Multilingualism and Bilingualism in Javanese Society

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Abstract

This study aims at analyzing the case study of multilingualism and bilingualism in three provinces in Java, among others are East Java, Yogyakarta, and Central Java. The people from the three provinces communicate with two or more than languages which causes double-overlapping diglossia phenomenon. The diglossia phenomenon happens in the use of language spoken by the majority and minority people lived in the provinces. This study is qualitative study. The data is collected through library research and the language observation in the field. The study shows that the language shift from Javanese to Bahasa Indonesia happens in the Javanese society. Kromo Inggil is rarely used by the society. They tend to shift the language by speaking Bahasa Indonesia for their daily conversation. However, the Javanese language is used in the way the family members communicate each other with their immediate family. Hence, Javanese language can be insured that it will be used by the next generations.

Keywords*: multilingualism, bilingualism, diglossia phenomenon, Javanese language, Bahasa Indonesia*

Introduction

Nowadays, language is an important means for all people in the world to communicate with one another. It can be in the forms of oral or written language. Oral language is used when we interact directly with other people in various occasions. Written language can be found in the form of texts such as books, articles, or even SMS (Short Message System). In the society where people are isolated with less or no contact with other people from different areas who speak different languages, they speak only one language, which is referred to as monolingual phenomenon. However, in the open society where its people have access to other people speaking other languages, they tend to speak languages other than their native language; this phenomenon is called multilingualism or bilingualism.

Multilingual and bilingual phenomenon is common in the modern society where people have a necessity to use more than one language. As argued by Edwards (1994), people from many countries speak three or even four different languages in their daily life. There are certain reasons for people becoming bilingual or multilingual. For example, in the United States, which is well-known as a multicultural country and where people from many countries live alongside each other, they speak at least their native language and English as a *lingua franca*: a common language used by people speaking different languages. In this case, migration is the reason behind becoming bilingual or multilingual. This is in line with Wardhaugh's (2008) argument that multilingualism and bilingualism can be caused by people's migration and mixed-marriage as happens in Tukano, Northwest Amazon, where men are expected to get married to women speaking different languages. Wei (2013) adds that multilingualism and bilingualism result from *language contact* in which people who use different languages are in contact with one another. They can be caused by political and military acts such as colonization, annexation, resettlement and federation.

In Indonesia, multilingualism and bilingualism phenomenon is not something new having started before the country claimed its independence. They occurred because of the cultural, tribal and ethnic group diversity. As claimed by Subagio (2013), Indonesia has approximately 750 local languages spoken by different ethnic groups as their first language. It means that Indonesian people speak at least two languages: their local language as the first language and Indonesian language (*Bahasa Indonesia*) as the national language. Sometimes, because of the intensive interaction of the people from a certain tribe with other people from the other tribes, those people can speak more than two languages: *Bahasa Indonesia*, their local language, and other local languages.

The multilingual and bilingual phenomenon in Indonesia becomes more complicated when it comes to the language variations since there are many varieties of both the national language (*Bahasa Indonesia)* and the local languages. *Bahasa Indonesia* itself is considered one of the standardized Malay language varieties along with other varieties in other South East Asian countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, and Brunei Darussalam (Ewing, 2005). As the

national language, it is spoken differently by people from different regions in terms of the accent, dialect, and register, while the 750 local languages are all in the forms of different language variations spoken by people from various ethnicities. The variations are not merely in accent, dialect, and registers but those languages are in totally different patterns.

As the national and official language which unites people who speak different local languages, *Bahasa Indonesia* is spoken by all Indonesian citizens in formal situations such as in academic, political, and business circumstances, while local languages are usually spoken by the people of the ethnic groups in informal context such as talking to family and friends. Although both languages are spoken equally by the citizens, they are employed in different situations; the first is in a formal situation and the latter is in an informal situation. This situation is referred to as a diglossic phenomenon or diglossia, where there is a 'high' variety (H) represented by *Bahasa Indonesia*, and a 'low' variety (L) represented by local languages (Wardhaugh, 2008). Wardhaugh asserts that the H variety is more powerful and prestigious, while the L variety has less power and prestige.

In the academic domain, the H variety (*Bahasa Indonesia*) is used in various aspects such as in all textbooks except the foreign language subject and local language subject books. Besides, it is used as a means of communication between teachers and students, among groups of teachers and among groups of students. However, communication among students varies depending on the students' family background. Those whose families use *Bahasa Indonesia* to communicate among family members usually speak the H variety with their friends, but those who use a local language or the L variety at home will tend to use it at school with other students who have the same family background.

The L variety or the local languages in Indonesia are used in more informal situations. Usually, children speak the local language with their family at home. They also speak using the L variety with their friends in their neighborhood. It is also generally used in traditional trade transactions such as in the traditional market. However, in academic circumstances, local languages are taught at school as local subjects. Commonly, the language used in daily communication is informal and the one taught at school is more formal.

This essay aims to explore the multilingualism and bilingualism which occurs in Indonesia by relating it with the sociolinguistic context and concepts. It will first introduce the general perspective of multilingualism and bilingualism which includes the scholars' discussion over the concepts of the two terms. It will then be followed by a discussion on the specific perspective of multilingualism and bilingualism which will explore the concepts of diglossia, language shift, language maintenance, and reversing language shift. Following this, it will explain the societal attitudes to multilingualism and bilingualism as well as the implications for the education system, schools, educators, students, families and communities. As the main discussion of this essay, the case study of the multilingualism and bilingualism in Indonesia, specifically in three provinces in Java island, will be discussed referring to the key sociolinguistic concepts from the previous part.

Literary Review

General Perspective of Multilingualism and Bilingualism

Bilingualism and multilingualism happens in the community where there is a need to speak more than one language, their native language and the other languages. Generally, the two terms have a similar definition, but multilingualism refers to the use of more than two languages in the daily life (Chaer & Agustina, 1995). The need to speak other languages is caused by the interaction with people speaking other languages. There are various concepts of bilingualism and multilingualism proposed by some linguists. According to Mackey (1967), bilingualism is the use of more than one language which can be employed alternately depending on situations. In a different study, Bloomfield (1933) argues that bilingualism is understood as the ability of a speaker to use two languages with the same competence, which means that the second language is learned perfectly to the same degree as the first one. In line with Bloomfield's argument, Lado (1964) describes that bilingualism refers to the speaker's ability to speak two languages with the same competence or almost the same competence. However, there is another argument proposed by Edwards (1994) asserting that bilingualism is one's knowledge over more than one language regardless of the

degree of the competence of the second language. He claims that the degree of knowledge of the second language does not necessarily have to be the same as the native language.

There are some differences between the scholars' perception when defining the concept of the multilingualism and bilingualism. Some believe that multilingualism and bilingualism include the difference of the competence degree of the native language and the new language, while others argue that bilingualism is just the ability of knowing more than one language, no matter the degree of the competence of the new language. Generally, to conclude, the concept of multilingualism and bilingualism refers to the same thing, i.e. the ability to use more than one language. On the other hand, different perspective about bilingualism and multilingualism is also proposed by Wardhaugh (2008) which claims that bilingualism and multilingualism is often considered as 'a trojan horse' which means that the phenomenon is interesting at first, but it brings danger especially for the maintenance of the native language. It is also seen negatively as a social problem because in the case such as immigration sometimes it leads to the loss of the language brought by the immigrants because of the dominance of the majority language.

There are two important distinctions of bilingualism, the first one is based on the types of the speakers and the second one is based on the types of learning. The first type of bilingualism proposed by Beardsmore (1986) is individual and societal bilingualism. Individual bilingualism means the use of two languages by individuals but it does not affect the society, while societal bilingualism refers to the use of two languages in the society where it will influence many aspects in the society such as education, politic, culture, and social life. He gives a detail that the individual bilingualism happens because of the need of the individual to speak language/s other than his/her native language, while societal bilingualism is the need of a number of individuals or society to speak more than one language.

On the other hand, for the second type of bilingualism, Lambert (1975) makes two distinctions between additive and subtractive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism means that the learner adding a new language other than his native language to his language repertoire, but the process of learning the other language

does not interfere the use of the native language. The latter type of bilingualism, i.e. subtractive bilingualism refers to the interference of learning the new language to the use of the native language and even the replacement of the native language by the new language. In line with Lambert's argument, Edwards (1994) adds that the different outcomes of the additive and subtractive bilingualism are the reflection of the social pressures and needs to the use of different languages in the society. From the distinctions above, it is clear that in the process of bilingualism and multilingualism, it is important to distinguish whether they happen individually or socially which will affect individuals or society, and whether the process will add or subtract the language repertoire.

Specific Perspective of Multilingualism and Bilingualism

Multilingualism and bilingualism occur because of the use of more than one language in certain regions or countries. Sometimes, the languages have the same status and are used equally; such as in Singapore, four languages, i.e. English, Malay, Tamil and Mandarin become national languages (Edwards, 1994). It means that all of these four languages have the same status in this country, thus the phenomena of minority and majority languages do not happen there. However, in some regions or countries, the two or more languages are used unequally, which means that one language might be the majority language, while the others become the minority. This leads to the sociolinguistic phenomena called diglossia, language shift, language maintenance, and reversing language shift.

Diglossia

In certain countries, when two or more languages are spoken by the people, these languages sometimes have the same or different status. This will determine whether there is a diglossia or not. According to Fishman (1972), knowing whether there is diglossia or not in the bilingual society is important. Fasold (2014) argues that diglossia is a phenomenon where a community has two forms of language, i.e. the formal-standard form and the colloquial form. Meanwhile, Ferguson (1959) proposes two varieties of diglossia, i.e., 'high' variety (H variety) and 'low' variety (L variety). H variety refers to the language variation

that is used in formal situations such as in education, politics and business. L variety refers to the one that is used in more informal situation such as in daily conversation and in trade transaction. According to Ferguson, diglossia is more about two different forms of variations in the same language but not related to the different forms in different languages. His idea of diglossia is then known as 'classic' diglossia.

However, Fishman (1972) has different idea about diglossia. He argues that diglossia refers to the linguistic differences regardless of the form of the difference; the difference can be in the linguistic style in the same language or the different languages. It can be seen that in defining diglossia, Fasold and Ferguson are referring to the same concept, i.e., the different variations in the same language in which each variation belongs to either H or L variation, while Fishman is referring to the linguistic style, which can be in the same or different languages.

Language Shift and Maintenance

Language shift happens when the use of the two or more languages in certain countries are not in the same level. According to Romaine (1995), language shift means the change of the forms and meanings of a certain language which makes the speech community leave the language and choose another language to be used. This phenomenon is the result of the language contact in the bilingual society in which the native language will always have contact with other language. As a consequence, if there is no strong role and function of the native language, the language shift will be unavoidable. This is in line with Fasold's argument (1984) which describes the language shift as a result of a long process of selecting a language. The language shift happens when a group of the language society prefers to the use of the new language rather than the native language. Regarding the language shift, Fishman (1997) proposes the term 'Y-ish' which refers to the majority language in a certain region and dominates the use of the language by the majority people compared to 'X-ish' which refers to the minority language spoken by minority people. In this case, the language use is shifted from 'X-ish' to 'Y-ish'.

To prevent the language being shifted or lost, there are some efforts that can be undertaken to maintain the native or first language. Fasold (2014) suggests that migration is a way to maintain a language. When people move from their country to country, they bring their identity including their native language to the new place. If the role and function of their language are strong enough in the new place, there will be more people to speak this language, so that the language can be maintained. However, Edwards (2010) defines language maintenance as transmitting a language from one generation to the next, thus, if the transmission is sustained, the language maintenance can be assured. Furthermore, he argues that to maintain the language, home is the most important domain of all, so the maintenance should be started from home. The realization of this way is to transmit the language to the children in the family by using it as a means for communication in the family.

Edwards' idea of maintaining the language is opposed by Fishman (1964) who argues that maintaining a language cannot be done only by individuals, but it should be done collectively by the group who use the language with some extra effort. He also relates the idea of the language maintenance with reversing the language shift. His idea about Reversing Language Shift (RLS) is very popular to solve the problems in multilingual or bilingual countries regarding the language shift and loss. He developed a framework to assess the vitality of the language in certain areas and evaluate the possibility to stop the language loss or reversing the language shift. This framework is usually called GIDS (*Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale*). This scale contains eight stages which represent the condition of language in a certain area and the possible ways to reverse the language shift. The idea of reversing the language shift has been applied in some countries such as Israel, by revitalizing Hebrew; Ireland, by reviving the Irish and making it as the second language; and Spain and France by revitalizing Basque.

Furthermore, Fishman (1972) also proposes the Language Policy and Language Planning (LPLP) to offer the solutions to societal language problems, especially in the society where multilingualism or bilingualism exist. The LPLP can be one of the ways to maintain the language in a certain country by determining the language status planning. The examples of the realization of the

language status planning are the standardization of the language and the corpus planning which involves the planning of the scripts and the orthography. Fishman's idea on the LPLP has been applied by some countries such as Ireland, by standardizing the Irish, Singapore by standardizing four official languages (English, Malay, Tamil, and Mandarin), and Azerbaijan as the example of the country which has practiced the language policy planning for using Latin script for 100 years.

Societal attitudes to Multilingualism and Bilingualism

In the multilingual or bilingual country, where there is more than one language used in the society, the status of these languages depends on the societal attitudes towards them. Fishman (1964) suggests that societal attitudes are very important to determine the process of the language planning, linguistic change, language maintenance, shift, and loss in the society. If the society gives a positive attitude towards the second or new language, there will be a great chance for the language to survive. As suggested by Lambert (1975), the knowledge of the new or the second language will be added to the prior knowledge of the native language, thus the additive bilingualism will happen. However, sometimes in certain bilingual or multilingual countries, there is a tendency for one language to be a majority language because of the less positive attitude of the society towards the language, and unconsciously, it endangers the other language/s because it tends to replace the existence of these languages. In this case subtractive bilingualism occurs in the society.

As an example, the importance of the societal attitudes towards multilingualism and bilingualism in the society is proposed by Garcia (1985), who describes that in the United States, many immigrants come from different countries, bringing their identities including their languages. Many Americans consider this phenomenon as a threat to their culture and language, so that many of them are against the American concept of bilingual education. This societal attitude can finally threaten the languages brought by these immigrants, so that it leads to the subtractive bilingualism, where English replaces the immigrants' native language. Fishman (1972) identifies that in the case of migration,

bilingualism happens without diglossia which means that it happens individually, while diglossia occurs due to the social phenomenon.

Educational Implications of Multilingualism and Bilingualism

In a multilingual or bilingual society, there are some implications including challenges that need to be faced. According to Edwards (1994), multilingualism and bilingualism will give great implication to the education system in a certain country. In the society where people speak different languages, the educational institutions should accommodate the needs of the citizen. Edwards (1994) claims that bilingual education will give solutions because this type of education system conducts teaching activity using two or more languages, i.e. the native language and the dominant societal language. Edwards, further, asserts that bilingual education can bridge the gap of the students' process of getting education through their native and foreign language. Meanwhile, according to Wright (2013), the focus of the bilingual education is to help the minority students learn the academic content which is mainly delivered and written in the dominant language.

As the implication of the bilingualism applied in the education system, Wright (2013) argues that the school should find teachers who are proficient in both languages; the one used by minority students and the one used by majority society. However, finding the teachers who have such qualifications is not easy and sometimes, it leads to the ineffective process of bilingual class due to their incompetence (Burns, 1968). As a matter of fact, the teachers' competence of mastering two or more languages to be used as a means of instruction in the class becomes one factor to determine the success of the bilingual education.

Discussion

Case Study: Bilingualism in Java, Indonesia

Sociolinguistic Context

Indonesia consists of various tribes and ethnic groups scattered across the country. Each ethnic group has their own identity, such as the local language used by the local people to communicate with one another. According to Montgomery (1995), when people are in the same group or ethnicity, they tend to speak the same

language variation which refers to the local language or local dialect. This language variation becomes the ethnic identity that will give boundaries of one group to another. An example of a local language in Indonesia is *Sundanese*, i.e. the language spoken by people in *Sunda*, one of the ethnic groups in West Java province. People use *Sundanese* to interact with other ethnic group members. Besides *Sunda* and *Sundanese*, there are still approximately another 750 different ethnic groups and languages across the country (Subagio, 2013). The local languages here do not refer to Indonesian language variations which have approximately the same characteristics and patterns with *Bahasa Indonesia*. They refer to completely different languages with different characteristics and patterns such as vocabulary, accent, dialect, and registers.

I would like to specify the case study of bilingualism in Java Island, the biggest and the most populous island in Indonesia. More specifically, the study will discuss the bilingualism in three of the six provinces in Java Island, i.e. Central Java, Yogyakarta and East Java. This is because these provinces have similar characteristics of the local language.

The six provinces in Java Island consist of West Java, Banten, Jakarta, Central Java, Yogyakarta, and East Java. Uniquely, although they are all situated in Java Island, *Javanese* is spoken by people only in three provinces, while the other three provinces speak a different local language and the standard Indonesian because they are not considered parts of *Javanese* ethnic group. For example, the people in West Java and Banten speak *Sundanese* as their local language, because the two provinces come from the same ethnic group, *Sunda*. The people in Jakarta tend to speak standard Indonesian because of the status of Jakarta as the capital city where many formal activities occur in government offices. However, in informal activities such as talking to friends and family members, the native people of Jakarta speak *Betawi* dialect, and non-native people residing in Jakarta usually speak Indonesian informal dialect. These two dialects are similar to the standard *Bahasa Indonesia*, but they have differences in certain vocabulary, such as the word 'You', in standard *Bahasa Indonesia* is '*kamu*' or '*anda*', but Betawi dialect uses '*ente*', and the Indonesian informal dialect uses '*Lu/Lo*'.

Yogyakarta, Central Java, and East Java are the other three provinces which share the same characteristics and ethnic group, *Javanese*. The people in these provinces speak *Javanese* as their local language but in different variations such as accent, dialect and register. The *Javanese* in Central Java and Yogyakarta share similar variations, even though different regions in each province also speak in different dialects. While in East Java, *Javanese* used by the people there has a lot of differences from that used in Central Java and Yogyakarta. Considering the similarity in the languages used by the people in these three provinces in Java, the case study of bilingualism will focus on the use of *Bahasa Indonesia* as the national language, and the use of *Javanese* as the local language along with their statuses in the *Javanese* society.

Sociolinguistic Concepts

Diglossia in the Use of *Bahasa Indonesia* and *Javanese*

In the study of multilingualism and bilingualism, according to Fishman (1972), diglossic phenomenon refers to the situation in the society where two or more codes are used separately. This phenomenon was firstly introduced by Charles Ferguson and developed by Alan Hudson (Fasold, 2014).In Java, specifically in Central Java, Yogyakarta and East Java, most people speak *Javanese* as the first language and *Bahasa Indonesia* as the second language. *Javanese* is usually used informally for oral daily communication and *Bahasa Indonesia* is usually employed in the formal situation both in written such as in textbooks, and in oral communication such as means of instruction in academic domain, as well as political and business communication. The situation where one language is used in such different circumstances can be considered diglossia. In this case *Bahasa Indonesia* is the 'high' variety language (H), while *Javanese* is 'low' variety language (L) (Wardhaugh, 2008). This is supported by Wolff's and Poedjosoedarmo's argument (1982) suggesting that *Javanese* people feel that their local language has regional dialect status, while *Bahasa Indonesia* is considered to have high prestige and modernization.

However, the diglossia which occurs in these three provinces in Java is more complex. According to Fishman (1972), diglossia is not only found in two

languages used in the society with H and L varieties, but it can also be found in the same language with different variations. This happens with *Javanese* used as L variety in the society opposed to *Bahasa Indonesia* as H variety. As described by Wardhaugh (2008), *Javanese* has a very complex pattern based on the level of politeness. It is spoken differently depending on the social relationship of the speaker and listener in terms of the age, sex, relationship, occupation, social status, wealth, education, as well as the content of the conversation. There are three levels or variations of *Javanese*, they are *Kromo inggil* (High variety), *Kromo Madyo* (Middle variety), and *Ngoko* (Low variety). Each level indicates the politeness; *Kromo inggil* has the highest level of politeness which is usually used when we talk to someone older than us or has very high social status, *Kromo madya* is in the middle level and is employed to talk to someone whom we respect but averagely is in the same age, and *Ngoko* is in the lowest level which is used when we talk to our friends or someone who is younger than us(Fasold, 1990).

The complexity of *Javanese* is also identified by Trudgill (2000). He claims that its complexity also involves numerous lexical differences and minor differences of suffixes and pronouns. As an example, the sentence 'Do you want to eat rice?' can be expressed in three different *Javanese* variations: '*Menopo panjenengan bade dahar sekul*?' belongs to *Kromo Inggil*, '*Nopo njenengan ajeng nedo sekul*?' is *Kromo Madyo*, and '*Opo kowe arep mangan sego*?' belongs to *Ngoko*.

The phenomenon of diglossia in the society which has two languages or language variations having H and L varieties, in which one of the languages or variations also has H and L varieties as described above is in line with one of the types of diglossia proposed by Fasold (1984), i.e. *double overlapping diglossia*. It occurs in the *Javanese* society especially in Central Java, Yogyakarta, and East Java province because besides considering *Bahasa Indonesia* as H variety and *Javanese* as L variety, one of the varieties, i.e. *Javanese* also has three varieties: high (*Kromo Inggil*) , middle (*Kromo Madyo*) , and low variety (*Ngoko*).

The Shift of *Javanese* to *Bahasa Indonesia*

Bahasa Indonesia has been an official and national language in Indonesia since the country claimed its independence in 1945. It was instructed by the Indonesian president, Soeharto, that it must be used widely in many aspects in life such as mass media, education, business, politic, government, and other formal occasions (Kurniasih, 2006). Since that time, there has been a significant increase of number of people speaking *Bahasa Indonesia*. As a consequence, this results in the decreased number of Indonesian people speaking local languages. This is in line with the study by Musgrave (2011) which suggests that based on the censuses conducted in Indonesia in 1971, 1980, and 1990, it was found that there is an increased number of Indonesian people who speak *Bahasa Indonesia*, mainly the younger generation, but it causes the decline of Indonesians speaking local languages, including *Javanese*. This phenomenon causes the shift of the use of *Javanese* as the local language to the greater use of *Bahasa Indonesia* as the national language. He asserts that the decline of the use of *Javanese* is a slow process, and no one considers it as a measureable danger.

In *Javanese* society which speaks *Javanese* as its local language, nowadays, there is a tendency of the decline of the parents or older generation to transmit *Javanese* to their children or younger generation in the family. Usually, the first generation or the grandparent generation still teaches the three levels of *Javanese*: the high, middle, and low variety. The children of this generation still use these three varieties in daily communication, for example to their parents and other elderly, they speak *Kromo inggil* or the high variety; to their neighbors who are in relatively the same age they speak *Kromo madyo* as the middle variety; and to their friends they speak *Ngoko* as the low variety. In the first generation, *Bahasa Indonesia* is spoken in a very limited domain, such as in school and in politics. The second generation or the parent generation tends to speak *Bahasa Indonesia* in a wider situation, such as in business and political talks. This generation has tendency to use *Bahasa Indonesia* as the language for communication in the family. The children of this generation or the third generation, therefore, use *Bahasa Indonesia* in most of the aspects in their life such as in family, school, and neighborhood. They speak *Javanese* only in the situation where other people use it in daily communication in their family. In

addition, because of the *Javanese* complexity in the pattern, and the limited exposure of the language, the third generation usually only understands and uses the low variety of *Javanese*, regardless of the status of the people they are speaking to. This is when the language shift phenomenon from *Javanese* to *Bahasa Indonesia* starts and even the H variety of *Javanese* or *Kromo Inggil* has lost. This is in line with Fishman's argument (1964) which states that the language shift usually happens in the third generation.

The parents' decision to use *Bahasa Indonesia* at home and teach their children this language is influenced by their perception and attitude towards the function of *Bahasa Indonesia* as the national language for their children's future. They believe that using *Bahasa Indonesia* more widely instead of *Javanese* will offer greater access to the material rewards, employment, and economic opportunities in the future (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997). The other reason is also because they want their children to have a good command of the national language in order to succeed academically (Francis-Borgias, 1993). According to Florey (2001), this parents' attitude is the biggest reason of the language shift from *Javanese* to *Bahasa Indonesia*.

Based on the situation described above, referring to the GIDS (*Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale*) to determine the status of the endangered language proposed by Fishman, it is evident that the shift level has been in the stage 6b moving to stage 7. It means that *Javanese* is still used for daily communication, but it loses its users gradually, and by time, it is shifted by *Bahasa Indonesia* because the parents of the third generation do not transmit Javanese to their children.

Reversing the Shift of *Javanese*

The local language shift becomes a great concern of the Indonesian government. There is great impact of this phenomenon towards the ethnic identity. The shift of *Javanese* to *Bahasa Indonesia* leads to the decline or even the loss of ethnic identity of the young generation. They have little knowledge of the *Javanese* and its aspects and have more knowledge of *Bahasa Indonesia* as the national identity.

In responding to this phenomenon, the government undertakes an important step to reverse the shift of the *Javanese* to Bahasa Indonesia. Kurniasih (2006), argues that the central government's policy to include one local content subject in the school curriculum in year 1-9 is one significant way to revitalize the local languages. To realize this policy into practice, the Central Java, Yogyakarta, and East Java province education bodies include the *Javanese* language as the local content subject, which is taught as a mandatory subject in year 1-9 at school. By undertaking this program, *Javanese* is then included in the local curriculum and learned by students both oral and written competences so that it can prevent it from the loss or shift into *Bahasa Indonesia*. This policy brings significant impact to the students, asthey can still learn the three varieties of *Javanese* at school and practice it in the class, although they do not use it at home.

Besides the step taken by the government, the family role to maintain *Javanese* is also important to revitalize the language in the society. As explained above, the parents' decision to use *Bahasa Indonesia* in the family instead of *Javanese* is because of their perception that encouraging their children to use *Bahasa Indonesia* will offer greater chance to be successful academically and economically. This attitude should be changed, that the wiser way to maintain *Javanese*is to teach and use it in the family. This is in line with Edwards' argument (2010), claiming that home or family is the most important domain to maintain the native language.

To maintain *Javanese*, a socio-cultural approach has also been taken. This approach involves mass media and the society. The example of this socio-cultural approach is by revitalizing some cultural events using *Javanese* in the attraction, such as *wayang* (wooden puppet show), *Javanese* songs and dance. Although there is a trend of conducting modern wedding parties which uses Bahasa Indonesia, there are still many traditional wedding parties which use *Javanese* in the wedding process. Besides, regarding mass media, there are some television channels, radio programs, newspapers and magazines which use *Javanese* in their programs. From the steps undertaken above, it is clear that to maintain the language, the family values and the government's language policy

are very important factors, so that it can prevent the language shift or even the language loss (Hamida, 2011).

Individual and Social Impact

Bilingualism has become a norm in *Javanese* society. The *Javanese* people use both *Javanese* and *Bahasa Indonesia* in their daily life. The early bilingualism in which the use of two languages begins in early childhood, gives individual impact to the people. People who use two languages from an early age will have more complex linguistic experience such as words acquisition, pragmatic, structure and meaning, compared to those who are monolingual or speaking one language (Wahyudin, 2012). Children who speak both *Javanese* and *Bahasa Indonesia* will have various linguistic repertoires. Sometimes, there is a situation where an idea cannot be expressed in *Javanese*, but it can be expressed in *Bahasa Indonesia*, or otherwise. In this case, code-switching or code-mixing which refers to the change of the code or language during conversation might occur and help the understanding.

According to Fasold (2014), the study of bilingualism before 1960 shows that bilingualism gives negative impact to the children's intelligence and become a hindrance in their school achievement. Besides, the bilingual children tend to be socially ignored. However, the study after 1960 by Peal and Lambert shows the opposite result. It argues that bilingual children tend to have better achievement academically and cognitively rather than monolingual children.The study by Macnamara (1970)shows a different idea about bilingualism. He argues that bilingualism will not give any impact on cognitive functioning either intelligence or creativity. He suggests that cognitive functioning depends on non-linguistic functioning.

Bilingualism in *Javanese* society has also had a great impact on the social values. The values are the manifest of the spread of the national language (*Bahasa Indonesia*) which has an increased number of the people who use it. More people are aware with the nationalism values and the feeling of living in the same country. There is a pride and feeling of becoming one family when we use *Bahasa Indonesia* together with people from other ethnicities who also speak

different local languages. This language becomes a tool to unite diversity in Indonesia. This is in accordance with Edwards' argument (1994), suggesting that language has something to do with nationalism. It can bring people in one feeling because they share something in common. However, in the same time, when the nationalism increased, the local wisdom values declined. When more people speak *Bahasa Indonesia* as the national language, less people speak *Javanese* in their daily life. Unconsciously, this leads to the decline of the ethnicity values in *Javanese* people's life. Local values and culture will be ignored and forgettable.

Conclusion

Multilingualism and bilingualism happen in the society where there is more than one language used by the society. The use of two or more languages leads to the diglossia phenomenon, the situation where there is high and low variety of the language, either in the same language or different languages. It also leads to the language shift, where the majority language spoken by the dominant society replaces the minority language. However, to maintain the survival of the language, there are some efforts that can be undertaken either individually or socially such as migration and inter-generational language transmission which can be done by one generation to the next generation at home. Furthermore, to maintain the language in a certain community, Fishman (1972) introduces the idea of RLS (Reversing the Language Shift) by developing the framework of GIDS (*Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale*).

Within the case study, this essay discusses the bilingualism which occurs in three provinces (East Java, Yogyakarta, and Central Java) in Java Island, Indonesia. Bilingualism happens between the national language (*Bahasa Indonesia*) and the local language (*Javanese*). Based on Fasold's theory (1972) of diglossia, the phenomenon of bilingualism in these three provinces in Java is considered *double overlapping diglossia*, where diglossia occurs between two languages, *Bahasa Indonesia* and *Javanese*, with the former as the H variety and the latter as the L variety. Besides, the diglossic situation also occurs in one of the two varieties, i.e. in *Javanese* as the L variety. As the local language, *Javanese* has high, middle, and low variety spoken differently based on the level of

politeness. As the national and official language spoken in the formal situations, *Bahasa Indonesia* tends to shift the use of *Javanese* in the society. Initially, besides being used in some informal occasions, *Javanese* is also used in the family to interact between family members. However, when the trend of the people who speak *Bahasa Indonesia* increases, it causes the decline of *Javanese* people speaking *Javanese*, including in the home domain, where recently, parents tend to use *Bahasa Indonesia* in their family. This phenomenon leads to the language shift of *Javanese* to *Bahasa Indonesia*. To reverse this shift, one of the ways the government undertakes officially is by including *Javanese* as one of the local content subjects taught at school.

As a conclusion, this essay gives me opportunity to learn and understand more about bilingualism in my country, specifically in three provinces in Java. As one of *Bahasa Indonesia* and *Javanese* speakers, now I realize that the language shift from *Javanese* to *Bahasa Indonesia* seriously occurs in the *Javanese* society, and even the H variety of Javanese, *Kromo Inggil*, is almost lost. As a follow-up, to prevent the *Javanese* to be shifted or even lost, at least in my family, I will use this local language as the means of communication with other family members, so that it can still be maintained through generations.

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