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EDITORS’ NOTE

This international seminar on Language Maintenance and Shift IV (LAMAS IV for short) is a continuation of the previous international seminar with the same theme conducted by the Master Program in Linguistics, Diponegoro University on 18 November 2014.

We would like to extend our deepest gratitude to the seminar committee for putting together the seminar that gave rise to this collection of papers. Thanks also go to the Head and the Secretary of the Master Program in Linguistics Diponegoro University, without whom the seminar would not have been possible.

The table of contents lists all the papers presented at the seminar: The first four papers are those presented by invited keynote speakers. They are Dr. Sugiyono (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, Jakarta, Indonesia), Dr. Zane Goebel (La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia), Prof. Yudha Thianto, Ph.D. (Trinity Christian College, Illinois, USA), Dr. Deli Nirmala, M.Hum (Diponegoro University, Semarang, Indonesia).

In terms of the topic areas, there are 21 papers in applied linguistics, 20 papers in sociolinguistics, 14 papers in theoretical linguistics, 18 papers in discourse/pragmatics, and 13 papers (miscellaneous).

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LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION ON JAVANESE: A SHIFT TOWARDS RECOGNIZING AND CELEBRATING COLLOQUIAL VARIETIES**Thomas Conners**

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Abstract

Javanese has benefitted from a long history of linguistic study. To focus on grammars, Javanese boasts grammars in French by Favre (1866); in Dutch by Kiliaan (1919), Prijohoetomo (1937), Arps et al. (2000); in Indonesian by Suharno (1982), Sudaryanto (1991; ed), Wedhawati et al. (2006); in English by Horne (1961), Keeler (1992), Robson (2014); among others. Although Javanese already has a stable scholarly tradition, the focus has been almost exclusively on the Standard variety, spoken in the principalities of Yogyakarta and Solo, constituting a small sliver of the attested language. Given its vast dialectal variation, there is still a huge need for linguistic research on Javanese. With the advent of establishing language documentation as a branch of linguistics (Himmelman 1991), some progress has been made in the documentation and description of colloquial varieties: for example, Suwadji (1981) on Javanese varieties on the north coast of Central Java; Conners (2008) on Tengger Javanese; Hoogervorst (2010) on Surabayan Javanese; Vander Klok (2012) on Paciran Javanese. These works represent a shift towards the recognition and validation of non-standard varieties of Javanese, which were unnoticed in the past. We advocate for the continuation of this trend. In particular, we present our work on the documentation of two colloquial varieties of Javanese, Malang Javanese and Semarang Javanese, for which the outcome of this project is a reference grammar. We end by highlighting the importance of such documentation, especially of non-standard varieties, for language maintenance: even large languages are susceptible to language endangerment, and Javanese is no exception (e.g. Kurniasih 2006; Smith-Hefner 2009; Cohn et al. 2013).

1. Introduction

Javanese has benefitted from a long history of linguistic study. To focus on grammars, Javanese boasts grammars in French by Favre (1866); in Dutch by Kiliaan (1919), Prijohoetomo (1937), Arps et al. (2000); in Indonesian by Suharno (1982), Sudaryanto (1991), Wedhawati et al. (2006); in English by Horne (1961), Keeler (1984), Robson (2014); among others. Although Javanese already has a stable scholarly tradition, the focus has been almost exclusively on the Standard variety, spoken in the principalities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta/Solo, constituting a small sliver of the attested language. Given its vast dialectal variation, there is still a significant need for linguistic research on Javanese.

With the advent of establishing language documentation as a branch of linguistics (Himmelman 1991) as well as specific funding such as through the *Pusat Perkembangan dan Pembangunan Bahasa* (PPPBB), some progress has been made in the documentation and description of colloquial varieties: for example, Suwadji (1981) on Javanese varieties on the north coast of Central Java; Nothofer (1982) on the western Central Javanese varieties; Conners (2008) on Tengger Javanese; Hoogervorst (2010) on Surabayan Javanese; Vander Klok (2012) on Paciran Javanese. These works represent a shift towards the recognition and validation of non-standard varieties of Javanese, which were relatively unnoticed in the past.

In this paper, we advocate for the continuation of this trend. In particular, we present our work on the documentation of two colloquial varieties of Javanese, Malang Javanese and Semarang Javanese, for which the outcome of this project is a reference grammar. We end by highlighting the importance of such documentation, especially of non-standard varieties, for language maintenance: even large languages are susceptible to language endangerment, and Javanese is no exception (e.g. Kurniasih 2006; Smith-Hefner 2009; Cohn et al. 2013).

2. A historical note on language documentation on Javanese

The Dutch colonial traditional of language study focused largely on Javanese, which was long recognized as the most important language. This applied both in practical terms – because a large majority of the natives lived in Java – and in scientific terms because Javanese was believed to be the most complicated and highly developed of the indigenous languages (Kuitenbrouwer 2013:43). The truly scientific study of Javanese grammar began with T. Roorda’s 1847 Javanese-Dutch dictionary, followed in 1855 with a bilingual Javanese grammar guidebook, and continued in the 19th century with works by H.N. Van der Tuuk, Th.W. Juynboll, and J.J. Meinsma. In all cases, the language that was described was that of the courtly centers of Surakarta, and secondarily Yogyakarta. The tradition was carried on with Dutch and other European scholars in the 20th century, such as J.G. de Casparis, C.C. Berg, L-C. Damais, and P.J. Zoetmuldur. Their approach, however, was philological, and their focus was largely on Old Javanese as opposed to Modern Javanese. In this respect, one must mention Poerbatjaraka as the most significant local scholar of Old Javanese. It is not really until the middle of 20th century, when the Dutch scholar E.M. Uhlenbeck advances the study of the modern language again, from a more modern structural linguistic methodology. Again though, the focus of his work was almost exclusively the standard variety.

More recently, the main scholarly attention has continued the focus on Standard Javanese. The grammars (mentioned above) that are available in various languages are all on Standard Javanese, often only implicitly so – a clear indication of the presumptive dominance of the standard. Recent dictionaries have also focused on Standard Javanese, such as Robson and Wibisono (2002), and Nuraini (2014). Within sociolinguistics, well-known studies such as Errington (1985, 1988, 1998) constitute as the most widely cited.

It is important perhaps to note here a difference between *standard* and *standardized*. What we refer to as the standard variety of Javanese is an idealized version of the language encoded in various references, such as grammars and dictionaries, both bilingual and monolingual. It represents the ‘prestige variety’, in that some version of it is often invoked by speakers, and popularly judged to be *better*, more desirable, or simply *lebih halus*. It is not, however, a standardized language, at least not in the way that say Indonesian, the national language, is. There is no official language planning board that regularizes, systematizes, and publishes principles and rules for Javanese. As such, there are no official spelling guidelines. As well, there is no official dictionary that is published or standardized language material that is used throughout the entire Javanese speaking educational system. All of these, by contrast, exist for Indonesian. The national language further puts significant negative pressure on all local languages, including Javanese. The former head of the *Badan Bahasa*, Anton M. Moeliono, goes so far as to claim “... knowledge of Indonesian is not an automatic affair; it has to be planned, promoted, and monitored at all levels of education, and all domains of its use” (Moeliono 1994: 196). This is to the detriment of Javanese and other local languages (see below).

The *Pusat Perkembangan dan Pembangunan Bahasa* (PPPB; Language Development Board, formerly the *Pusat Bahasa*) produced a number of publications on Javanese varieties from the late 1970s to the early 1990s through projects specific to various locations. For instance, research projects begun in 1976 included West Java, East Java, and DIY (Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta). Later on, projects begun in 1983 included Central Java. However, the goals of PPPB are prescriptive rather than descriptive: in the foreword of Soemarto et al. (1986), the head of PPPB, Anton M. Moeliono at the time writes: “*Tujuan akhir [...] pemakaian bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa daerah dengan baik dan benar untuk berbagai tujuan oleh lapisan masyarakat bahasa Indonesia.*” Outside of this period, and as noted above, the PPPB and its predecessors also explicitly promote Indonesian as opposed to local languages. After those projects ended, additional publications through Indonesian publishers on Javanese varieties have rarely appeared.

Beyond projects through the PPPB, more recent linguistic studies on colloquial varieties of Javanese include Smith-Hefner (1983) and Connors (2008) on Tengger Javanese; Wolff (1983, 1997), Cole et al. (2008) on Peranakan Javanese; Ewing (2005) on Cirebon Javanese; Goebel (2002, 2005, 2010) on code choice with locals and non-locals in Semarang; Hoogervorst (2010) on Surabayan Javanese; Connors (2010) on Banyumasan Javanese; Vander Klok (2012) on Paciran Javanese.

Additionally, although not yet publically available, Connors et al. have created a Javanese Dialectal database based on recordings of naturalistic speech from across Java.¹³

However, there is still a clear need for resources on colloquial varieties of Javanese. The above resources (beyond PPPB) represent focused studies on a particular linguistic phenomena or regional variety; most studies are not large enough to span the breadth necessary to constitute a reference grammar. This is our current goal, which we describe in the following section.

3. Our project: Towards a reference grammar on Semarang and Malang Javanese

Of the grammars mentioned above that are currently available in English, Robson (2002) is the best description of the language. He focuses exclusively on the standard variety, and, by his own admission the volume is ‘modest’ in its coverage. It is, however, the only one that even approaches being a reference grammar. The third edition of the book (Robson 2014) has been altered significantly, with a focus on pedagogy. This puts it more in line with the other English language grammars mentioned, Horne (1961) and Keeler (1984) which are at best pedagogical grammars, and probably best described simply as ‘as basic elementary course’ (Horne 1961:v). Horne is now well over fifty years old, and Keeler thirty years old. There currently exists, therefore, no full reference grammar of Javanese available in English. Humbly, we intend to change this.

The authors are currently undertaking the task of writing a descriptive grammar of Javanese. Given that nearly all past scholarship on Javanese has focused on a very narrow subset of the actual diversity of the language, we have chosen to anchor the grammar on the description of two large, identifiable varieties, the language of Semarang and Malang. Javanese is spoken largely in Central (including DIY) and East Java. Semarang is the capital and largest city of Central Java, with some 1.5 million people. Malang is the second largest city in East Java with a population of about 800,000. The capital of East Java, Surabaya, was not selected due to the large number of Madurese speakers, the increasing number of monolingual Indonesian speakers, and the number of non-Javanese speaking Indonesians – all of which leads to a very interesting but less clear language ecology (cf. Hoogervorst 2010). The selection of Semarang and Malang allows us to highlight two distinct varieties that are both understudied and underdocumented which are nevertheless sufficiently central to their respective regions to allow for a general characterization of the language.

The data on Malang Javanese comes from fieldwork conducted by Thomas Connors variously from 2001 through 2010, with two years residence in Kabupaten Malang in 2002-2003. The data on Semarang Javanese is currently being collected by Jozina Vander Klok. As the goal of the project is to produce a non-prescriptive grammar of colloquial Javanese, the data take the form of recordings of spontaneous naturalistic speech augmented with elicitation to confirm and elaborate on grammatical systems. The grammar will include traditional components of phonology (inventory and processes), morphology (inflectional/derivational processes), and syntax (clause types; noun, adjective, adverb, preposition, and verb phrases), but will also include sections on semantics (tense, aspect, and modal markers, negation) and pragmatics (discourse). We will also devote sections to grammatical characteristics specific to Javanese such as the role of reduplication across categories. Finally, we will incorporate a section on texts in order to highlight distinctions between Malang and Semarang varieties as well as to give complete examples of discourse phenomena.

This being Javanese, it is impossible to produce a socially neutral variety. We will, of course, include a description of the use of speech levels in these two varieties, but another advantage of not describing the courtly varieties is that we can comfortably focus on *ngoko*, or at the very least *ngoko halus*.

4. Importance of recognizing and celebrating colloquial varieties

The differences between Javanese varieties are not insignificant. While globe-spanning varieties of English diverge largely only in phonology and the occasional lexical item (e.g., American *truck* versus British *lorry* or Austral English *chook* versus Anglo-American *chicken*), Javanese varieties vary in phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax, and even in whole grammatical and pragma-linguistic systems. Take for example a simple comparison of (a subset of) the personal pronominal system across several different varieties:

¹³ Available upon request from the authors; soon to be available from the Max Planck Digital Library.

Javanese variety	1SG	2SG
Banten	<i>kula/kite</i>	<i>sire</i>
Banyumas	<i>(i)nyong</i>	<i>sira/rika</i>
Osing	<i>isun</i>	<i>(h)iro/siro/riko</i>
Surakarta	<i>aku</i>	<i>kowé</i>
Surabaya	<i>aku</i>	<i>koen</i>
Tengger	<i>éyang (m)/ isun (f)</i>	<i>sira/rika</i>

These differences are not simply lexical. Varieties differ also in the distribution of personal pronouns, particularly in object-fronting constructions. For example, Surakarta Javanese, *aku* cannot serve to mark the agent in an object fronting construction. There is a lexicalized clitic *tak-*, which serves this function. However, in Banten, both *kula* and *kite* can appear in this construction.

The ISO and Ethnologue go so far as to list a number of varieties of Javanese as distinct languages: Javanese: JAV; Tengger, TES; and Osing, OSI. Whether or not these are most appropriately categorized as dialects or distinct languages (or whether that is even a meaningful distinction) is beyond the scope of this short paper. However, it is interesting to contrast that no other non-creole variety of English is given a distinct category by either the ISO or Ethnologue.

It is striking then, given such diversity across Javanese varieties, that it is really only relatively recently that the non-standard varieties have received much attention. If for no other reason, then for the simple principle of descriptive accuracy, it is crucial to pay attention to non-standard varieties. But of course the need goes well beyond descriptive accuracy.

On a local scale, a better understanding of Javanese varieties gives us a better understanding of the historical spread of Javanese, the nature of its contact with other languages (Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese, Malay); the interaction of Javanese with the national language Indonesian; the role of geography, religion, or politics in language change and development. On a more global scale, understanding the full range of how languages function and change gives us better insight into the human language faculty as a whole. Additionally, crucial cultural information which is lexically or grammatically encoded in one variety, but not in another could be missed if focus remains on a single privileged norm. It could be lost completely if the minority variety were threatened.

Indeed, even Javanese and its varieties, despite being the 10th most populous language in the world, are vulnerable to language endangerment and loss. Recent studies have identified that Javanese is susceptible to potential endangerment in both rural and city environments based on social perceptions as well as language shift (see, e.g., Kurniasih 2006; Smith-Hefner 2009; Zentz 2012; Cohn and Ravindranath 2013). The loss of particular, and unique, language systems is also a potential threat beyond complete language loss or attrition. The speech level system, found in its most highly articulated form in Javanese, and restricted to only several neighboring languages which borrowed some version of it, is a very clear example of such a complete system that is under direct threat.

For these reasons, linguistic scholarship is of utmost importance on Javanese varieties. We believe our grammar on two colloquial varieties of Javanese, Malang and Semarang, will both give a sense of validation and celebration to the respective communities.

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