LINGUISTIC DOMAINS: KEYS TO THE MAINTENANCE OF JAVANESE

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Abstract

This paper deals with the language maintenance of Javanese. What most linguists, language planners, activists or official institutions have done so far is to campaign the use of Javanese in certain 'locales' or places, especially schools or local government offices. They rarely refer to the original notion of domains, as suggested by Fishman, so that they focus on more 'locales' (places or settings) than 'topics' (contents of communications). According to Fishman, 'topic' is the most crucial regulator of language use in all domains if compared to the other two factors, namely: 'participants' and 'locales'. This paper is questioning whether the language policy on the language maintenance of Javanese having been done so far will be effective to meet the target.

Keywords: *domains, locales, language maintenance, language use, Javanese, Indonesian.*

1. Introduction

When there are languages in contact, there will be some predictable phenomena. First, there will be two or more languages living 'healthily' together side by side as long as they can share communicative functions in the given community. Secondly, if the shared functions are not equal in everyday use, there will be one dominating language and one or more dominated languages. Thirdly, the dominated language(s) will probably be in slight or serious jeopardy depending on how powerful the influence of the dominating language is on the dominated ones.

In fact, there is a real situation of languages in contact in Javanese speech community. There are at least two languages used by the Javanese native speakers in daily communications, namely: Javanese and Indonesian. Thus, socio-linguistically speaking, the third phenomenon resulting from languages in contact takes place in Semarang or Central Java. The brute fact is that Indonesian is the dominating language and Javanese is the dominated one. Consequently, if some efforts of language maintenance are not effectively and seriously designed by the authority, the vitality of Javanese will be even weaker and weaker, and the language may eventually come to extinction in the distant future. The main aim of this paper is to question the effectiveness and the seriousness of the Javanese maintenance which have ever been done so far.
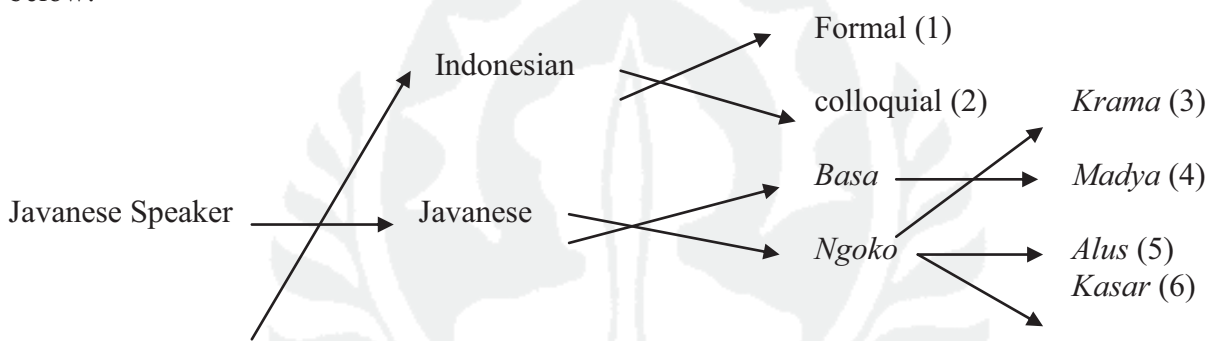
2. Linguistic Repertoire

Before initiating a discussion on the possible efforts of language maintenance, I have to deal with the (sociolinguistic) competence of the native speakers of the given language. Hymes (1984/72) differentiates two kinds of competence, namely: productive competence and receptive competence. When talking about a speaker's ability to use his/her language, I have to focus on the productive competence. In other words, in order to see how fluently a speaker uses some varieties (linguistic codes) when engaging in daily interactions, I have to pay a special attention to his/her choice of linguistic codes or languages. Consequently, what I refer to the productive competence here is somewhat similar to the concept of "performance" as defined by most linguists as I have ever explicated it any further somewhere else (see Purwoko 2009).

Holmes (2001:20) simply correlates a speaker's linguistic repertoire with his/her ability to use a list of varieties or linguistic codes when speaking in daily communications. Thus, the essential concept of linguistic repertoire is notably similar to that of productive competence or of performance. Then, from an ethnographic point of view, I would like to invite readers to regard

that the performance of a speaker is more important than the competence. The reason is simple. We can obviously see the speaker's ability to use the language properly when s/he is speaking (performing speech) rather than when s/he keeps silent. To support my argument, please refer to what Allan writes below:

> Thus, the source of linguistic data is the speech act: where a speaker S makes an utterance U in language L to hearer H in context C. This is not to deny that a whole range of language expressions which could be uttered never are; but these are only interesting because they could potentially be uttered; and they are only recognizable to someone other that the person who thinks them up, when they ARE uttered: after all, linguists deal in language, not telephaty (Allan 1986:1, original emphasis).

As any other linguists, I must have a strong belief as well that what the native speaker utters (says) is the source of linguistic data worth researching. More importantly, the spoken data performed by any speaker, who is engaged in actual interactions, may have obviously reflected his/her productive competence. Equipped with such a notion, I will try to describe the linguistic repertoire of a native speaker of Javanese based on his/her productive competence. The speaker presented here, I have to honestly admit, is hypothetical[1] but, as I am also a native speaker of Javanese, I believe that my model best represents the common speaker of Javanese. See Figure 1, below:

Figure 1: The Linguistic Repertoire of a Hypothetical Native Speaker of Javanese

Based on the figure, I can safely state that a Javanese speaker may use at least six different linguistic codes or style or varieties or whatever people may call it when s/he is speaking, depending on the context and the participants engaged in the conversations. However, there is a serious problem, which I need to seriously note here, regarding the productive competence of the Javanese speaker whenever s/he uses his/her own native tongue. Nowadays, it seems that there is no serious question about the Javanese speaker's communicative ability whenever s/he uses Indonesian (varieties 1 & 2) but the description of the Javanese language use (varieties 3 to 6) will invite controversy. The most notable reason for the controversy is that there is no uniformity of the productive competence among the Javanese speakers. To anticipate an unexpected debate, I will correlate the productive competence with the issue of the speakers' age.

Seven years ago, I conducted a tiny research project on the productive competence of Javanese youth (19 to 22 years old),[2] involving 88 respondents (see Purwoko 2005). The findings show that 89.7% of the respondents admitted that they use local language (vernacular) at home. It means that Javanese still has a significant place in family domain. See Table 1 below.

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[1] To talk about the linguistic repertoire of actual bilingual speakers is mostly impossible since its deals with their productive competence which lies in their mind except when they produce utterances in social interactions. The hypothetical speaker here is only a model which is used to show a common trend of most Javanese speakers. Theoretically speaking, Fishman (1971:584) did the same thing when he exemplified a government functionary in Brussels, who was able to speak Flemish, Dutch and French in daily life.
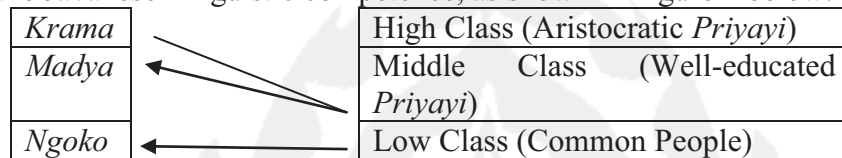
[2] My first assumption is that the productive competence of the Javanese youths in Java is worse than that of their parents since a great number of parents become very reluctant to teach the *Basa* variety in family domain. The case is even worse for the Javanese youths whose family reside in places outside Java (see Untoro 2011).

Family Domain	What linguistic code do you use when speaking to your parents at home?				
	Ngoko	*Basa*	BI	BJ & BI[3]	Total
Number of Respondents	47 (53.40%)	31 (35.22%)	4 (4.54%)	6 (6.81%)	88 (100%)

Table 1: The Linguistic Code of Javanese Speakers in Family Domain

Now let us compare the percentage of Javanese used at family domain (amounting to 88.62%) with that of Indonesian (4.54%) and that of BJ & BI (6.81%). In addition, if we divide the last finding into two, the percentage of each BJ or BI will be 3.405%. Thus, the total percentage of Javanese used at home is 92.02%, which is a very significant percentage of Javanese used in family domain.
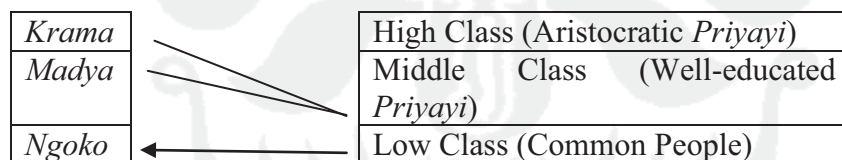
However, which kinds of Javanese code that the native speakers use in daily interactions becomes our concern to zero-in on. The rumor has it that the Javanese language is declining now due to the dominating use of Indonesian in most domains. For some sociolinguists, that Javanese has been declining is not a new phenomenon. In the decade of 1970s, Kartomihardjo (1982) described the Javanese' linguistic competence, as shown in Figure 2 below:

Krama	High Class (Aristocratic *Priyayi*)
Madya	Middle Class (Well-educated *Priyayi*)
Ngoko	Low Class (Common People)

Figure 2: The Linguistic (= Productive) Competence of the Javanese Speakers in 1970s

The arrowed-line indicates that the speakers' fluency is quite reliable; while the plain line illustrates that their fluency is not reliable or, to borrow his phrase: 'to a limited extent also the *Krama* level' (Kartomihardjo 1982:6).

Kartomihardjo's description above was based on his respondents, mostly common people, in Malang, East Java. Then, in order to illustrate a similar phenomenon in the decade of 1990s, I revised his in Figure 3 below, based on my respondents in Semarang, (see Purwoko 1994:6).

Krama	High Class (Aristocratic *Priyayi*)
Madya	Middle Class (Well-educated *Priyayi*)
Ngoko	Low Class (Common People)

Figure 3: The Linguistic (= Productive) Competence of the Javanese Speakers in 1990s

What I want to argue here is the fact that the productive competence of the Javanese speakers is declining even worse in the course of history, even if it is merely related to the use of the Javanese itself, let alone, if I reckon the dominating use of Indonesian in their daily life.[4]

Even if I have to put aside the presence of Indonesian, I am still questioning the data on the percentage of the *Basa* code showed in Table 1 above. Did my respondents still use those kinds of varieties properly? To check whether their productive competence was reasonably acceptable, according to the traditional norms, I requested my respondents to translate an Indonesian letter into a Javanese version. My purpose was simply to see their productive competence. The following is a sample of their translations.

Javanese Respondent (20 years, Female, from Semarang):

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[3] BJ and BI stand for *Bahasa Jawa* (Javanese) and *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian), respectively.

[4] Most research on bilingualism (as it is aptly relevant to Javanese speakers, who are mostly bilingual), according to Fishman, "followed an equal unreal course with two basic notions: that of two 'pure' languages and that of 'interference' between them" (1971a:561). I prefer to see the bilingual capacity as the latter notion. Therefore, it is no wonder if the *Basa* variety presented in this paper will not escape from the case of interference, either from the *Ngoko* Javanese or Indonesian varieties.

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Mama sekalian *papa* ingkang kulo tresnani,
Kala wingi kulo sampun nampi kiriman arto gangsal juta rupiah. Kulo ngaturaken sembah nuwun. Arto punika badhe dalem ginaaken kangge mbayar SPP lan kangge *mundhut* komputer. Menawi *sasi nginjing* kula sampun wiwit *nyusun* skripsi, mugi-mugi kulo saget *ngrampungaken* kuliah *tahun* menika. Kulo nyuwun pengestunipun mama kalian papa supados sedayanipun *kelaku* kanthi lancar. Cukup semanten warta saking kula. Matur nuwun. Sembah *pangabekti*.

The sample is presented as it was precisely written by my respondent. The words in italic fonts are typed by me in order to mark some controversies. First, the kin terms, *mama* and *papa*, were not Javanese. Secondly, *mundhut* (= buy) is a word with high-honorific (*Krama*), which is according to the traditional norms, better replaced by the low-honorific counterpart, *tumbas*, (*Madya*). Thirdly, *tahun* (= year), *nyusun* (= make; write) and *ngrampungaken* (= finish) are Indonesian interferences.[5] Fourthly, *kelaku* is derived from *mlaku* (= walk), which is a *Ngoko* word; the *Madya* word, *mlampah* or *kelampahan* would be more appropriate. Finally, the closing remark in a Javanese letter is commonly *sembah sungkem* instead of *sembah pangabekti*. It is a matter of usage and/or collocation, which is not, linguistically speaking, a gross mistake

My discussion in the previous paragraph slightly indicates that, nowadays, the linguistic varieties in a Javanese speaker's repertoire (which reflects the Javanese speaker's productive competence, as shown in Table 1) have decreased in number. The *Krama* code has been notably eroded and most heavily influenced by the use of other codes, namely: *Ngoko*, *Madya* and Indonesian (formal and colloquial). To make it even more obvious, I would like to list some controversial problems that I have scrutinized in the previous paragraph in Table 2 below.

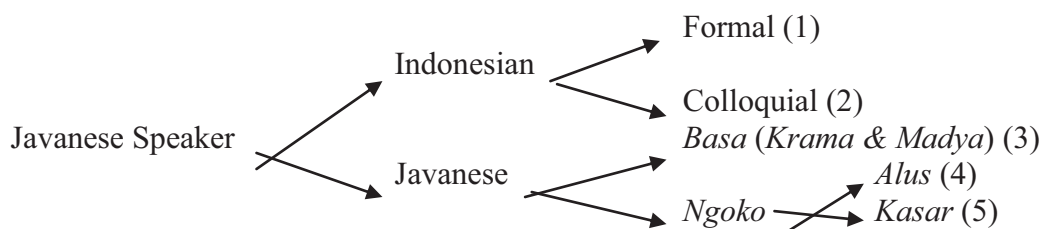| (1)	*Mama & papa*	The use of non-Javanese (or westernized) kin terms
(2)	*Mundhut vs tumbas*	The confusion of *Krama* and *Madya* word
(3)	*Tahun, nyusun, ngrampungaken*	The inference of *Ngoko* and/or Indonesian
(4)	*Kelaku vs kelampahan*	The inference of *Ngoko*
(5)	*Sungkem vs pangabekti*	The incorrect usage or collocation of word (*sungkem*)

Table 2: The Controversial Use of Linguistic Codes in a Javanese Letter

From Table 2, I can safely make an interpretation on the linguistic repertoire of the Javanese respondent who translated the letter. First, she likely belongs to a middle-class family so that she addresses her mother and father with westernized kin terms, *mama & papa*, instead of *bapak & ibu*. Secondly, she was not fully aware of using the high-honorific word, *mundhut*, instead of the low-honorific counterpart, *tumbas* (the *Madya* code). It means that she confused the concept of deference with that of demeanor.[6] Consequently, if gauged with the traditional norms, she will be easily prone to making mistakes when speaking the *Krama* code. Thirdly, the influence or interference of both *Ngoko* and Indonesian is quite significant when this respondent used the words: *tahun, nyusun* and *ngrampungaken* in her letter. Fourthly, the powerful inference of *Ngoko* is truly obvious in the word *kelaku*. Finally, the incorrect use of collocation more likely refers to literary knowledge than linguistics *per se*.

Finally, I can make an even clearer inference from our discussion on the Javanese speaker's linguistic repertoire; that is the confused or combined use of the *Krama* and *Madya* codes, which I will deliberately label it as the *Basa* code only. See Figure 1a, below, which is the revision of Figure 1, above. Nevertheless, the story of the Javanese speaker's linguistic repertoire has not ended over here yet. That the *Ngoko* codes (vatiety 4 & 5) and the Indonesian codes (variety 1 & 2) are becoming even more dominating will be obviously pointed out when we discuss the linguistic domains in the next section.

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[5] The words *tahun* and *ngrampungaken* may result from *taun* and *ngrampungké*, which are plain or not-honorific words of Javanese *Ngoko*.
[6] On the concept of demeanor and deference, see Goffman (1956).

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                                              Formal (1)
                         Indonesian
                                              Colloquial (2)
                                              Basa (Krama & Madya) (3)
Javanese Speaker
                                                          Alus (4)
                         Javanese
                                    Ngoko          Kasar (5)
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Figure 1a: The Revised Linguistic Repertoire of a Hypothetical Native Speaker of Javanese

3. Linguistic Domains

If we compare the linguistic repertoire in Figure 1 with that in Figure 1a, it seems that there is no significant change in number of linguistic varieties, which might be used by a Javanese when speaking with other fellow Javanese speakers. The slight change lies only in the *Basa* variety. The most current issue is that the productive competence of most young Javanese speakers in using the *Basa* varieties, so to speak, is not as good as that of the elderly counterparts (cf. Hoery 2011; Subroto *et al*, 2010; Kurniasih 2006; Purwoko 2005). Therefore, I have tried hard to illustrate such a slight change in linguistic repertoire by comparing the productive competence shown in Figure 2 (of Kartomihardjo 1982) with that shown in Figure 3 (of Purwoko 1994). That very slight or tiny change proves to have a big story of sociolinguistic problems, in terms of language use in Semarang or Central Java.

When discussing language use, most sociolinguists will refer to the function, rather than the form (or the description of varieties), of the given language. In the case of language contacts in Semarang or Central Java, I have no other choice but to deal with two different languages, living together in the very same setting, namely: Indonesian (the national or standard language) and Javanese (the vernacular). If both languages have relatively equal functions in everyday use, there will be no serious problem; but, if the shared functions are not equal, there will be one dominating language and another dominated one. Unfortunately, the latter condition is so true in reality. Indonesian enjoys socio-political supports from the government, whereas Javanese has less attention from the government or, even worse, has been almost overlooked by its own native speakers. To support this argument, I will invite readers to observe 'linguistic domains', in a Javanese speech community.

The concept of 'linguistic domains' is first coined by Fishman (1971), which is very effective to explain the functions of a language used as a means of communication. I had better present what he defines below:

> …a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationship between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a speech community (Fishman 1971:587).

There are three crucial things possibly inferred from the quotation, namely: (1) topic, (2) speakers' role-relation, and (3) locales.[7] To give a special attention to the topic as the most fundamental reason for the choice of language or variety, Fishman considers "topic *per se* as a regulator of language use in multilingual settings" (1971:585). It means that the topic will determine the choice of language or variety or code made by the immediate speakers in a given interaction. It is, therefore, quite safe for me to predict that the topic of conversations will encourage any Javanese speakers to select a related variety or linguistic code within their linguistic repertoire. For instance, in order to speak about scientific matters, a Javanese will tend to use Indonesian rather than Javanese. I will try to analyze this obviously-predictable choice of linguistic code by referring to Hymes' suggestion, that linguists have to regard the nature of language functions as "referential" and "stylistic" (1980:ix), which is essentially correlated with Fishman's concerns of topic, role-relation, and locales.

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[7] My inference results from Fishman's original terms (1971:587-8); but, in order to make these three things even clearer to most readers, Saville-Troike uses rather explicit terms, namely: (1) topic, (2) participants, and (3) settings (1986:53-4).

First, the term 'topic', as coined by Fishman, implies 'what' (people are talking about). It means that the linguistic code (or the variety of language) to be carefully selected by the speaker as the medium of the given communication must be 'referential' in characteristic; or, in a laymen's term, it is 'informative' in the sense that the topic should be cognitively encoded by its speaker and best related to the message. Anderson (1966) describes such a linguistic code as 'the language of mind' in contrast to 'the language of heart'; the latter is most likely stylistic in characteristic. This is in accordance with the functions of communication as described by Guiraud; he said that "the two principal modes of semiological expressions are the referential (objective, cognitive) functions and the emotive (subjective, expressive) functions" (1978:9).[8] Thus, based on the characteristics, I can group the terms (of Hymes, Guiraud and Jacobson) into: (a) referential (objective, cognitive) and (b) stylistic (subjective, expressive or emotive).

Now, let us apply which linguistic codes, within the common Javanese' linguistic repertoire as shown in Figure 1a above, will be appropriately used as the medium of communications manifesting both (a) referential functions, and (b) stylistic functions. Though it is a matter of more tendency than reality, my prediction will be described in Table 3 below.

Referential functions	Indonesian: (1) Formal, (2) Colloquial
Stylistic functions	Javanese: (4) *Ngoko Alus*, (5) *Ngoko Kasar* & (3) *Basa*

Table 3: Major Functions of Language

What I have written in Table 3 above is not based on my own assumption. In a couple of decades ago, Poedjosoedarmo reported that the Javanese speakers used their mother tongue whenever they tried to make expressions of 'ethnic identity', 'interjection', 'shouting', and 'anger' (1987:124). All of these expressions best refer to the stylistic function of language as I have noted down in Table 3 above.

Nevertheless, I honestly admit that there is still a kind of controversial issue on the use of *Basa* at the present time. The *Basa* (especially the *Krama*) variety used to be used as the medium of wider communication among the Javanese so that it could be regarded as the proper variety representing the referential function. The problem is that the Javanese (especially young) speakers' mastery of this variety has been declining quite markedly (cf. G. Poedjosoedarmo 2006; Subroto *et al,* 2010). Some foreign linguists notice that the Javanese speakers have shifted from the *Basa* variety to Indonesian when they are engaged in conversations with strangers (see Smith-Heffner 2009; Errington 1998; Purwoko 2005). The pattern of their language use is similar to that of the Chinese descents residing in Java, who use the Javanese *Ngoko* with acquaintances but most likely switch to Indonesian when they talk to the unacquainted ones (see Rafferty 1984, 1982; Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo 1982). My inference is that the function of the *Basa* variety as the medium of wider communication in Java is decreasing nowadays. Therefore, what I have written in Table 3 above is not without reasonable ground.

Secondly, the 'role-relation of speakers' (conversational participants), as the second-fundamental factor of domain as Fishman suggests, has been markedly changed in line with the Javanese social development. Due to the influence of modernization and globalization, the social mobility in Java happens very rapidly. The socio-cultural life of the Javanese is no longer as hierarchical as it used to be in the traditional eras. The fact will influence the use of language by its native speakers. Consequently, linguistic stratifications of language as depicted in the *Basa* (*Madya* and *Krama*) variety are no longer interesting for the Javanese to learn, let alone to pass down to their children. Such a social mobility has been illustrated in an old proverb which runs: *Tunggak jarak mrajak, tunggak jati mati*. Metaphorically speaking, it means that, in term of social status, "the common people will stand up high, the aristocrats (*priyayi*) will die out" if gauged by modern criteria. The point is that nowadays people in Java (as in any other places in the world) highly respect 'educational/material achievement' more than 'bloodline or pedigree'

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[8] Jakobson divides linguistic functions into six characteristics, namely: (1) referential, (2) emotive, (3) conative, (4) poetic, (5) phatic, (6) metalingulistic (see Guiraud 1978:5).

or, to say in another modified common proverb, "blood is no longer sticky than watery affluence". The implication is that the Javanese speakers will prefer a modern language, which potentially supports them to gain socio-economic success, to a traditional language, which merely preserves culturally native values.

Thirdly, what Fishman means by 'locale' is nearly similar to "setting" (a common term in sociolinguistics, see footnote 7 again), which is often interpreted as the place and the time (or the spatiotemporal factor) of language use. Unfortunately, most general linguists oftentimes interpret it as the spatial factor (place) only. In addition, they tend to regard it as the most fundamental factor in linguistic domain, instead of 'topic', as originally stated by Fishman. It is, therefore, many linguists (probably including those, who are in a position to carry out language maintenance of Javanese) simplify that the concept of linguistic domain is similar to that of place. To clarify the comprehensive concept of domains, I would like to present ten different kinds of domain as originally proposed by Fishman (1972, 1984/72) [9] in Figure 2 below.

1	Family		Press *	6
2	Play-ground & street ?		Military *	7
3	School *	← **Domains** →	Courts *	8
4	Religion *		Government/administration *	9
5	Literature *		Work sphere ?	10

Figure 2: Linguistic Domains[10]

Not all items presented in Figure 2 above refer to a certain name of 'place' (see no.1, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9). Only three domains (no. 2, 3, 8) may be explicitly related to a certain place. Thus, the crucial role of 'topic' (rather than 'locale') in indentifying a linguistic domain, as suggested by Fishman, proves to be true. Equipped with such a notion, now I would like to question the effectiveness and the seriousness of the Javanese maintenance which have ever been done so far.

4. Linguistic Domains and Language Maintenance

It goes without saying that most linguists think that the most effective way to carry out language maintenance is in a place called school or in the domain of school but they usually take for granted the different concepts of 'locale' (place) and of 'domain'. So do the Javanese linguists in general. They think that if the Javanese language is included in the curriculum and taught at schools (from elementary to high school level) it will be safely preserved. It means the language will be appropriately maintained. I will discuss this matter based on two different grounds. First, it is in terms of practical reason; second, in term of theoretical reason.

First, for practical reasons, Javanese has been taught at schools (from elementary to high school level) in Central Java soon after the Governor launched a regulation, No.895.5/01/2005 (see Yatmana 2006).[11] Similar policy has been carried out at schools (from elementary to secondary level) in East Java, based on the Governor's regulation, No. 118/118/KPTS/013/2005 (see Hoery 2011). In Yogyakarta Special District, Javanese is taught at schools, for grade 1-9, in 2005 (see Kurniasih 2006). Unfortunately, the implementation is not quite carefully planned as reflected in some critical comments. For example, Darni reported that most teachers of Javanese in the Secondary School (SMP) are expert in other disciplines, such as: Indonesian, Mathematics, Physics, *PPKn* and Arts (2006:306). Ekowardono wrote that the real teachers of Javanese in the High School only amount to 6% (2006:403). Some previous studies also show

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[9] To understand his concept carefully, I also check the revised article published in Fishman (1972) and Fishman (1984/72). The list of domains presented in Figure 2 results from those two versions.

[10] I put an asterisk (*) in order to mark some domains in which the Javanese language will **not** be used as the language of communication. The quotation mark (?) indicates that Javanese may be used as the language of communication in those domains. Items without any marker mean that in these domains Javanese has a very potential role in communication.

[11] In addition to 2005 regulation, there is another new regulation no.423.5/5/2010, which was issued by the Governor of Central Java, on 27 Jan 2010, see Sutadi (2012).

that the use of Javanese at schools was quite poor in the decade of 1990s (see Sudaryanto 1991). The Javanese *Ngoko* variety is mostly used by pupils during recess in the play-ground rather than in the classrooms (Hadiatmaja *et al*. 1987). After having read all those reports carefully, I come to an inference that the Javanese language maintenance at school might be in vain or at least ineffective if there is no careful preparation for the implementation.

Second, theoretically speaking, the school is a place or, to borrow Fishman's term, 'locale'. The place or 'setting' is only the third factor of linguistic domain. The most fundamental factor or, to borrow Fishman's word again, 'regulator' of language use in a certain domain is the 'topic'. Now let us check out the use of Javanese as a topic or 'subject' at schools. In Yogyakarta, for instance, Javanese is only being taught as a subject for two teaching hours (about 40 to 50 minutes each teaching hour) per week (see Kurniasih 2006:25).[12] Then, what kinds of topic do the students learn in the classroom? As soon as I took a closer look at a Javanese textbook for Secondary School students, I quickly found out that the materials presented in it were not far different from that in the Indonesian and/or English textbook.[13] The reason is that the design of the textbook must be based on the Competency Based Curriculum, as suggested by the Department of Education, Jakarta. It is, therefore, very interesting for me to realize that the 'topic' for teaching a foreign language is almost similar to that for teaching a native language. The fact leads me to believe that the Javanese students in the classroom have been considered to be foreign to their own mother tongue. The facts I have shown in this section prove that some linguists, who are in charge of maintaining the Javanese language, may have misunderstood or, at least, simplified the fundamental notion of linguistic domains. That domain is the same as 'locale' or place is, of course, misleading.

There is another controversial issue in relation to the 'topic' or 'material' or 'content' of the Javanese teaching at schools. Some scholars highly expect that the teaching of Javanese in the classrooms must not only provide the students with knowledge on language use but also on social etiquettes and native values so that the students will be able to act as well-behaved Javanese persons in the future (see Wibawa 2011, Rahayu 2011, Riyadi 2011). My own inference is that their urgent suggestions and too high expectation prove that, as if, the 'school' is the only domain left for the Javanese scholars to maintain their native language. How poor is the use of the Javanese language in some other minor domains? Let me illustrate it briefly in the following paragraphs.

Out of ten classifications of domain (see Figure 2 again), I regard that there are three major domains in which the Javanese language has a potential role in communication. They are (1) 'family', (2) 'play-ground & street', and (10) 'work sphere'. In my opinion, 'school' is a domain in which Javanese will play a minor role in communication since Indonesian is very dominating in this very moment due to the national policy.

Then, why does the 'school' become very important to be used as a 'locale' (although it is not yet a domain in a pure sense) of the Javanese maintenance? The explanation is simple. According to the study of 'language planning and policy', most efforts of language maintenance are carried out by a language institute or a (national or local) government's agency supported by regulations. The problem is that in a democratic country like Indonesia the language institute or government agency may not regulate the people's language use in any domains out of its jurisdiction. The language use in a private domain, such as 'family' or in a public domain, such as 'play-ground & street', and in a non-government-owned 'work sphere' is completely dependent on the linguistic preference of the language speakers. In other words, no regulation on

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[12] Based on my own observation, the language of instruction used by teachers when teaching all subjects, except Javanese, is Indonesian so that, we can see how little exposure of Javanese for the young students to learn in the classroom is.

[13] See Yatmana & Istiyono (2005). In 2002, I also co-authored an English textbook for the same level of school based on the same curriculum. What we had to do is to mention the purpose of the designed materials on the front pages (in English) of the textbook in line with four skills: listening, reading, speaking and writing (see Purwoko & Hendrarti 2002). The Javanese textbook that I observed presents the same thing but unfortunately it was written in Indonesian.

language use will be effective in those domains. Therefore, the 'school' is the only domain left for the government agency to maintain the Javanese language,[14] as I have stated in one of the previous paragraphs.

From Figure 2, I can show some other domains, namely: (3) 'religion', (4) 'literature', (5) 'press', (6) 'military', (7) 'courts', (9) 'government/administration'; in these domains, Javanese most likely will not be used by its native speakers. Theoretically speaking, there are two different reasons. The first reason is that the national government has passed a policy, supported by regulations, stating that the language of formal communication in some domains (no. 6, 7, 9) is Indonesian (the national language). No vernacular (like Javanese) will be used, unless it is very necessary and urgent in a given situation when Indonesian is not considered to be mutually intelligible between the speaker and the hearer.

The second reason is that, in the domains of (3) 'religion', (4) 'literature' and (5) 'press', there is an open and free competition (or contestation) between Indonesian and Javanese. The result is, of course, predictable that the dominating national language will win the floor in these social markets. In the domain of 'religion', Indonesian becomes the language of most communications although, according to some researchers, Javanese is sometimes used in Islamic preaching (Anasom 2006)[15] or in Catholic rituals and preaching (Sudartomo 2011). In the domain of 'literature', the vitality of Javanese is even declining. Not many works of literature have been published in Javanese, if compared to those in Indonesian nowadays. Only some short stories are written in the Javanese *Ngoko* variety (see Widati 2006). The vitality of Javanese oral literature is even worse. Nowadays some Javanese children songs have rarely been heard in the play-grounds, let alone broadcast on the radio or television (see Kartini (2011). Finally, does the Javanese language play a role in the domain of 'press'? As a matter fact, there is no single newspaper left is published in Javanese. Most commercials on television and in the printed media are in Indonesian, only some on the radio are in Javanese. There are only three Javanese magazines published in poor circulation, namely: *Panyebar Semangat*, *Jayabaya* and *Djaka Lodhang* to cater for 'adult' subscribers. No magazine at all is sold for children (Khotimah 2011). It means that the language maintenance for young readers is truly overlooked or even neglected.

5. Conclusion

Finally, I have to finish this unhappy story of the Javanese language maintenance in all domains. The only appropriate domain left for the Javanese speakers to maintain their own mother tongue, I think, is of 'family' and its 'locale' is at their own home. Unfortunately, most Javanese parents believe that their own language has been declining markedly due to their poor mastery of the *Basa* variety so that they prefer to shift to Indonesian (cf. Errington 1988; Smith-Hefner 2009). My inference is that Javanese will not be easily replaced by Indonesian and will still linger on in a quite long time in the future as long as the native speakers give the priority to the maintenance of the *Ngoko* variety. Some communities have claimed that their members are quite proud of being Javanese though they admit that their mastery of the *Basa* variety is poor if gauged from the traditional norms (see Sukandar 2011; Qalyubi 2011). Probably, the only place that now still becomes the best home of Javanese in traditional sense is in the palace (see Susylowati 2011) but, I believe, it is a very distinguished case.

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[14] I was informed that some local district authorities (Magelang or Pekalongan) singled out a day in week to speak Javanese in government offices. I do not know for sure whether all technical terms in relation to the 'topic' they were talking about are also translated into Javanese.

[15] In special Moslem schools, Arabic is also used as the language of instructions in addition to Indonesian (see Jones 1983).

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