24 and 4.37. All items related to national identity or being Indonesian have larger mean scores than those related to Javanese or another ethnic identity.

Regarding the five questions on speaking languages as a requirement for language community membership, the respondents answered positively only the question about Bahasa Indonesia. 60% of respondents agree with an opinion of speaking Bahasa Indonesia as a requirement for someone to be called Indonesian. This implies that they identify national identity with a national language, which unifies ethnic differences.

Tables 6 and 7 relate to items which are used to reveal how respondents perceive what a real Javanese or Indonesian should be or should do, with "No" valued at 0 and "Yes", valued at 1. The tables show that most of the youths agreed that being a real Javanese or Indonesian means that someone needs to have a sense of being part of a particular group. Only 49% of respondents agreed with ethnic solidarity, but 82% agreed with national solidarity. According to the majority, having a Javanese mother and father does not play an important role in constructing someone's local or national identities. Related to Javanese speech levels, 80% of respondents agreed that using HJ Krama to speak with elders is appropriate. However, a lesser percentage, only 45%-59% agreed that if someone is Javanese, they should speak the language in everyday interaction and be able to read and write Javanese texts in the Javanese and Latin scripts. To emphasize this point, 79%-86% of the youth viewed speaking, reading and writing Bahasa Indonesia as important in constructing national identity.

TABLE 6. Javanese youths' perception of a real Javanese

No	Javanese people should ...	N	MS	SD
1	feel like they are part of Javanese community	1008	.90	.306
2	be willing to help other Javanese people when they live outside Java	1007	.49	.500
3	be born from both Javanese parents	1006	.29	.455
4	speak Javanese in daily communication	1006	.45	.498
5	be able to read the old Javanese script/ <i>ha na ca ra ka</i> .	1006	.59	.492
6	be able to write in the old Javanese script/ <i>ha na ca ra ka</i> .	1006	.57	.496
7	be able to read Javanese texts in Latin script	1006	.52	.500
8	be able to write Javanese texts in Latin script	1006	.49	.500

9	like attending Javanese cultural events	1006	.42	.494
10	use Javanese speech levels when talking to elders	1006	.80	.403
11	wear traditional clothes in special cultural events	1006	.29	.454
12	like Javanese craft objects	1006	.71	.455
13	know Javanese traditional stories	1005	.49	.500
14	like Javanese art performance	1005	.55	.498
15	like traditional Javanese games	1006	.02	.146

Table 6 shows that salient markers for being Javanese are: a) sense of belonging to the Javanese community, b) appropriate use of Javanese speech levels, and c) favouring Javanese craft objects.

TABLE 7. Javanese youths' perception of a real Indonesian

No	Indonesian people should	N	MS	SD
1	feel as though they are part of Indonesian community	1005	.94	.231
2	be willing to help when there are any disasters in Indonesia	1005	.82	.381
3	be born from both Indonesian parents	1005	.39	.488
4	be able to speak Bahasa Indonesia	1005	.86	.342
5	be able to read Indonesian texts	1004	.80	.397
6	be able to write in Bahasa Indonesia	1005	.79	.410
7	like living in Indonesia	1005	.67	.472
8	memorise the national anthem's lyrics	1005	.85	.353
9	like wearing traditional clothes to represent the spirit of nationalism	1005	.04	.202
10	like wearing <i>batik</i> clothes to represent the spirit of nationalism	1005	.56	.497
11	know the diversity of ethnics in Indonesia	1004	.78	.413
12	know the diversity of local languages in Indonesia	1005	.75	.431
13	know the Indonesian history	1005	.77	.423
14	like sports which have often or ever raised the country's pride	1005	.36	.481
15	support the national sports team	1005	.56	.496

The strong markers of national identity as perceived by most respondents (refer to Table 7) are sense of belonging to Indonesian community, which respondents almost unanimously agreed upon, national solidarity (82%), skills in Bahasa Indonesia (86%), the national anthem (85%), their perception of the significance of living in the country (67%), knowledge of Indonesia as an ethno-linguistically diverse nation (77%), and knowledge of Indonesian history (77%).

DISCUSSION

THE STAGES AND EXTENT OF THE JAVANESE SHIFT

The number of speakers who reported that Bahasa Indonesia as their mother tongue, both in endogamous and exogamous families and in Javanese and non-Javanese speaking areas, was larger than that claiming Javanese as their mother tongue. This indicates that the number of youths acquiring Bahasa Indonesia as their first language in families where one or both parents are Javanese is significant regardless where they are born. The large percentage of respondents with both Javanese parents that reported Bahasa Indonesia as their natural

mother tongue supports the findings about the increasing number of Bahasa Indonesian mother tongue speakers across Indonesia (See Sneddon, 2006; Musgrave, 2014).

Using Romaine's (2006b) definition of language shift, this finding shows a substantial loss in potential Javanese speakers from both endogamous and exogamous families – reaching up to 55.7% of the sample. In exogamous families, the reported number of native Javanese speakers with Javanese mothers is larger than that with Javanese fathers.

Referring to May's (2012) three stages of language shift, the shift from speaking Javanese to Bahasa Indonesia in Yogyakarta youth is now beyond the first stage – increased pressure on the local language speakers to speak the wider used or national language. However, local language speakers do not feel this pressure because the stronger language is their national language. It has higher prestige and makes them feel more comfortable in intra- and inter-ethnic communications, as well as in peer interactions. The language shift is also beyond the second stage, in that multilinguals continue to speak both the local and national languages, but the number of local language speakers is decreasing. The third stage sees the minority language no longer being widely spoken – replaced by majority languages and only remembered by a small group of speakers. This stage in the shift phenomenon can be connected to 'the abandoned HJ Krama' (Errington, 1998; Purwoko, 2011; Subroto, Rahardjo, & Setiawan, 2008), most of whose speakers are likely to be of older generations. This shift stage can also be connected to a number of criteria for language endangerment (e.g., Crystal, 2000; Krauss, 1992; Lewis & Simons, 2010; UNESCO, 2003).

Lewis and Simons' (2010) levels of endangerment place Javanese as a "threatened" and "shifting" language due to obviously weakened intergenerational transmission. Javanese is still spoken by all generations with various degrees of use but a larger number of Javanese parents are not transmitting the language to their children. Hence, the intergenerational transmission of Javanese is disrupted. It is parents who are the youngest proficient speakers and capable of full social interaction in a variety of settings. Compared to UNESCO's (2003) criteria, the present situation with Javanese youth can be reasonably categorised as between "vulnerable" and "definitely endangered". This condition has occurred because many more members of the young Javanese community do not use Javanese as their first language and they use the language in restricted domains (see also Himmelmann, 2010). This finding is echoed in a number of recent studies (e.g., Kurniasih, 2006; Setiawan, 2013; Smith-Hefner, 2009). A similar situation is found in Central Java. Purwoko (2011) classifies Javanese as endangered according to the criterion of home transmission, and as seriously endangered if no serious maintenance is undertaken.

Krauss (1992) and Ravindranath and Cohn (2014) claim Javanese is a unique case because it is endangered despite the large number of speakers. As Crystal states (2000) the levels of endangerment depend not only on the percentage of speakers in a language community, but also on rates of child language acquisition, the attitudes of the community, and the degree of influence of the languages posing a threat (see also Anderbeck, 2015; Hassan, Ghazali & Omar, 2015; Smith-Hefner, 2009).

PERCEPTION OF LOCAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES AMONG YOGYAKARTA YOUTHS

The findings relevant to languages and identities show the youths perceived national identity to be stronger than their perceived local identity. It seems that their perceived national identity has dual facets: first, the larger national sense, and second, the smaller multiple-ethnic sense (see also Purwoko, 2011; Zentz, 2012; 2014 on similar facts they examined in Central Java).

The mean scores in response to statements about identity point to the fact that local elements are in fact perceived as part of nationhood. This helps explain responses to the

questions related to “their ethnic identity being known by other people”; “the importance of being a member of the Javanese community or a member of another ethnic group”; and “their perception of language as an ethnic symbol”, all of which had lower scores than responses to same focus questions about national identity and language. These findings are in line with the national Old Javanese motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* ‘Unity in Diversity’, taught at school since the beginning of Suharto’s New Order era in 1966-1988 (Manns, Cole, & Goebel, 2016). It refers to an ethnolinguistic diversity which must be united in one nation. The findings indicate that most of the young people are aware of this motto. It also illustrates the success of the New Order’s mission, which aims to persuade people to hold national identity at their core and ethnic identity at the periphery (Manns et al., 2016; Zentz, 2014, 2015).

The imbalance between local and national identities is also reflected in the young people’s language choices. More young people claimed Bahasa Indonesia as their first language. This reflects wider use of Bahasa Indonesia, and its strong national unity symbolism (Bertrand, 2003) thus being viewed as the “national unitary idiom” (Errington, 1998, p. 68). Again, this reflects the salience of the Indonesian saying *Bahasa menunjukkan bangsa* ‘language indicates nationality’. It also shows the New Order’s control over how to be Indonesian and to speak Bahasa Indonesia (Manns et al., 2016). This seems to add the feature of solidarity to the national language which already has associations of status and prestige.

With the exception of Bahasa Indonesia, the results revealed that the youths did not think that there was a strong link between language choice and positive identity. On the one hand, this implies that they identify with their national identity through the national language, and thereby unify ethnic differences. On the other hand, they feel that when people speak another language it does not necessarily signify them as a member of that particular language community.

The fact that a large number of the respondents perceived that appropriate use of Javanese speech levels is significant to Javanese identity, relates to some previous studies (see Zentz, 2012, 2014). Similarly, liking for Javanese craft objects, such as leather puppets, wooden masks, and bamboo baskets, is perceived as an identity marker. They apparently feel a strong tie to the community where they are living at present. Interestingly, they do not feel they are betraying their origins if they do not use their local language very often.

It is also important to note that around 60% of the respondents considered reading and writing in the old Javanese scripts as a significant Javanese identity marker, while only around 50% felt the same way about Latin Javanese scripts. The findings show that the majority of young people associate the Javanese language with tradition rather than modernity. Therefore, it can be inferred that they feel some aspects of Javanese culture are old-fashioned and they do not feel they belong to an old fashioned or traditional society. This sentiment is reflected in the finding that most of them did not include items, such as “I like attending Javanese cultural events”, “wearing traditional costumes”, or “playing traditional Javanese games” as Javanese markers. They are constructing their identity as modern Javanese young people.

The survey results also showed that the youths did not perceive their local language as being as important as the national language. The intention of appointing a national language was to nurture nationalism (Manns et al., 2016; Sneddon, 2003) and its spread and use across the country has been successful in nurturing that feeling (Hamied, 2012; Manns et al., 2016; Ravindranath & Cohn, 2014). While they consider the use of Bahasa Indonesia in everyday communication as representative of their national identity, they do not feel the same way about Javanese. Even though they admitted that HJ Krama has significance to local identity (See also Errington, 1998; Nurani, 2015; Zentz, 2012, 2014, 2015), they rarely used this language variety and have replaced it with Bahasa Indonesia for social functions (See also

Zentz, 2015). Some also perceived that there is a relationship between Javanese literacy through the old and modern Javanese scripts and local identity.

CONCLUSION

This study is a significant complement to the previous studies on the shift from Javanese to Bahasa Indonesia, especially in terms of statistically measuring the extent of the shift based on the participants' reported mother tongue. It also assesses the relevant endangerment level using Lewis and Simons' EGIDS (2010), which is "a good framework for querying and reporting vitality on macro scale" (Anderbeck, 2015, p. 38). This study contributes to UNESCO's (2003) treaties on language vitality and endangerment.

Findings indicate that 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 term of home transmission and supportive school environment. These actions can facilitate Javanese youths to acquire, learn, and habituate to use Javanese.

Even though the Javanese shift in this current study is occurring in city scope, it needs to be taken as an alarm towards its maintenance. Further studies in other Javanese regions, including in rural areas, need to be conducted so that the unexpected language situations of Javanese might be anticipated. Otherwise, the number of Javanese speakers will continue to decline and it will lose ground among the next generation.

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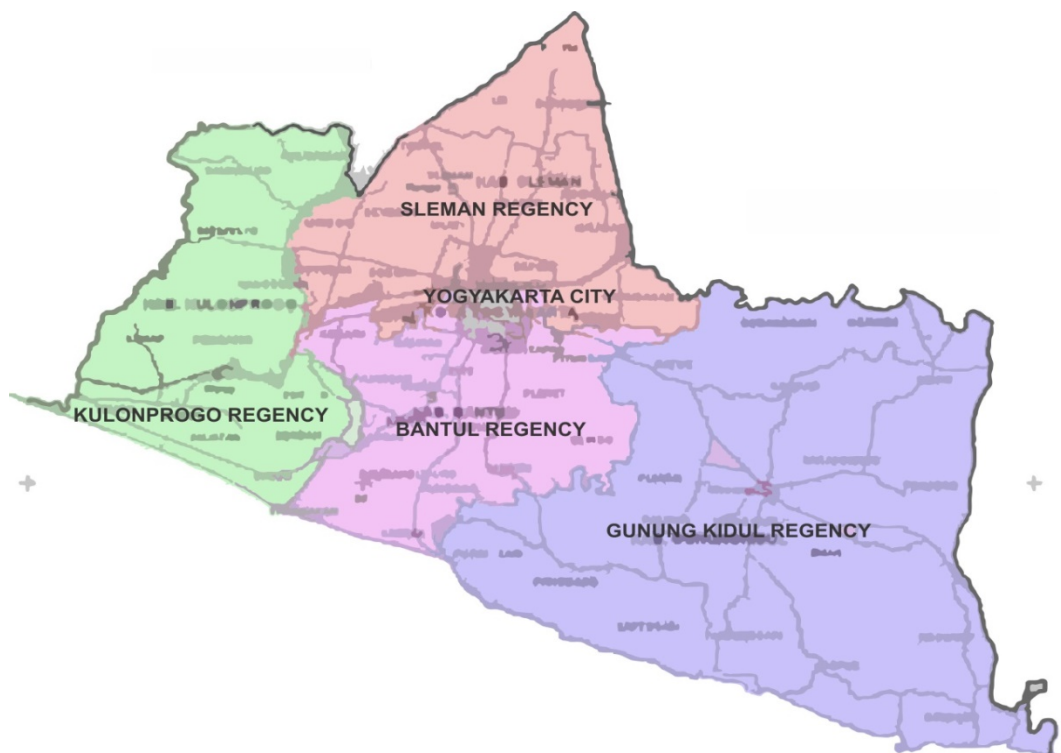
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APPENDIX A

MAP OF THE SPECIAL REGION OF YOGYAKARTA PROVINCE



APPENDIX B

MAP OF YOGYAKARTA CITY AND THE LOCATIONS OF SCHOOLS UNDER THE STUDY,

