

## LOCAL LANGUAGES IN INDONESIA: LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE OR LANGUAGE SHIFT?

Abigail C. Cohn\*      Maya Ravindranath  
Cornell University    University of New Hampshire  
acc4@cornell.edu    Maya.Ravindranath@unh.edu

### Abstract

*The choice and subsequent development of Bahasa Indonesia as the national language following the founding of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 is widely cited as a great success story in language planning. With the increased use of Indonesian—both formal (bahasa resmi) and informal (bahasa sehari-hari)—in all facets of daily life, the question arises as to whether Indonesia will continue as a highly multilingual society or move toward monolingualism. We consider this issue from the perspectives of research on language policy, language endangerment, and language ideologies. As a case study, we consider current trends and shifts in the use of Javanese by younger speakers as influenced by the increased use of Indonesian. As Indonesian takes over in more and more domains of communication and intergenerational transmission of Javanese breaks down, we are led to conclude that even a language with over 80 million speakers can be at risk, a trend that has serious implications for all of the local languages of Indonesia.*

Keywords: *Language shift, Indonesian, language policy*

### Abstrak

*Pemilihan dan pengembangan bahasa Indonesia sebagai bahasa nasional setelah pembentukan negara Republik Indonesia pada tahun 1945 telah disebut sebagai satu cerita keberhasilan dalam perencanaan bahasa. Seiring dengan meningkatnya penggunaan bahasa Indonesia, baik bahasa resmi maupun bahasa sehari-hari, dalam semua aspek kehidupan sehari-hari menimbulkan sebuah pertanyaan “Apakah Indonesia akan terus dianggap sebagai masyarakat multibahasa atau akan beralih menuju masyarakat monolingual?” Kami menilik persoalan ini dari berbagai pandangan penelitian tentang kebijakan bahasa, kepunahan bahasa, dan ideologi-ideologi bahasa. Sebagai studi kasus, kami melihat bahwa arah gejala dan perubahan dalam penggunaan bahasa Jawa oleh penutur berusia muda dewasa ini dipengaruhi oleh meningkatnya penggunaan bahasa Indonesia. Seiring dengan semakin besarnya peran bahasa Indonesia dalam berbagai domain komunikasi dan terputusnya transmisi antargenerasi bahasa Jawa, kami dituntut untuk menyimpulkan bahwa sebuah bahasa dengan jumlah penutur lebih dari 80 juta pun dapat terancam punah. Arah gejala ini memiliki implikasi serius untuk semua bahasa daerah di Indonesia.*

Kata kunci: *perubahan bahasa, bahasa Indonesia, kebijakan bahasa*

## INTRODUCTION

In this paper, we explore the history of language policy in Indonesia and consider the implications of the increased use of Indonesian on the maintenance of local languages, particularly those with large speaker populations. This review serves as the background for two projects currently underway, the Basa Urang Project, which looks at language shift in W. Java, focusing particularly on the use of Sundanese in and around Bandung, and the Bahasa Kita project, in which we have developed a questionnaire about language use and attitudes to be used throughout Indonesia.

The choice and development of Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia) as the national language of a vast and varied archipelago at the time of Indonesia's founding in 1945 is often cited as one of the great success stories of language policy and institutional language planning. (See Sneddon 2003a, Paauw 2009, and Zentz 2012, among others, for recent discussion and review of literature.) Three generations past the founding of the Republic of Indonesia and the subsequent promotion of the national language, we can now examine the state of the Indonesian language against the backdrop of the many languages of Indonesia.

The first proclamation of Indonesian (a dialect of Malay that had been used throughout the archipelago as a *lingua franca*) as the future national language of Indonesia took place in 1928 at the 2nd Indonesian Youth Congress: Sumpah Pemuda. Their pledge was to acknowledge "one motherland" and "one nation" and to uphold one "language of unity, the Indonesian language."

As with other new, post-colonial nations, the choice of a national language and its development and promotion were seen as central to nation building in Indonesia. A successful national language was seen as critical to education and mass communication. When compared to the contention surrounding the promotion of a national language in some neighboring countries (e.g. the Philippines), the choice of Indonesian has been described as both straightforward and successful. It was widely agreed that choice of the prior colonial language, Dutch, did not make sense, and English did not have a strong enough presence to be a logical choice. (In this regard, an interesting comparison can be made between Indonesia and Malaysia, where English has played a larger role. See Baldauf and Nguyen 2012 for an overview of language policy throughout Asia and the Pacific.) There was wide agreement that the culturally dominant, majority regional language, Javanese, would not serve as an accessible, open democratic, national language. Rather, Malay, which had already served for many centuries as a *lingua franca* throughout the archipelago, was an obvious choice. Language policy during the Japanese occupation in World War II further paved the way for this decision, as Malay was the language of education during this period.

Since independence, Indonesian has increasingly been spoken as a second language by most of the population and more recently increasingly as a first language as well, coexisting alongside other native languages in the archipelago. Lewis, Simons, and Fenning (2013) identify several hundred languages (706 distinct languages at the current count) that are spoken throughout the archipelago. While in some cases the languages are very closely related, none are mutually intelligible; that is, they are described as distinct languages, not dialects. Most of these seven hundred languages are members of the Austronesian language family and thus related to the languages of the Philippines, Malaysia, the indigenous languages of Taiwan, as well as the languages of the Pacific Islands. In Eastern Indonesia, where there is the greatest diversity, many of the languages are Papuan, related to the languages of Papua New Guinea. Roughly 10 percent of the languages of the world are spoken in Indonesia, making it one of the most multilingual nations in the world. A glimpse of this richness is seen in Figure 1.

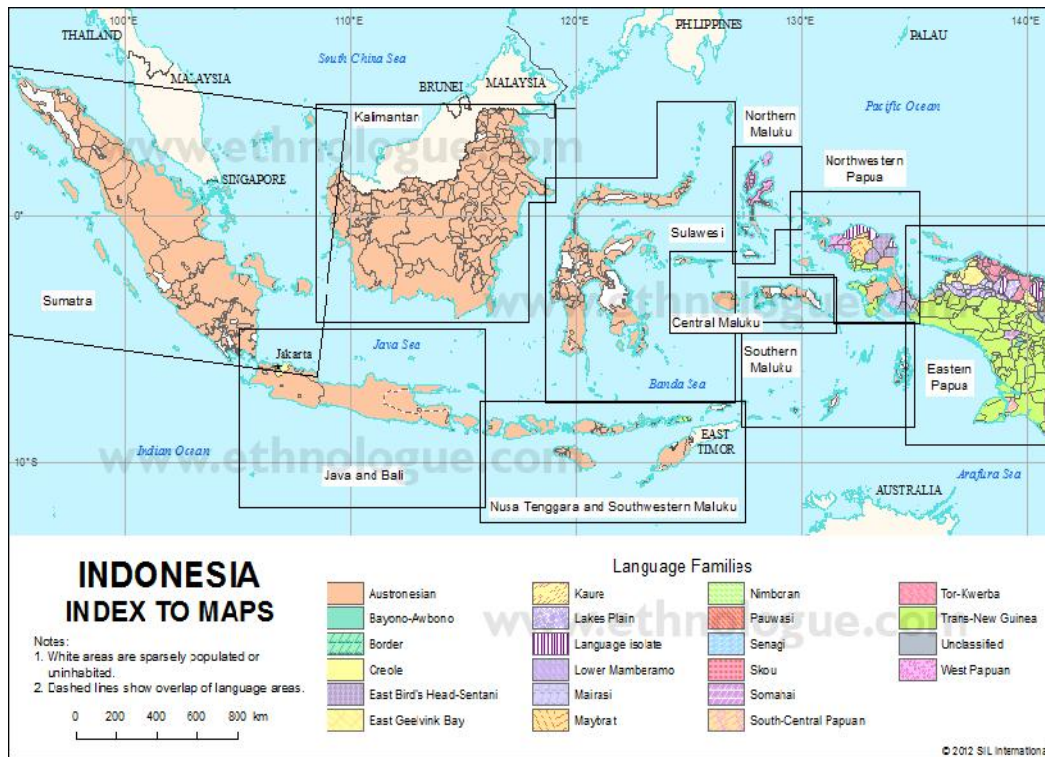


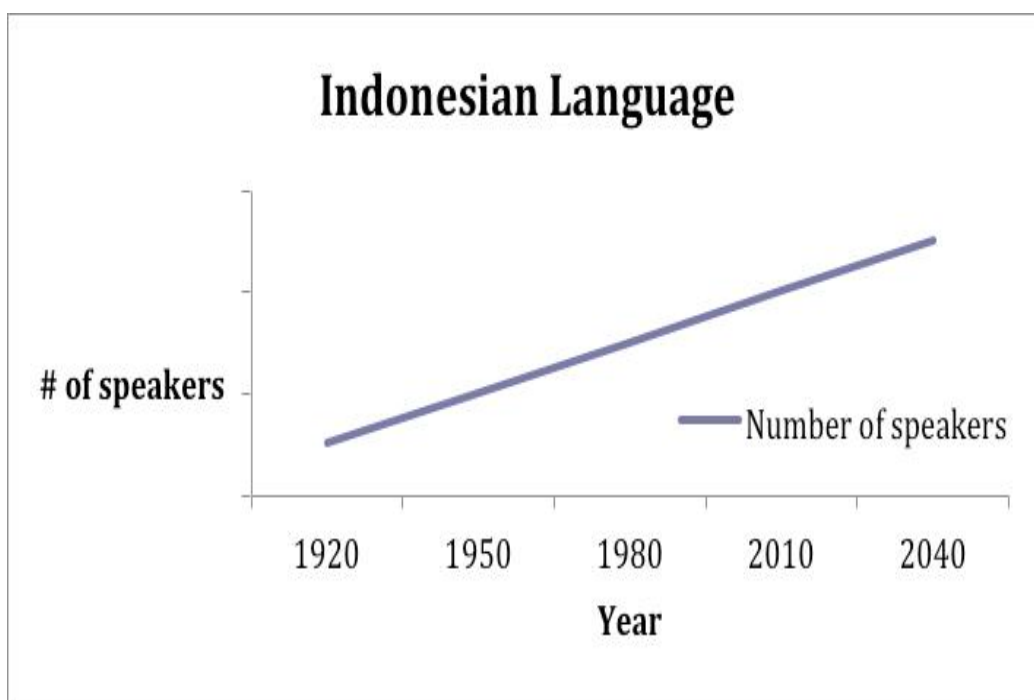
Figure 1. Indonesia Index Map (from Lewis et al. 2013)

The complex linguistic landscape of Indonesia that holds three generations after the establishment of the republic is a dynamic one, and the interaction between the development of Indonesian as the national language and the maintenance of vernacular languages at the local and regional levels has resulted in a number of different types of language shift scenarios (Himmelman 2010, Anderbeck 2012) throughout Indonesia. It goes without saying that both Indonesian and local languages will only be maintained if a significant part of the population remains bi- or multilingual. Although many speech communities in what is now Indonesia have maintained stable multilingualism for generations, numerous researchers now report on the use of Indonesian in an increasing number of domains and the question arises as to whether stable multilingualism will continue to be maintained.

To frame this question, it is useful to think about how a nation is defined as mono- or multilingual. Consider, by way of comparison, the situation in the United States. The United States is perceived as a largely monolingual nation. While it is widely agreed that English is the national language, nowhere is this written or stipulated. There is no formal national language policy and no statement about language in the constitution.<sup>1</sup> The United States has a historic pattern of immigration and transitional bilingualism followed by rapid language shift within one or two generations (leaving aside the issues of indigenous populations and languages spoken by these communities). This pattern of rapid language assimilation contributes to the metaphor of the USA as a “melting pot”. Although there is actually a relatively high level of bilingualism in the USA, with recent figures showing that close to one fifth of Americans aged 5 and older speak another language besides English at home (United States Census Bureau 2010), these patterns of bilingualism are at the level of the community and many of these communities are not seen as part of the mainstream.<sup>2</sup> In terms of societal attitudes, bilingualism is widely seen as negative. Bilingualism is often thought to impede assimilation to the mainstream, access to education, good jobs, and so forth, a prevalent societal ideology that does not accord with much

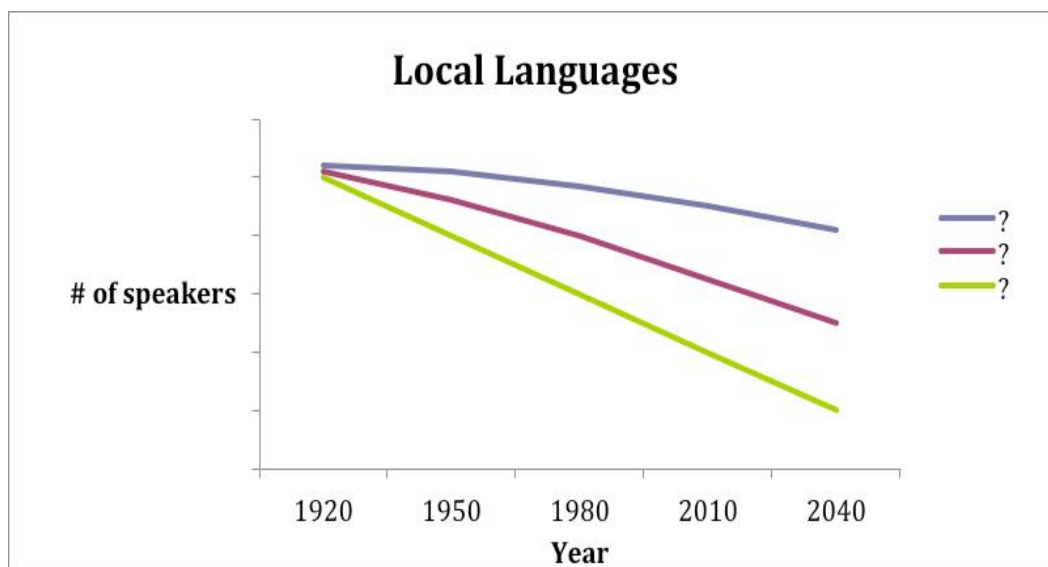
of the research on bilingualism (see Wolfram 1998 on issues of language ideology in the US and work by Bialystock and colleagues, e.g. Bialystock et al. 2012, on cognitive benefits of bilingualism.)

In terms of official languages, Indonesia is monolingual as only Indonesian has the status of a national language. There is no official national multilingualism, although the local languages of Indonesia are protected by the constitution (in contrast to countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Vanuatu, and India, where the nation itself is defined as bi- or multi-lingual). Thus we ask the following questions: How has the increased used of Indonesian as a second language and increasingly a first language affected widespread societal multilingualism in Indonesia? Has this resulted in stable or increased multilingualism or is a shift underway toward greater monolingualism? As the number of speakers of Indonesian has increased over recent decades (as schematized in Figure 2), what has happened to the number of speakers of local languages? Is Indonesian expanding at the expense of local languages?



**Figure 2. Increase in the number of speakers of Indonesian (schematic)**

A situation of stable bilingualism would show a relatively stable number of speakers of regional languages as the number of speakers of Indonesian increases, as schematized by the blue line in Figure 3; while transitional bilingualism would show a trade-off between the number of speakers of Indonesian and the number of speakers of local or regional languages as schematized by the green line. The latter would suggest that Indonesia is shifting from a multilingual nation to a monolingual nation. This is the question we explore in this paper.



**Figure 3. Effect of increase in the number of speakers of Indonesian on number of speakers of local languages (schematic)**

Has the development and increased use of Indonesian in all spheres of society affected the use of the other native languages of Indonesia? In many ways this question has to be considered from a variety of both “top-down” and “bottom-up” perspectives, including language policy and planning decisions at the national level, and multilingualism and diglossia at the local level. The growing interest in and rhetoric about language vitality and language endangerment must also be considered. In this paper we take Javanese as a case study of how local language use is affected by national language policy and local language ideology. These different ways of looking at the linguistic situation in Indonesia can be understood as a reflection of different stages in the recent history of language planning in Indonesia, as laid out in Table 1.

**Table 1. Stages in development of linguistic situation in Indonesia**

I	Establishment and Development of Indonesian	~ 1920s – 1940s	Language Policy
II	Diffusion of Indonesian	~ 1950s – 1980s	Multilingualism Diglossia
III	Post diffusion	~1990s – 2000s	Language vitality
IV	Long term outcome	Today and beyond	Stable multilingualism or language endangerment?

In the early parts of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, before the founding of the republic, issues of language policy were at the fore as the focus was on the establishment and development of the national language. From the 1950’s to the 1980’s the diffusion of Indonesian was a central concern of the national government (Table 1, I). We first briefly discuss these issues (as much prior literature discusses these language policy matters). The diffusion and increased use of Indonesian resulted in increased multilingualism, and the development of diglossia in Indonesia (Table 1, II). Finally, since the 1990’s there has been increasing concern throughout the world about the loss of linguistic diversity, and related issues of local language maintenance, including indigenous minority languages. We take up these issues and consider how the languages of Indonesia are faring in the context of these global concerns, focusing in particular on the fate of large languages, those with over a million speakers. We then discuss the situation of Javanese as

one example of local language shift and we conclude with implications and next steps, including our Bahasa Kita project.

## **ESTABLISHMENT AND DIFFUSION OF INDONESIAN AS THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF INDONESIA**

The adoption, establishment, and development of Indonesian as the national language of Indonesia were accomplished through government policy, with the establishment of the Pusat Bahasa dan Budaya (now the Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa or Badan Bahasa). Language policy and its implementation were seen as central both during the Sukarno era and during the New Order. (In addition to Sneddon 2003a, Paauw 2009, and Zentz 2012, see also Anwar 1980, Dardjowidjodjo 1998, Errington 1986, 1998a. For a political science perspective on the development of Indonesian as a national language, the reader is referred to Anderson 1991. For discussion of the linguistic situation in the post-New Order era, the reader is referred to Foulcher et al. 2012.) Central goals were the development of Indonesian as the language of education, government, and public discourse. Census data from the later decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century speak to the success of these initiatives, as discussed by Steinhauer 1994 where by 1990, over 90% of the population aged 10-49 reported knowledge of Indonesian.

The diffusion of Indonesian has obviously resulted in the increased use of Indonesian in a variety of spheres. Less is known about how this increased use of Indonesian has affected the use of local languages. In the 1970's and 1980's much attention was paid to the success of the adoption of Indonesian. At the time the concern was whether native speakers of culturally and politically dominant local languages such as Javanese would choose to become fluent in and use Indonesian beyond those spheres where it was proscribed.

This concern is reflected in Nababan's (1985) study "Bilingualism in Indonesia: Ethnic Language Maintenance and the Spread of the National Language." Nababan reports on a 1980 survey of bilingualism and finds that, among adults, if their first language is a vernacular language then, in most cases, they also speak Indonesian; but if their first language is Indonesian, they usually do not know a vernacular language. Among children, he finds that whether Indonesian is their first language or second language, they also know a vernacular language. Nababan (1985) interprets these findings as highlighting the success of the adoption of Indonesian and as a reassurance for those who think the use of vernacular languages is negatively affected by the increased use of Indonesian:

This can be interpreted as a reassuring factor for people who fear that the use of the vernaculars is decreasing and that they will die out. (1985:7)

The results of the survey have indicated that even though Indonesian is increasingly acquired as first language, and that Indonesian is making inroads on the traditional domains of the vernacular, there seems to be no immediate likelihood that the vernaculars will die out. (1985:17)

[Thus] the rapid development and spread of Indonesian is no threat to the maintenance of the vernaculars of ethnic languages in the country. (1985:17).

While this was taken as reassuring at the time, as we discuss below, shifts in the use of Javanese since that time have been rapid and pervasive across different levels of society. To understand the issues implicit in Nababan's discussion with respect to individual language choice, we need to think more fully about what it means for a speaker to be bi- or multilingual. In the case of Indonesia, we need to know more about how and when Indonesian is used, and how these choices relate to the use of different language styles or registers in different domains. This is the topic we turn to next.

## MULTILINGUALISM IN INDONESIA

There are many different ways that a person can be bilingual. A “balanced” bilingual is usually described as someone who has full mastery of two languages and can use the languages interchangeably in any situation. In point of fact, most bilinguals may use either language in a given situation, but typically the choice of language is affected by at least the situation and addressee(s), along with a variety of other factors. Additionally, if language shift is occurring, we assume that the language choices of individuals in any given situation are changing over time. Indeed, we can’t talk about language choices of a bilingual speaker separately from the community they function in. Closely related to these questions are the issues of language choice based on language style or degree of formality.

Every speaker, monolinguals included, masters a variety of styles of speech, the use of which depend variably on addressee, context, and other factors. Most basically we can speak in more informal or formal styles (also called “registers”) with the different styles generally falling along a continuum of variable pronunciations, choice of words, and syntactic features. Although this informal-formal distinction is sometimes equated with spoken vs. written language, this comparison is really not accurate, since it is possible both to speak very formally (as is often the case in public speeches) and to write very informally, as is increasingly the case with electronic communication such as texting and e-mail, which tend to mimic informal styles of spoken language although they are conveyed through a written medium. It is also not possible to equate informal with “rude” and formal with “polite”, though the terms *kasar* ‘rude’ and *sopan* ‘polite’ are often used in Indonesia to refer to informal and formal registers of language respectively. While speaking too informally in a formal situation or to someone of higher social status is considered *kurang sopan* ‘lacking in politeness’; speaking too formally in an informal situation or to a close friend or family member is also considered rude. When the different registers that a speaker is switching between are actually distinct languages, this switching is known as code-switching (as opposed to style-shifting, which is usually reserved for shifting between varieties of one language). Moreover, if the choice of linguistic code in formal vs. informal situations is highly codified at the national level, this is referred to as diglossia, where two different but historically related linguistic codes are used in a largely complementary manner (and usually labeled H for ‘high’ and L for ‘low’). This situation of highly codified bilingualism was first described by Ferguson (1959, as quoted by Sneddon 2003b: 519), who defined diglossia in the following way:

...a relatively stable language situation in which [...] there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety [...] which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

Errington (1986), Sneddon (2003b), and others have argued that Indonesia exhibits a clear case of diglossia, with an H variety of Indonesian, “*bahasa resmi*” and an L variety, “*bahasa sehari-hari*.” Both Errington and Sneddon point out that Indonesia’s diglossia differs from Ferguson’s original definition in that the H and L varieties of Indonesian exist along a continuum, with speakers using more or less of particular linguistic features depending on context. Sneddon’s characterization of use of L vs. H in Indonesian is summarized in Table 2:

**Table 2. Diglossia in Indonesian (following Sneddon 2003b: 521)**

L (bahasa sehari-hari)	H (bahasa resmi)
instruction to servants	government, administration, & the law
conversations with family, friends, colleagues	formal situations, such as speeches and lectures
captions on political cartoons	literature, poetry and most novels
	most of the mass media
	medium of education at all levels
choice is based on both addressee and situation	

These style or register differences refer to varieties of Indonesian, but many speakers in Indonesia are also making additional use of regional languages in these same domains. As Sneddon (2003b: 520) notes “The occurrence of many regional languages used alongside the national language adds a further dimension to diglossia in Indonesia.” Thus, for example, in the case of Javanese, the use of speech levels (the informal *Ngoko* ‘low register’ at one end and the most formal *Krama*, ‘high register’ at the other, with differing degrees of formality in-between) is already highly codified. Recent work discussed further below looks at the additional interaction between Javanese and Indonesian. The most prevalent trend appears to be a tendency for formal styles of Indonesian to replace the use of *Krama*.

Thus, the situation is much more complicated than just asking whether speakers are monolingual or bilingual or what range of variation exists between informal and formal ways of using a particular language. Rather there is interaction between the two dimensions of language choice and register choice. Before developing these points in the context of use of Javanese, we briefly consider the issue of language endangerment and language vitality.

### ISSUES OF LANGUAGE VITALITY, THE SITUATION IN INDONESIA

At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, attention turned to the risk of endangerment and loss faced by minority languages of the world. Krauss (1992), among others, highlighted evidence of the acceleration of the rate of language endangerment and loss. Krauss argued that any language with fewer than 100,000 speakers should be considered at risk. Around this time, UNESCO started a project to create the *UNESCO Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger* and new foundations were formed to support field work and documentation of endangered languages. *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009, 16<sup>th</sup> edition, <http://www.ethnologue.com>) present a startling figure, highlighting the sheer number of “small” languages in the world that may be at greatest risk of endangerment: “It turns out that 389 (or nearly 6%) of the world’s languages have at least one million speakers and account for 94% of the world’s population. By contrast, the remaining 94% of languages are spoken by only 6% of the world’s people.”

Fewer than 20 of the 706 languages spoken in Indonesia have at least a million speakers, leaving hundreds of small languages in Indonesia that are likely to be at risk given their size alone. Correspondingly, recent work has attempted to assess language vitality of Austronesian languages and Indonesian languages (Florey 2010, Anderbeck 2012), largely focusing on languages with small speaker populations. It is now widely agreed that languages with small numbers of speakers are at risk, but what about major regional languages? Most accounts consider languages with over a million speakers “safe.” In Indonesia, based on the most recent figures in Lewis et al. (2013), there are 19 languages with over a million speakers (notably all in Western Indonesia). These are listed starting with the largest, Javanese, in Table 3. How are these languages faring? In Ravindranath and Cohn (2014), we further take up this question, looking at the degree to which there is a correlation between risk of endangerment and language size, and concluding, in agreement with Anderbeck (2012), that even a large speaker population does not protect against language shift.



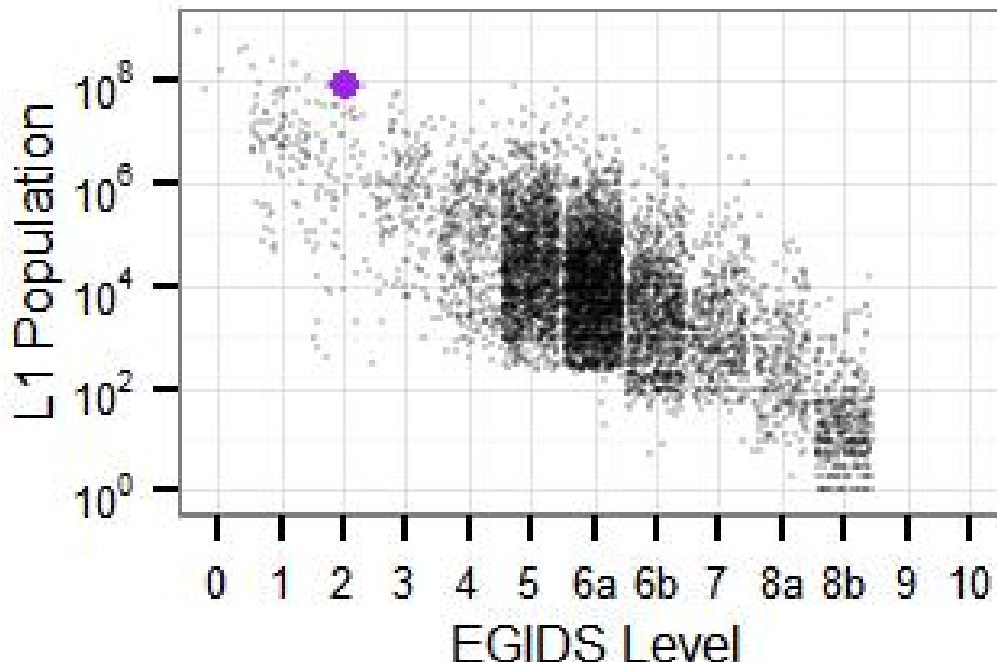
**Table 3. Spoken languages of Indonesia with over 1 million speakers  
(based on Lewis et al. 2013)**

Language	Region	Population	EGIDS number
Java	Java and Bali	84,300,000	5 Written
Sunda	Java and Bali	34,000,000	5 Written
Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia)		22,800,000	1 National
Madura	Java and Bali	13,600,000	5 Written
Minangkabu	Sumatra	5,530,000	5 Written
Musi	Sumatra	3,930,000	3 Trade
Aceh	Sumatra	3,500,000	3 Trade
Banjar	Kalimantan	3,500,000	3 Trade
Bugis	Sulawesi	3,500,000	6b Threatened
Bali	Java and Bali	3,330,000	5 Written
Betawi	Java and Bali	2,700,000	6b Threatened
Malay, Central	Sumatra	2,350,000	5 Written
Sasak	Nusa Tenggara	2,100,000	5 Written
Batak Toba	Sumatra	2,000,000	5 Written
Malay, Makassar	Sumatra	1,880,000	3 Trade
Makasar	Sulawesi	1,600,000	6b Threatened
Batak Dairi	Sumatra	1,200,000	5 Written
Batak Simalungun	Sumatra	1,200,000	5 Written
Batak Mandailing	Sumatra	1,100,000	Unknown

#### **PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE AND TRANSMISSION: THE CASE OF JAVANESE**

In assessing the language of Java, Adelaar (2010: 25) writes that “In spite of their large speech communities, the Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese languages are actually endangered in that some of their domains of usage are being taken over by Indonesian, and, to a lesser extent, in that they are not always passed on to the next generation.” In this section, we consider this question more closely by looking at the case of Javanese.

Javanese is by far the most widely spoken local language in Indonesia and by most counts, it is also the most widely spoken first language in Indonesia (surpassing Indonesian, though it is difficult to get an accurate estimate of the number of first language speakers of Indonesian). The current estimated number of speakers of Javanese is 84.3 million (Lewis et al. 2013), making it the 10<sup>th</sup> most widely spoken language in the world.<sup>4</sup> Although it is the only language in this group that is not a national or official language of a country, on the EGIDS vitality scale, Javanese is rated as 2 (Provincial), at the “safe” end of the scale. Its position as one of the most widely spoken languages in the world can be seen in its location in the “language cloud” locating individual languages in the space created by plotting EGIDS levels against language speaker population for the languages of the world (available for each individual language entry in the current online edition of *Ethnologue*). The factors that favor strong maintenance of Javanese include, into addition to the size of the speaker population, the existence of dense speaker communities and the cultural and political dominance of the Javanese people. If any language of Indonesia is “safe”, it seems that Javanese should be. In fact, in the 1980’s there was concern both about whether Javanese people would learn Indonesian and whether Indonesian was overly influenced by Javanese.



**Figure 4. Javanese in the language cloud (<http://www.ethnologue.com/cloud/jav>)**

However, although it seems difficult to call a language with 84 million speakers “endangered” a number of recent studies demonstrate rapidly shifting language use patterns and lack of intergenerational transmission of Javanese, it is starting to become clear that even Javanese may be at risk of language endangerment. We consider four aspects of language shift in Javanese, as follows: 1. Shift away from use of Krama (Errington 1998b, G. Poedjosoedarmo 2006, Setiawan 2012); 2. Class, gender, and urban/rural differences in language choices (Smith-Hefner 2009, Setiawan 2012, Kurniasih 2006); 3. Broader social perspectives on linguistic choices and shift (Smith-Hefner 2009); and 4. Effects of globalization and increased use of English (Zentz 2012).

One indicator of the successful intergenerational transmission of Javanese is maintenance of the full richness of its linguistic registers. Yet, in the 1970s, it had already been observed that the use of Krama was decreasing, and often in situations where Krama would have been used in the past, Indonesian was used instead. Smith-Hefner (2009: 58) observes “What the census figures can only hint at are two important developments: first, the gradual but continuing expansion of Indonesian into domains which were previously the province of Javanese, and, second, the negative effects of this encroachment on use of the formal styles of the language.”

Poejosoedarmo (2006:113) “The Effect of Bahasa Indonesia as a Lingua Franca on the Javanese Speech Levels and Their Functions” highlights these changes, observing, “Javanese, it would appear, is in no danger of dying out. However, what the statistics fail to show is that competence in using the polite form of the Javanese language is falling rapidly.” The effects of increased use of Indonesian result in confusion between Krama levels, reduced vocabularies and substitutions from Indonesian. She then goes on to say:

However, the most far reaching effect. . . is that many people, aware that they are not very competent at manipulating the levels, simply use the Indonesian language instead of Javanese in contexts where it is necessary to be formal and polite. (2006:117)

. . . observations suggest that Indonesian is replacing the Krama level of Javanese for many of its functions and that many young people, even those for whom Javanese is the language of the home, cannot use the polite levels correctly.” (2006:119)

Her observations highlight a type of linguistic insecurity among young speakers of Javanese, whose concern over being *sopan* has resulted in avoidance of the higher speech levels in Javanese for many younger speakers, and accelerated shift toward Indonesian.

Setiawan (2012), in *Children’s Language in a Bilingual Community in East Java*, similarly finds decreasing use of Krama among children speakers in three East Java communities, although in contrast to Poedjosoedarmo his outlook for the future of Javanese is “bleak.” Comparing children in a city, town, and village, Setiawan finds that urban children are more likely to report using only Indonesian as compared to their town and village counterparts, who are more likely to report using a combination of Indonesian and Javanese (Ngoko).

Kurniasih (2006), in “Gender, Class and Language Preference: A case study in Yogyakarta”, looks at the effect of class and gender on the language choice and use of Javanese and/or Indonesian. She finds that “Young Javanese [in Yogyakarta] are shifting in language use from Javanese to Indonesian (and to some extent from High Javanese to Low Javanese)” (2006:2). The patterns of usage she finds show that both children and adults fall along a continuum from most Javanese to most Indonesian as follows: Low Javanese – Low & High Javanese – Low Javanese & Indonesian - Low & High Javanese & Indonesian – Indonesian. Among school-aged children, she finds that language use is determined by both gender and class, as shown in Table 4.

**Table 4. Pattern of language use by children in the home environment (following Kurniasih 2006, Table 3: 13) LJ: Low Javanese, HJ: High Javanese, Ind: Indonesian**

Pattern of lang spoken	Name of language	Working Class (total: 40)		Middle Class (total: 68)	
		Girls (19) %	Boys (21) %	Girls (35) %	Boys (33) %
				Girls (35) %	Boys (33) %
1.	LJ	0	0	0	0
2.	LJ + HJ	30	81	0	0
3.	LJ + Ind	25	5	32	48
4.	LJ + HJ + Ind	45	14	11	43
5.	Ind	0	0	57	9

Working class children use more Javanese, while middle class children use more Indonesian. Looking at gender, boys use more Javanese, while girls use more Indonesian. Kurniasih (2006:13) observes: “The middle class girls have the strongest inclination to use only Indonesian, while the working class girls have a tendency to include Indonesian in their linguistic repertoire.” At school she also finds addressee-based differences, with working class children using Indonesian with teachers, but Ngoko with classmates, while middle class children, especially girls, tend to use Indonesian with everyone. Kurniasih suggests that part of this difference lies in the fact that working class children are usually in families with denser family networks since they live with or in close proximity to extended family members. “The maintenance of Javanese is dependent on the input of family members – the home is where

language is instilled and reinforced – in particular the contribution of older persons, such as grandparents, uncles and aunts” (Kurniasih 2006:15). Mobility and “future orientation” are also important factors. Not only are middle class speakers more mobile, with greater exposure to different language varieties, but middle class families also see education as a key to future goals, and fluency in Indonesian as a key to education. This effect of future orientation can be seen by comparing patterns of language use between parents and other adults (Table 5) with patterns of language between parents and children (Table 6).

**Table 5. Pattern of language use reported by parents (following Kurniasih 2006: 13, Table 5) LJ: Low Javanese, HJ: High Javanese, Ind: Indonesian**

Pattern of lang spoken	Name of language	Working Class (total: 40)		Middle Class (total: 68)	
		Mothers %	Fathers %	Mothers %	Fathers %
1.	LJ	0	0	0	0
2.	LJ + HJ	37	76	0	0
3.	LJ + Ind	0	0	5	2
4.	LJ + HJ + Ind	63	24	95	98
5.	Ind	0	0	0	0

Among adults, we also see class and gender differences. The middle class parents of both sexes almost all use Low & High Javanese as well as Indonesian; while in the case of the working class parents, the majority of mothers show this pattern; while the majority of fathers are reported being more oriented to Javanese using Low & High Javanese. What is really striking is the difference seen in the patterns of language use of the parents toward their children.

**Table 6. Pattern of language use by parents to children (following Kurniasih 2006: 17, Table 6) LJ: Low Javanese, HJ: High Javanese, Ind: Indonesian**

Pattern of lang spoken	Name of language	Working Class (total: 40)		Middle Class (total: 68)	
		Mothers %	Fathers %	Mothers %	Fathers %
1.	LJ	0	0	0	0
2.	LJ + HJ	19	60	0	0
3.	LJ + Ind	42	17	4	24
4.	LJ + HJ + Ind	39	23	8	37
5.	Ind	0	0	88	39

As seen in Table 6, there is a large difference between mothers and fathers with both working class and middle class mothers using Indonesian in their repertoire. This is particularly striking for the middle class mothers, 88% of whom use Indonesian with their children. Especially noteworthy is that the mothers’ patterns of language use with older members of the family are different from those with their children. Kurniasih (2006:17) observes “about 95% of middle class mothers claimed using both Low and High Javanese together with Indonesian, but about 88% of them chose to use only Indonesian to speak to their children. They reported using Low and High Javanese to older members of the family such as grandparents, neighbors, and older colleagues at work.” It is not clear from these data alone whether it is the children or mothers driving the linguistic choices, but Smith-Hefner’s (2009) study, discussed below, suggests that it may be mothers, as much as daughters, driving this shift. The parents in this study thus are a *pivot generation* in terms of shifting their linguistic patterns when they talk to older or younger speakers. (See Ravindranath 2009 for discussion of similar phenomena.)

Kurniasih's findings are further elucidated by Smith-Hefner (2009) in "Language shift, gender, and ideologies of modernity in Central Java, Indonesia", who looked at the role of social attitudes on language choice. The study included both a survey and interviews with college students and recent graduates from Universitas Gadjadara and Universitas Islam Indonesia in Yogyakarta in order to address issues of social attitudes and language shift. "Recent changes in possibilities for social and status mobility linked to language use have challenged traditional language ideologies and have led Javanese men and women to develop different language strategies and patterns of interaction" (Smith-Hefner 2009:57).

Of particular relevance to our discussion are students' responses to the question of what language they use with their parents and grandparents versus their planned language use with future children. First consider Smith-Hefner's finding reproduced here in Table 7. Overall, as seen in Chart A, we see a striking shift from patterns of language use with older speakers and projected language use with future children. As in Kurniasih's study, there are also gender differences, broken down in Chart C, which shows women shifting more to Indonesian than men, both with their parents and their expected future children.

**Table 7. Reported Indonesian language use by University Student Respondents (Smith-Hefner 2009, chart A, 65) and broken down by gender (chart C, 67)**

Chart A		
BI use with grandparents		22/206 (11%)
BI use with parents		25/199 (13%)
Plan to use BI with own children		123/198 (62%)
Chart C		
	Male	Female
BI use with grandparents	10/105 (10%)	12/101 (12%)
BI use with parents	8/104 (8%)	17/95 (18%)
Plan to use BI with own children	50/97 (52%)	73/101 (72%)

Based on surveys and interviews, Smith-Hefner links these patterns of linguistic behavior with social attitudes and goals of young people. She observes the following:

Survey data which indicate Javanese women's greater preference for Indonesian must be viewed within the context of new social and educational opportunities for young people and their differential impact on gender ideologies and the symbolic valuation of language resources. (Smith-Hefner 2009:67)

Javanese women's shift to Indonesian and away from formal Javanese can also be seen as resistance to a traditional gender ideology that positions women in the domestic sphere and as subservient to men. (Smith-Hefner 2009:72)

In the Javanese case the cluster includes not only gender, but social expressivity, middle-class identity, and the perceived ideals of modernity. (Smith-Hefner 2009:72)

Together Smith-Hefner, Kurniasih, and Setiawan paint a picture of pivotal language shift reflecting rapidly changing social attitudes and social goals, driven in particular by the language use patterns of urban, middle class women and their daughters.

Another increasingly important factor in language choice is the role of globalization and increased use of English in many spheres of Indonesian society. Zentz (2012:17) in *Global Language Identities and Ideologies in an Indonesian University* explores "globalization's local manifestations, language nationalization and language shift, and language learners' identities and motivations". Zentz investigates how globalization has impacted local language ecologies in Central Java, Indonesia. She finds a three-way tension between local identity, national identity

and globalization. In terms of national language policy Indonesia has continued “efforts to align national borders with linguistic borders” (2012:24); she quotes the Indonesian government position: “*Mencintai bahasa daerah, memakai bahasa nasional, mempelajari bahasa asing.*” (‘Love local languages, use the national language, study foreign languages.’)

Zentz highlights the multifaceted role of English in terms of social indexicality, “commodified linguistic resources”, economic interests and values, and educational policy and particularly internationalization of state education standards. In Zentz’s study, it is attitudes about English more than its actual use that affect the linguistic ecology. She finds that the actual effects on language use are somewhat peripheral (except among subgroups who are really fluent), but the social and economic values are clear. Thus this is another level of influence on the perceived value of local varieties of language.

Together, shifts away from Krama, shifts from Javanese to Indonesian more generally, and increased interest in and orientation to English, all contribute to what appears to be dramatic and rapid shifts in intergenerational transmission from current Javanese speakers to their current and future children.

## CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

It is generally agreed that Indonesian as a national language is a successful example of language planning and language standardization in the interest of nation building. Grimes (1996:724) asks: “Should Indonesian be a force for unity at the expense of the diversity of existing languages and cultures, or should national unity be built on a foundation that accommodates and appreciates ethnolinguistic diversity?” The evidence from Javanese underscores his implication that there is a trade off between the success of a national language and vitality of local vernaculars.

Anderbeck (2012), in discussing Gorontalo, a language with one million speakers, asks the question of whether languages with large speaker populations can be “too big to fail”. The evidence from Javanese suggests that size alone will not lead to language maintenance. Languages with large speaker populations have the advantage of a more heterogenous speaker population, and the likelihood that shifts in language dynamics will not lead as quickly to an irreversible outcome. In addition, languages with large speaker populations are more likely to be written, and already have historical records and documentation. Nevertheless, rapid language shift of the type that we discuss above will have a profound impact. Large languages, even one such as Javanese with 84 million speakers, are at risk of greatly reduced numbers of fluent speakers and loss of the full richness of linguistic knowledge and tradition, although there may be many ways in which Javanese continues to be vital and integral to the linguistic ecology (as highlighted by Musgrave n.d., Goebel 2005, Zentz 2012, and others).

Language is not a monolithic entity; rather it resides in a system of linguistic and social ecology (in the sense discussed by Mufwene 2012). The impact of shifts in patterns of use may be non-uniform across facets of the language, as in the case of Krama vs. Ngoko, or might disproportionately affect certain segments of the population, such as the more rapid patterns of shift seen in middle class women. At the same time, different languages already serve distinct social and cultural functions. As pointed out by Zentz (2012), local, national, and global languages offer different opportunities linguistically and socially.

The situation of language endangerment worldwide has demonstrated the critical importance of language documentation. What the complexity of the Javanese situation highlights is the need not only for documentation, but also for studies that address language use and language attitudes. Fuller study of local patterns of language use will help us to understand the complex factors that contribute to language vitality. Ideally such studies will be able to both document the rate of change by looking at generational differences in language use patterns, as well as examine the factors that contribute to change.

We are undertaking two projects to contribute to these goals. In the first, Bahasa Kita, we have developed a language use questionnaire for use throughout Indonesia. This questionnaire (Cohn et al. 2013, *Kuesioner Penggunaan Bahasa Sehari-hari*) builds on previous questionnaires that have been developed for use in Indonesia and elsewhere (most notably the Middle Indonesia Project conducted by Errington and colleagues with a questionnaire developed by Tadmor.)<sup>5</sup> It includes questions about personal background, including the geographic, ethnic, religious, educational and linguistic background of the respondent, their parents, their grandparents, and their spouse and children. It also asks about their level of mastery of different languages, their use of technology, and their language use in 34 different domains. Finally, we include 14 attitude questions with a 5-point response scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The questionnaire offers a way to gain a broad overview and look at conditioning factors, providing connections between individual choices and community level decisions. The questionnaire can be completed online or in hard copy and is available at <http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/jakarta/kuesioner.php>. An English version of the questionnaire is also available if scholars would like to use it in other linguistic settings.

In our current project, we are using the questionnaire to compare patterns of language use in several local languages of Indonesia with speaking populations over a million people. We are using preliminary results to address key questions about language shift scenarios (as reported in Cohn et al. 2014) and at the same time working to develop models of the multiple factors that contribute to scenarios of language change.

The second project, the Basa Urang Proyek, is a more in-depth case study of the use of Indonesian and Sundanese in West Java. Sundanese is the 3<sup>rd</sup> most widely spoken local language (after Javanese and local varieties of Malay if these are pooled together), with an estimated speaking population of 34 million speakers. Like Javanese, Sundanese is a high prestige, written language spoken by a clearly defined ethnic group with a large speaker population. Sundanese has received comparatively less attention in the literature (although see Sobarna 2010 and Moriyama 2012 on increasing use of Indonesian at the expense of Sundanese in Bandung; and, Sobarna et al. 1997 and Djajasudarma 1994 on the use of colloquial Indonesian in Sundanese communities). In this project, we aim to consider the Sundanese-Indonesian contact situation more closely, using questionnaires and interviews in West Javanese communities to examine the interplay of sociolinguistic background, language use and language attitudes in urban and rural Sundanese communities. We look forward to reporting on the results from these studies and welcome colleagues to join in using the methodologies, questionnaire, and interview materials for other case studies.

#### NOTE

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<sup>1</sup> Currently 28 US states have so-called “English-only” or “Official English” policies. For discussion of these state-level policies, see English-only Movement, Wikipedia ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English-only\\_movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English-only_movement)).

<sup>2</sup> To see more about the distribution of languages, bilingualism, etc., in the US, the Modern Language Association Language Map, available at [http://www.mla.org/map\\_main](http://www.mla.org/map_main), provides an excellent resource.

<sup>3</sup> Since no official or universally agreed upon labels exist, these are representative labels, chosen from a number of labels that are used for these varieties.

<sup>4</sup> This calculation treats both Chinese and Arabic as single languages. See <http://www.ethnologue.com/statistics/size>.

<sup>5</sup> More information about Errington's Middle Indonesia Project, titled "In Search of Middle Indonesia", is available at <http://www.kitlv.nl/home/Projects?id=14>.

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