

IF JAVANESE IS ENDANGERED, HOW SHOULD WE MAINTAIN IT?

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Abstract

This paper deals with Javanese as an endangered language in Central Java. It proposes an argument that language maintenance is not a matter of linguistics alone. It should involve the improvement of ethnic identity, local pride, cultural heritage and linguistic attitude to the given vernacular. In terms of language vitality, the ngoko style code is stronger than that of the basa counterpart so that it is worth strengthening to counter Indonesian, which is popularly used right in the home-areas of Javanese.

Keywords: *Javanese, ngoko-basa style code, language maintenance, ethnic identity and linguistic attitude.*

1. Introduction

A question that I use as the title of this paper implies two central points: (1) endangered language, and (2) language maintenance. Both will specifically deal with Javanese, the language under study, whose current vitality is worth zeroing-in on. I will discuss the first point in sections 2, 3, 4 and the second point in section 5.

2. An Endangered Language

What I mean by the term, endangered language, is not easy to define. However, some explanations below may help to clarify the idea.

Crystal (2000: viii) cites a quotation from a second newsletter published by the Foundation for Endangered Languages in the UK, as follows:

There is agreement among linguists who have considered the situation that over half of the world's languages are moribund, i.e. not effectively being passed on to the next generation. We and our children, then, are living at the point in human history where, within perhaps two generations, most languages in the world will die out.

Many languages are considered "moribund" or, I had better say in technical term, "endangered" or, in laymen's word, "threatened" to death. The fact, some linguists have found out, is that many languages, including Javanese, are "not effectively being passed on to the next generation" at the very moment. If a language is being fully neglected or, at least, reluctantly maintained by its own native speakers, it will suffer from attrition in form and structure or, even worst, be endangered.

Aitchison (2001: 137) states that most language changes are usually caused by language contact. Does current Javanese undergo a severe attrition in its form and structure? The answer is positive due to the more popular use of Indonesian in the same setting; and, ironically, the popular use of Indonesian is whole-heartedly supported by most members of the Javanese speech community. In order to explain the levels of danger in terms of languages' vitality, Crystal (2000: 20-1) collects some different terms coined by three other linguists, which I try to summarize in Table (1) below.

No.	Kincade (1991: 160-3)	Wurm (1988: 192)	Bauman (1980)
(1)	Viable language	Potentially endangered language	Flourishing
(2)	Viable but small language	Endangered language	Enduring
(3)	Endangered language	Seriously endangered language	Declining
(4)	Nearly extinct language	Moribund language	Obsolescent
(5)	Extinct language	Extinct language	Extinct

Table (1): Five-Level Systems of Danger

From the categories showed in Table (1) above, I would like to say that, at the moment, Javanese is in the third level (no.3) of danger. It can be regarded as: (i) an endangered language meaning that it is "not effectively being passed on to the next generation" (cf. Crystal 2000, see in the above-mentioned quotation); or, (ii) a seriously endangered language (if there is no serious effort of its maintenance and actually it is pretty similar to the case of Javanese in Central Java); and (iii) it is an extremely declining language in terms of its form, structure and (social) function. I will discuss the case of Javanese as an endangered language any further in the following section.

3. The 'Unique' Case of Javanese

If there are two (or more) languages in contact, there will be, at least, a problematic situation, which involves the following efforts: (1) language maintenance, (2) language shift, and (3) creation of a new contact language (see Winford 2003: 11). The situation depends on how high the competition or contestation between/among languages is. When one language is dominating, the dominated one should be maintained unless it will be potentially endangered or, at least, it will undergo some changes in structure and form. When the supporters of the dominated language deliberately cease from using their own language and even prefer to use the dominating one, there will be a kind of language shift (cf. Dalby 2003: xi). When the supporters of both the dominating and dominated languages resist giving up, most likely they will need to create a new contact language, in the form of a hybrid or mixed language, pidgins or creoles. At first, it was the case in Central Java but, as time goes by, the use of Indonesian is socio-politically getting even more favorable if compared to the use of Javanese. Errington also realizes the fact and explicitly states that "all once speak Javanese and none Indonesian, the fact that now some speak both foretells the day all will speak Indonesian and none Javanese" (1998: 185). Thus, it shows a sort of prediction, due to social transformation and language contact; if the linguistic endangerment in Central Java is taken for granted, it is just a matter of time that Indonesian will displace Javanese in the distant future.

The fear of language displacement or shift (from Javanese to Indonesian) in Central Java becomes my serious concern right now. In order to have a closer look at a potential language shift, Brenzinger (1998: 276-7) suggests, a linguist must take into serious account on the place of encounter (or the speech community) and the setting (or social environment). After realizing those two factors, I find it hard to believe that Javanese can be in a potential danger. Therefore, I have to reckon that the case of Javanese is unique. My first reason is that Javanese should have won the competition against Indonesian since the arena for the competition or the place of encounter, so to speak, is right in its home-areas. In fact, it is the opposite. My second reason is that the competition takes place in its own regional setting, where only a slight number of or, I had better say, none of Indonesian native speakers reside. Therefore, it is surprising for me to see that Javanese has failed to gain popularity in its home-areas and within its own speech community. There must be some other factors, I believe, worth considering in this very case.

Why is the vitality of Javanese weaker if compared to that of Indonesian? In order to see the relative vitality of a language, Grenoble & Whaley recommend that a linguist must also include some crucial information on: (1) the demographics of speech community, (2) the political status of languages, and (3) the nature of the languages' transmission to the youngest generation in the speech groups (1999: 23). Now, let me apply those three other factors for the case of Javanese. In terms of its demographics, as I have mentioned earlier, there is only an irrelevant number of Indonesian native speakers reside in Central Java as the home-areas of Javanese speech community although I cannot present an exact statistical figure. The key factor that makes Javanese unfavorable among its own native speakers is its political status. Indonesian enjoys supportive policies from the national government while Javanese has been quite overlooked since a decade or so after the independence day of the country in 1945. In the early 1950s, Javanese, as I recall, used to be a language of instruction up to the third grade at elementary schools. Nowadays, Javanese is not used even in kindergartens except in rural or remote areas.¹ The fact highly influences the nature of the languages' transmission to the youngest generation in the Javanese speech groups. In family domain, there is a split decision made by the given parents (cf. Sudaryanto 1991,

¹ The son of my Javanese neighbor is still in a kindergarten; he speaks Indonesian all the time and does not know Javanese vocabulary quite well. Another neighbor is renovating a house. The builder, who comes from the village of Sayung (Demak), lives with his family in an empty house opposite to mine. His son, who is of the same age as the son of my former neighbor, cannot speak Indonesian at all. The issue of rural and urban residence, I notice, becomes a serious matter in relation to linguistic competence in Javanese.

Purwoko 1996). Some parents prefer to select either Javanese or Indonesian to be transmitted first to their off-springs. Their decision is very much dependent upon the parents' attitude to their ancestral language and social norms. Unfortunately, the number of Javanese parents who prefers to transmit Javanese to their children seems to decrease for the time being.² This makes the vitality of Javanese even weakening.

The vitality of a language is also correlated with its prestige, which, according to Grenoble & Whaley (1999a: ix), may result from the following factors:

- (1) The government's support and the large number of speakers
- (2) A rich literary tradition and is used in local or national media of communication
- (3) The processes of commercial exchange
- (4) A widely practiced religion
- (5) The force of a language "ideology"

First, it is not necessary for me to repeat the discussion on item (1), which I have explicated in the previous paragraphs. That Javanese lacks supports from the national government although, in terms of the number of speakers, it is the largest vernacular in the nation is beyond question. Unfortunately, four other factors mentioned above are not supportive for Javanese either.

Secondly, as a matter of fact, Javanese used to have a rich literary tradition circa the independence day but nowadays, for examples, there are only a couple of Javanese magazines (*Panyebar Semangat* and *Jayabaya*), which are still being published in a poor circulation. Javanese is almost never used in national media of communication, except for some folk performances broadcast now and then. There are some news programs in Javanese to be broadcast in local radios or televisions but no Javanese newspaper exist nowadays. In fact, most local and national media covering news in Central Java use Indonesian instead.

Thirdly, Javanese is commonly used in traditional markets but its native speakers will shift to Indonesian when they are engaged in any commercial exchanges in (modern) stores or supermarkets. Some commercials on the radio are in Javanese but most commercials on television and in the printed media are in Indonesian.

Fourthly, the use of Javanese has no significant correlation with any ritual practices in religious domains. Some speeches in rural mosques or churches are conducted in Javanese but most speeches are in Indonesian, let alone in urban areas. Most Javanese are Muslim, whose ritual language is Arabic. Consequently, religion cannot be an appropriate vehicle to retain the local language in Central Java.³

Fifthly, there is an external force of a language "ideology" faced by most Javanese native speakers, who are psychologically absorbed in participating in making the national language "ideology" successful. DeVries calls such a kind of "ideology" as "the vague ideal norm of a national language" (in Errington 1998: 99). It reminds me of what Dorian terms as "the system of linguistic stratification in Europe based on an ideology of contempt" which regards subordinate languages as despised languages (1999: 7). It seems that such a kind of language ideology has been unintentionally adopted by most Indonesians due to their enthusiastic support for national ideology. That's why most Indonesians (including the Javanese) have a false belief that the prestige of their own vernacular⁴ is lower than that of the national language (Indonesian) so that they readily emulate the national language and deliberately cease from using their own vernacular in public domains.

4. The Current Usage of Javanese

If the native speakers of any vernacular feel inferior in linguistic prestige, then they will easily accommodate the presence of a superior language in their home-areas. For the sake of national "ideology", the Javanese speakers deliberately 'import' Indonesian into their home-areas in order to be

² When parents decide not to transmit their ancestral language to their children is a pity. Dalby (2003: 282) reminds us that language shift often begins in the families. Parents do not realize how many other families are doing the same. Once such a decision has become general, it is too late and their ancestral language can no longer be maintained or revitalized.

³ A classic report on a ritual language to be used as the revitalization of ethnic identity in Great Moravia, Czechoslovak, is written by Jacobson (1977). For a recent example of a ritual language of Quechua, Peru, see de la Piedra (2010).

⁴ In the literature of sociolinguistics, vernacular is another term usually for local/regional language. At times, I use it here in order to contrast it (Javanese) with the national language (Indonesian).

used as not only the language of wider communication but also the official language in public domains. It is, therefore, reasonable for them to deliberately acquire Indonesian through interactions with non-Javanese speakers or to learn it at schools. Since there are practically no (or, only a small number of) Indonesian native-speakers in Central Java, the Javanese speakers themselves must have learned it by practicing in public interactions. Then, it is safe to say that most Javanese still have imperfect knowledge of Indonesian so that they have no other choice but relying on their own local language (vernacular) whenever they are engaging in informal interactions with fellow Javanese interlocutors, especially in the domains of family, peer-groups, streets or markets. Since both Indonesian (in formal domains) and Javanese (in informal domains) are still effectively used as a language of wider communication in Central Java, both languages have to live side by side in a quite accommodative condition although each functions differently in its social context.

Languages in a quite accommodative condition, as seen in Central Java, commonly will mix and result in a new 'hybrid' language, whose form and structure are aptly described by Errington as *bahasa gadho-gadho* or 'mixed' bilingual Javanese-Indonesian usage; he needs a special chapter to deal with it (1998: 98). Myers-Scotton states that a "mixed language only results when a shift does not go to completion" (1999: 309). Nowadays, the Javanese speakers cannot shift to Indonesian yet because most of them are not Indonesian native speakers and are still in the process of learning to master it. The evidence can obviously be revealed in the mixed usage deriving from both Javanese and Indonesian lexico-grammars. Whenever the Javanese speakers are participating in a social interaction, they will inevitably produce utterances rich in code-switching and borrowings from either one of the two different languages in contact. They may borrow some vocabulary from Indonesian if they are speaking Javanese or vice versa. What language they choose as the basic medium of communication is crucial for an observer so that s/he can point out the deliberate selection of Matrix Language (ML) and the Embedded Language (EL) made by the given speakers before s/he has a closer look at code-switching or borrowings. The terms ML and EL are coined by Myers-Scotton (1998: 220-1) when she describes the dominant language (ML) used in code-switching to and borrowings from the subordinate language (EL). I adopt her terms here to show how the Javanese choose an ML (either Indonesian or Javanese) as the basic medium of communication. See the examples below:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) Pak Dekan, silahkan <i>dhahar</i> dulu.
borrowing
Dean (vocative), please eat + hH first | < Indonesian (ML), Javanese (EL):
> Sir, please eat first. |
| (2) Ngomong kok <i>kayak gitu</i> , mbok sing sopan.
code-switching
Speak particle like that particle which polite
to be polite. | < Indonesian (EL), Javanese (ML):
> Don't speak like that I expect you |

In his glossary of terms, Croft (2000: 233) defines 'borrowing' as "the result of language contact on a society attempting to maintain its language (Thomason & Kaufman 1988)", while Winford (2003:12) relates it to 'interference'. Croft (2000: 234) defines 'code-switching' as "the process of using two languages in a single social setting (Romaine 1995)".

I will interpret 'borrowing' as an attempt of a speaker who is trying to use his/her native linguistic units (system morphemes or lexical structures, cf. Myers-Scotton 1999:290) when speaking another language. In example (1), the Javanese word *dhahar* (= 'makan'= eat) is used by a Javanese native speaker to express deference toward his/her respected interlocutor (the Dean). For a well-educated Javanese, the Indonesian word 'makan' does not have any implication of deference at all. It sounds 'plain' or, even 'coarse', which is similar to 'mangan' (the *ngoko* style code). Therefore, when speaking Indonesian (as ML), a Javanese may borrow a word from his/her native *basa* style-code vocabulary, *dhahar* (as EL), which has a high honorific marker (hH). Honorific markers are of paramount importance in Javanese. To select an appropriate word expressing "the act of eating", the Javanese speakers have, at least, four different words: (1) *mbadhog* (rude), (2) *mangan* (plain/*ngoko*), (3) *nedha* (low honorific/*madya*). (4) *dhahar* (high honorific/*krama*). Each word has its own connotation and should be appropriately used to refer to the social status of its referent. The business of honorific markers is governed by the socio-cultural norms rather than the language per se. Thus, the word *dhahar* may show *rasa Jawa* (the feeling of Javanese-ness or native courtesy), which a Javanese speaker will tend to retain, even when s/he is speaking Indonesian.

Basically, I am in a total agreement to Croft's definition of 'code-switching' as above-mentioned. According to the sociolinguistic literature, code-switching can be 'intra-' or 'extra-sentential'. Example (2) is intra-sentential. The speaker does code-switch from Javanese (as ML) to Indonesian (as EL) for a certain purpose. In this case, an Indonesian expression can be used as a kind of solidarity marker.

Mixed languages can also be seen as a kind of composites of material drawn from two languages. Dreyfuss & Oka (in Winford 2003:170) show an even more obvious evidence of *Chindo*⁵ or a blend of Malay (= Indonesian) and Javanese spoken by *Peranakan* Chinese. I will present a typical utterance commonly spoken by a Chinese in Semarang below.

(3) Rumah-*é* situ da mana, *pak*?

House-the yonder be where sir > Where is your house, Sir? (Where do you live, Sir?)

The Chinese speaker uses Indonesian as the Matrix Language but the insertion of a tiny suffix, *-é*, indicates an influence of Javanese *ngoko* speech style (as the Embedded Language). The word *situ* is a demonstrative pronoun translated from a Javanese word *kono* (yonder), which is used to replace the second personal pronoun *kowé* (you). The replacement indicates the speaker's effort to be polite although most Chinese are supposed to be able to merely use the *ngoko* speech style, when speaking Javanese (cf. Rafferty 1984). Elsewhere I have ever argued that there are some strategies of politeness in *ngoko* although most traditional Javanese speakers have a firm belief that polite utterances must be expressed in the *basa* speech style only (see Purwoko 1994).

The Javanese speakers who are used to getting along with their Chinese interlocutors may be able to produce such a similar linguistic variety as well. Therefore, in response to a question as mentioned in example (3), a Javanese speaker may produce an answer as it is shown in example (4) below.

(4) Sana *lho*, *cik*, dekat-*é* *koh* Wan.

Over there particle kin-term close the kin term name > Over there, miss, close to Mr. Wan's home

The speaker uses Indonesian as the basic medium of communication (ML) but he inserts a Javanese particle, *lho*, and an affix, *-é*, as the indicators of *ngoko* style code (EL). The vocatives, *cik* (elder sister) and *koh* (elder brother), derive from Chinese kin-terms. Compare to a Javanese kin-term used as vocative, *pak* (the short form of *bapak* which literary means 'father' or, metaphorically, mister) in example (3). The use of kin-terms as vocatives, of borrowed linguistic units from the *ngoko* speech style and of code-switching illustrates the indicators of Javanese ethnic identity even though they are speaking Indonesian.

After discussing the 'borrowing' and 'code-switching' in the use of mixed languages in Central Java, I have two issues worth high-lighting. They are (1) the strong vitality of *ngoko* speech style, and (2) the ethnic identity of the Javanese speakers. The first issue may indicate which style code of Javanese will linger on for a relatively long time and which one will easily end up in obsolescence or even worst come to extinction. The second issue implies the most crucial factor to pay serious attention to whenever linguists and/or the native speakers want to maintain or revitalize their own vernacular (Javanese) against the domination of another language (Indonesian). I will deal with those two issues in the following section.

5. Language Maintenance and Ethnic Identity

The effort of language maintenance is not a matter of linguistics alone as I have slightly touched in the earlier part of this paper and also in another article (see Purwoko 2010). It is significantly correlated with the native speakers' awareness of their own ethnic identity. If they have a relatively strong ethnic identity, they will presumably have a persistent linguistic attitude to the vitality and viability of their mother tongue as well. No society and its language can refrain from changing; neither can the Javanese and its language. However, no language speakers will shift to use another language in natural contact in a very short time, unless they are uprooted from their speech community or violently oppressed by political power of the dominating language speakers. Most probably, it will take a couple of generations or so for

⁵ *Chindo* is a portmanteau standing for *China Indonesia* (Indonesian Chinese), which also refers to the variety of language used by the *Peranakan* Chinese (the speakers of Chinese descent).

the Javanese speakers to shift from their own vernacular to Indonesian⁶ if no effort of serious language maintenance is done by the government or its own native speakers.⁷ However, Crystal points out the fact that a language will be gradually 'deprived' if it is less used in educational, political and other public situations (2000: 21). I am afraid that Javanese will be one striking example.

To the best of my knowledge, the provincial government does have such a kind of 'institutional maintenance' but, unfortunately, its policy tends to merely focus on linguistic matters. In 2005, for example, the Governor of Central Java issued a decree (No.895.5/01/2005) stating that Javanese should be taught as a subject at all schools, from elementary to high school levels (see Yatmana 2006: 137). Unfortunately, Darni reports that most schools lack certified teachers of Javanese (2006: 306). Ekowardono (2006: 403) calculates that there are only 6% of certified teachers of Javanese at all high-schools in Central Java. This figure indicates how poor the preparation is for the teaching of Javanese at schools.

Fewer efforts are geared to revitalize ethnic identity that covers 'linguistic regionalism', 'local/cultural pride', 'cultural heritage' and 'economic power within the Javanese community'. Kapanga reports that Shaba Swahili can resist against the influence of Standard Swahili, in Zaire, because its supporters have a high local pride (1999: 286). The best example is the language of Catalan, whose speakers have a very strong economic power and a self-confident tradition; it can revitalize and gain popularity among its speakers albeit the severe suppression of the Franco regime in Spain (see Woolard & Gahng in Dorian 1999: 13). A case of language "resurrection" (= revitalization), as Vakhtin (1999) terms it, is also found in Copper Island Aleut. All cases emphasize the important factor of either local pride or ethnic identity.

Aside from some factors showing the weak vitality of Javanese, I can still rely on the persistent role of *ngoko* speech style in the Javanese speech community although it seems to be last straw in the struggle of Javanese against the powerful Indonesian language. Most traditional linguists believe that Javanese has at least three different speech style codes: *ngoko*, *basa madya*, and *basa krama*. The last two codes have special vocabulary, distinctive function words and affixes, which are used as a vehicle of honorific markers. If there were no effort of language maintenance at all, the Javanese native speakers would have automatically retained the *ngoko* speech code. The reason is that this very style code is their basic language. Errington tries to describe it as follows: "*ngoko* is the 'basic' language one thinks in, speaks to intimate and inferiors in, loses one's temper in; it is the most natural and spontaneous form of verbal expression" (1988:49). Most Javanese parents used to (and now, I believe, some still) transmit the *ngoko* speech style first to their children and teach the *basa* later. It is, therefore, Anderson (1966: 97) explicitly states that for the native speakers of Javanese the *basa* code is like a 'mask', while the *ngoko* code is like 'the heart', which is used to manifest their deepest emotion or feelings. In traditional Javanese settings, the *basa* code used to be used as the language of formal communication which is rich in rational considerations. Its social function has now been replaced by Indonesian. Some foreign linguists also mention that such a 'linguistic code' shift from the *basa* code to Indonesian is still in progress in Central Java in the last decades (see Errington 1998, G. Poedjosoedarmo 2006, Smith-Heffner 2009).⁸ A couple of decades ago, some foreign linguists observed that there was also a shift of 'linguistic code' done by the *Peranakan* Chinese in Java. When they were engaged in a conversation with familiar interlocutors, they used the *ngoko* code, but with unknown interlocutors they used informal Indonesian, see the work of Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo (1982) in Yogyakarta, Rafferty (1982) in Malang, and Rafferty (1984) in

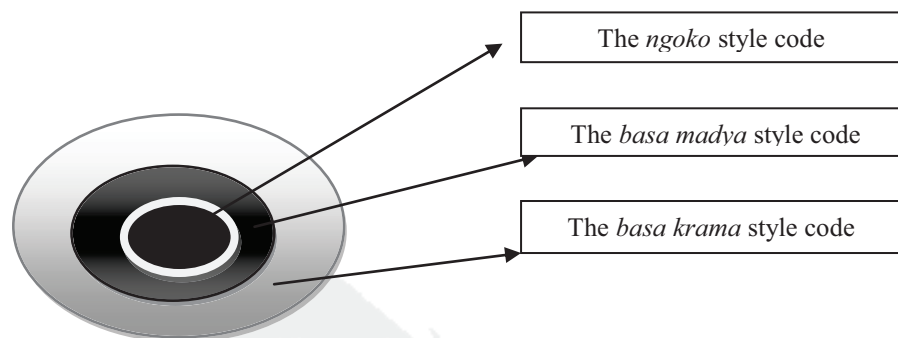
⁶ Please recall my personal observation in footnote 1, if all Javanese kids of under five-year old can no longer speak Javanese, my prediction that Javanese will be displaced by Indonesian within a couple of generations or so might come true. However, I myself still doubt about it due to the strong vitality of the *ngoko* style code, which I will discuss in the later part of this paper.

⁷ Milroy & Milroy distinguishes two types of language maintenance; when the government has an official policy on language maintenance for the given language, he calls it "institutional maintenance", when there is no such a kind of policy, he calls it "non-institutional maintenance" or "vernacular maintenance" (1988:53).

⁸ When a Javanese speaker speaks Javanese only with an interlocutor, s/he likely will switch from the *ngoko* style (in informal/intimate situations) to the *basa* (in formal/polite situations) or vice versa. It means when s/he acts as a monolingual speaker s/he will do style-switch. Since the *basa* has been replaced by Indonesian in formal situations nowadays, s/he has to code-switch from one style code to another style code of another language. It means s/he acts as a bilingual speaker. I learn these different terms from Milroy & Gordon (2003: 210).

Cirebon. These research reports convince me even more that most *Peranakan* Chinese in Java have ever known and even used the *ngoko* code as the Matrix Language in any interactions with the Javanese.

Therefore, it is quite reasonable for me to learn that the *basa* is the very first code which will suffer from deprivation, attrition, or obsolescence, better not to say, extinction in the near future.⁹ The following picture may illustrate which speech style code will easily be obsolete and which one will linger on in a relatively long time. The darker the shadow I deliberately mark, the stronger the linguistic vitality of the code.



The 'shift' of style code, from the *basa* to Indonesian, is quite understandable to me after noticing its most weak vitality, as seen in the picture above. I deliberately place the *ngoko* style code in the middle of the picture in order to illustrate that it metaphorically plays a role as the *heart* of the Javanese native speakers (cf. Anderson 1966: 97). Realizing this fact, I firmly argue that, as long as the *ngoko* still has a place in the Javanese speech community and its native speakers have a better attitude to it, Javanese will linger on and not easily be displaced by Indonesian. The thing is even more supportive for the *ngoko* if the Javanese are getting socio-economically healthier so that the number of middle-class speakers may increase quite considerably because, according to Milroy & Gordon (2003:130), middle-class speakers are likely to be the important agents of change in the use of language. When this class has a solid ethnic identity or local/cultural pride and better attitude to Javanese, especially the *ngoko* style code, the efforts of institutional language maintenance might be not quite necessary.

Then, the more urgent things to do are to campaign for strengthening the ethnic identity and to enhance the linguistic attitude to Javanese, especially the *ngoko* speech style, among its native speakers rather than to teach Javanese at schools as a compulsory subject, which may jeopardize the students' attitude to their own vernacular. The issue of linguistic attitude is also of paramount importance in language contact and maintenance. Garrets, Coupland & Williams write that "an attitude is a disposition to react favorably or unfavorably to a class of objects" (2003: 2-3). So, if the Javanese native speakers have a favorable disposition (or better linguistic attitude), then they will have a commitment to maintaining their own language without feeling themselves under political compulsion by the government. In other words, in the case of Javanese, what Milroy & Milroy (1988: 53) calls "vernacular maintenance", I believe, will be more effective than "institutional maintenance".¹⁰ It is in line with Grenoble & Whaley who state that "a strong commitment to revitalization will have an impact on the viability of a language" (1999: 54). The language revitalization is another term for language maintenance (see Kapanga 1999: 261).

6. Conclusion

Relying on linguistic attitude alone is not enough for the Javanese native speakers to carry out language revitalization or maintenance. They have to equip themselves with a strong feeling of ethnic identity, which covers some extra-linguistic factors, such as: 'local/cultural pride', 'cultural heritages' and 'economic power within the Javanese community'. First, how to improve the 'local/cultural pride' becomes the crucial step for the local government authority and/or the language planners before they start to campaign for using the local vernacular, besides the national language, on any occasions which might allow. Secondly, any kinds of 'cultural heritages', especially folk arts using local vernaculars, are worth

⁹ I have ever done a small research report on the declining competence in the *basa* style code of the Javanese youth, see Purwoko (2005)

¹⁰ Please refer back to footnote 7.

performing in cultural festivals so that the frequent use of Javanese language in public domains with a greater number of onlookers may improve its popularity. Thirdly, the betterment of economic power in Central Java may help the common Javanese to escape from their dependence on the dominant use of Indonesian in socio-political domains so that vernacular maintenance can be implemented.

Finally, the main purpose of this paper is merely to suggest that linguists, who are officially involved in institutional maintenance of Javanese, be aware that the efforts of language maintenance is not just a matter of linguistics alone. Quoting Fishman, Dorian points out that language "always exists in cultural matrix and that the matrix rather than the language is the point at which support is most needed" (1999:21). In other words, 'local/cultural pride' embedded in ethnic identity and the endangered language are two sides of the same coin. It is in line with what Fought states that "individuals' use of language is seen as revealing both their personal identity and their search for social role" (2006:20). When the Javanese speakers decide to speak their own language in public domains, they do not only want to speak but also to show their personal/ethnic identity and their social role in the community.

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