

Gender, Class and Language Preference: A case study in Yogyakarta ¹

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Abstract

The language shift from Javanese to Indonesian which is taking place in Java, Indonesia, at the moment can be attributed to language attitudes and language choices of parents, in particular mothers as the main caregivers in the family. Despite the efforts and energy of the local government in promoting Javanese in schools, this study shows that the children and particularly girls from middle class backgrounds prefer Indonesian to Javanese and appear to have less favourable attitudes toward Javanese than children from working class backgrounds. This paper investigates this issue, drawing on data from recordings of language use, language use surveys and interviews, socio-economic background surveys, and observations.

Keywords

Language Shift, Javanese, Indonesian, Middle Class, Working Class, Mothers, Fathers, Gender, Language Preference.

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0. Introduction

Fishman (1972:76) described the study of language maintenance and language shift as a study that concerns the relationship between change (or stability) in language usage patterns, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, cultural or cultural processes, on the other hand, in populations that utilize more than one speech variety for inter-group purposes. In the case of Gaelic speakers in Scotland shifting to English, Dorian (1981) identified the receding language as “stigmatized ethnic identity”.

Dorian (1989) also pointed out a number of factors identified by researchers in the study of language shift that seem to be significant in people’s changes of attitude and in explaining why shift occurs. Those factors include migration, industrialization, urbanization, proletarianization and government policies concerning which languages can and cannot be used in schools and other institutions.

This paper investigates language choice among the members of the Javanese community in Yogyakarta. Young Javanese in this community are shifting in language use from Javanese to Indonesian (and to some extent from High Javanese to Low Javanese). The language community used for this study is based in Yogyakarta, Java, Indonesia. Yogyakarta, together with Surakarta, has long been considered the heartland of Javanese culture (Ewing, 2005b, Robson, 2002). Yogyakarta has a population of more than 3 million and it is estimated that almost 70% of the population is native Javanese. The relatively high number of non-Javanese in Yogyakarta is due to its reputation as a centre for education. Yogyakarta has the largest number of TAFE and tertiary educational institutions in the country. This paper will not address the influence of the non-Javanese population on the language shift process currently taking place in Yogyakarta but the influence of parents, particularly mothers, in their children’s language choice in Javanese families.



Map 1. The Indonesian Archipelago

1. The ‘Indonesiation’ of Indonesia

Indonesia comprises a large archipelago of about 13,000 islands and a population of approximately 220 million inhabitants (see map 1).

Indonesia is a nation with enormous linguistic diversity and resources. Estimates of the number of languages in Indonesia vary, but Sneddon (2003) and Steinhauer (2005) propose a figure of 500 or more. Indonesian was adopted in 1928 and was officially declared the official and national language of Indonesia in 1945 with its confirmation in 1945 Indonesian Constitution.

Indonesian is a variant of the Malay language (Ewing, 2005a). Malay was considered as an asset of the region because it linked Indonesia with other Asian countries where closely related varieties of Malay function as national or semi-national languages, for example, in Malaysia, Singapore or Brunei or as a language of an important minority in Thailand and the Philippines.

Since its confirmation as the official and national language, Indonesian has become a key element in the formation and promotion of an ‘Indonesian national identity’. Indonesian has become a common means of communication amongst all citizens and it is the language of most interethnic contacts, the mass media, the government, communication between the government and citizens, and education.

Under Soeharto’s government (1967-1998), Indonesian played a central role in the development of the country. The specific goals for the development of language, literature and culture were included in *Repelita II - Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun Kedua* ‘the second Five-Year Development Plan’. The ultimate aim of this plan was to improve the capacity of *Bahasa Indonesia*, the Indonesian language, as the means of communication. Dissemination of information about the national language was via radio, television, and other information networks, all of which were improved and extended by the New Order Government (Hooker, 1995:272).

Noss (1984) listed ten types of institution in Indonesia established by the Soeharto Government in April 1975 which are involved in one way or another in language policy or its implementation. These institutions range from language development centres on a national to provincial level, which includes education bodies under the department of education ministry such as language centre in every state university, the language centre of the Ministry of Defence and Security², provincial offices of the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the Indonesian Council of Sciences³. In addition to these institutions, a centre for language development was set up in every province. The

2 It is important to note that this ministry includes language development (Indonesian) as one of its areas of responsibility because of its role as an institution which has a Dwi-Fungsi ‘dual function’, both security and social.

3 Known also as LIPI – Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia. This institution functions as a clearing house for all kinds of scientific and scholarly research including language development.

function of these institutions is to conduct research on Indonesian language and literature, to teach and promote the language, develop dictionaries and terminology, and to initiate and monitor activities in relation to the development and standardization of Indonesian.

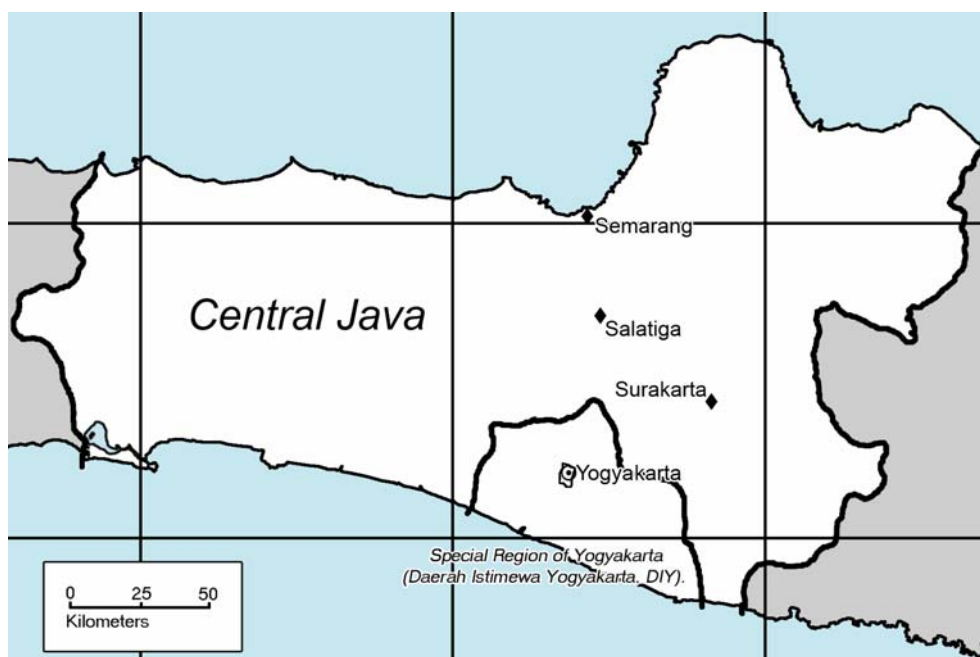
The national language movement under Soeharto's government was highly successful in promoting and securing the status of Indonesian as both the lingua franca for most people in the country and the national language. It is estimated that by now (2006) about 90 per cent of the Indonesian population can speak Indonesian. We can argue that the success of the 'Indonesiation' of Indonesia is due to the government's active role in language planning and language development. Unfortunately, the success of the language planning program by the Indonesian government in promoting Indonesian as an official and national language is impacting on the vitality of minority languages (regional languages).

2. Language shift in Indonesia (Java)

One of the significant effects of Indonesian becoming the national language is the decline in the proportion of the younger generation who acquire or speak their ethnic or regional language (Mulder, 1994, Errington, 1985). In recent years growing concern has been increasingly heard among older members of the Indonesian community that the younger generation is losing touch with their culture because they are unable or do not speak their ethnic or regional language. Such articles reflect a wide-ranging concern about the status of indigenous languages in Indonesia. These concerns are not only heard about the smaller, seriously endangered languages but also the much larger and stronger regional languages.

In Java, discussions about the status of Javanese have been regularly published by local newspapers (for example; *Suara Merdeka* in Central Java, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* in Yogyakarta, and *Jawa Pos* in East Java), in talk-back radio, television talk-shows, or academic discussion forums.

Javanese is a member of the Austronesian family of languages and is mainly spoken in the areas of Central Java, East Java, and the Special Region of Yogyakarta (see map 2).



Map 2. Eastern Central Java

Javanese is also spoken in other regions outside Java, such as Lampung in South Sumatra, because of transmigration (Robson, 2002:3). Outside Indonesia, there are small communities of Javanese speakers in Surinam and New Caledonia. There is a degree of diversity within the Javanese language, which means that various regions have their own dialects but standard Javanese is to be found in Yogyakarta and Surakarta (Robson 2002).

Javanese is well-known for its levels or speech styles. Geertz (1960) referred to the speech levels as linguistic etiquette. Robson and Wibisono (2002) describe the speech levels as manners of speaking which are determined by the relationship between the speakers and the person addressed. In principle there are two levels; Low which includes Ngoko, and High which includes Madya and Krama. Ngoko can be interpreted as familiar or informal. It is a language used to talk to oneself or intimate friends and family. Krama is the formal or polite or ceremonial level. It is a language used for 'respect'. In everyday conversation three levels are used: Ngoko (low), Madya (medium), and Krama (high).

Javanese children whose mother tongue is Javanese will normally acquire Low Javanese first (Geertz, 1960; Keeler, 1984; Siegel, 1986). By the time they start school (6 or 7 years old) they are expected to start acquiring High Javanese, and then Indonesian for educational purposes. Parents, grandparents, and other adult members of family are the children's main sources for learning and acquiring Javanese, while they learn Indonesian at school.

Below is an example of a sentence in Javanese (in three levels):

Ngoko:	Bu	Kusmi	arep	lunga	pasar	tuku	jarik*
Madya:	Bu	Kusmi	ajeng	kesah	peken	tumbas	sinjang
Krama:	Bu	Kusmi	badhe	tindak	peken	mundhut	nyamping
English:	Mrs	Kusmi	is going to	go to	the market	to buy	a skirt

*This particular skirt is made of Batik only and worn by women in Java.

Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982:2) described Javanese as the vehicle of a great civilization and of a great literature going back almost uninterrupted to the tenth century. However, since Indonesian independence in 1945, Javanese has been very much downgraded, and has been replaced by Indonesian for many traditional literary functions and for most official purposes. Furthermore, Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982:2) have suggested that the Javanese themselves feel that their language has the status of a regional dialect and see Indonesian as the language of prestige and modernization. While Javanese has the greatest number of first language speakers, Indonesian is the most widely spoken language in Indonesia (Oglobin, 2005; Florey, 2005: 50-51).

The shift from Javanese to Indonesian takes place within a community of speakers of Javanese who are embedded within a larger community using Indonesian. If both languages can serve all the same functions and domains, then the minority speakers (in this case Javanese) may be drawn to the majority language (Indonesian), because it is perceived to offer greater access to material rewards, employment, and economic opportunities (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997:62).

In other settings in Indonesia, parents' attitudes toward the use of Indonesian at home have reportedly played an important role in the processes of language shift (Florey, 2001). This is principally because they are eager for their children to have a good command of Indonesian in order to succeed educationally (Francis-Borgias, 1993; Mulder, 1994). Arguably, Indonesian has become the language most frequently used among family members in the home environment.

Mulder (1994) argues that Yogyakarta, the heartland of Javanese culture, is facing rapid cultural change and is in the process of losing its 'Javaneseness'. For instance, it has been observed that more young Javanese in Yogyakarta these days are no longer able to speak Javanese.

3. Education and the teaching of Javanese in Yogyakarta's schools

In the past, in some places across Indonesia, the regional language, including Javanese, was used as a medium of instruction for the first three grades of primary school. This policy has changed since 1990 and now Indonesian is the medium of instruction from

kindergarten to university. Throughout the country, Indonesian is used in all basic textbooks in primary and secondary education (Rubin, 1997). Within the education system, bureaucrats, policy makers, teachers and other staff at schools reinforce the use of Indonesian as a language of instruction.

The national education system has also greatly contributed to the spread of Indonesian (Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo, 1982; Errington, 1988; Florey, 2001; Steinhauer, 2005) and to Javanese becoming a language that is no longer important in school (Mulder, 1992). The state-established curriculum, for example, requires students from primary to senior high school (years 1-12) to study 10 to 12 subjects which are considered important, such as Maths, Science, Indonesian Language, English, Sport, Arts, Religion, National Ideology, History, and Music.

In February 1994, the provincial government of Yogyakarta issued an education policy which was called *Kurikulum Muatan Lokal untuk Pendidikan Dasar* 'The Local Content Curriculum for Primary Education'. The policy was a response to instructions from the central government (in the form of education policies issued in 1989, 1990, and 1993) that required every province in Indonesia to include one local content compulsory subject and up to three optional subjects in the primary education curriculum alongside the national curriculum. The 1994 policy stated that Javanese (Low and High) must be taught as a compulsory subject in years 1-9 (Department of Education and Culture, Special Region of Yogyakarta⁴, 1994:1-24). Thus, Javanese became a school subject but not the language of instruction.

A team was soon established by the Department of Education, Yogyakarta Province, to oversee any aspect related to the implementation of the policy. This team consists of academics in Javanese studies, Javanese school teachers, and prominent members of the Javanese community in Yogyakarta (interview with Drs. Suwarna, January 2002)⁵.

The implementation of the new language policy, which started in early 1995, was seen as an important step in revitalizing the Javanese-ness of the area by trying to reverse the recent trends in language use. In Yogyakarta, Javanese is now a compulsory subject for years 1-9. It is taught for two teaching hours per week (one teaching hour being equivalent to 40 minutes for primary school and 50 minutes for junior high school) and in total about 70 hours a year. Every school must follow the guidelines for Javanese teaching laid down by the local government.

4 Two other provinces in Indonesia, Central Java and East Java, also chose Javanese as their local content compulsory subject. In early 2006, the government of Central Java went further by issuing a policy which stated that Javanese must also be taught as a compulsory subject for senior high school students (year 10-12).

5 A member of the team. He is a senior lecturer at the Javanese Department, University of Yogyakarta and a regular guest at a Javanese talk-show broadcast weekly on a local public-run television channel (TVRI Yogyakarta).

It was against this background that the present sociolinguistic study was undertaken. This study aims to answer the following questions:

- What is the pattern of language use of children in the school environment?
- What is the pattern of language use of children in the home environment?
- What is the pattern of language use of parents?
- What factors influence the language use of children?
- What are the children's attitudes to the Javanese language?
- What are the parents' attitudes to the Javanese language?

4. Methodology

In order to study language use among young Javanese, a pilot project for this study was carried out from December 2001 to February 2002, which involved eight schools and one day-care centre in Yogyakarta. Following Fishman (1972), a number of factors considered to be significant in language maintenance and language shift, such as urbanization, industrialization, gender, age, and socio-economic background were looked at. The findings from the pilot project indicated that social class and gender are the two central factors influencing the language use of the Javanese children in Yogyakarta.

On the basis of the findings from the pilot project, major fieldwork was carried out for about eight months (December 2003 – July 2004). Four schools (two Primary and two Junior High Schools) were sampled for this study. From each school, one class from year 5 (11 year olds) and one from year 8 (14 year olds) were chosen for this study, with a total of 108 students involved. The parents of all students were ethnically Javanese and speakers of Javanese.

Data were collected on students' language use patterns, socio-economic backgrounds, and their attitudes toward Javanese. Natural recordings of language use, interviews and surveys on language use and socio-economic background, participant observations, and questionnaires on attitudes toward Javanese were the main activities carried out for this study (Nunan, 1992).

The recordings of language use at home and in the school environment were made by lending the recording equipment to the research subjects. After being given the instructions, the research subjects carried out the recordings themselves, and neither the researcher nor her research assistant was involved in the recording process. After the recordings, a follow-up interview was carried out. The interview aimed to collect any information related to the recordings (when, where, who, what) and any other information to help in the process of transcribing the data.

Surveys and interviews were conducted to collect the data on language use and socio-economic background of the research samples and their social networks. This was done after the recordings of language use had been completed. Additional data on socio-

economic backgrounds were also obtained from the school's documents. During the period of the data collection process, participant observations were carried out, taking five to six weeks for each school. The observations were mainly conducted during school hours (Monday to Saturday, from 7am to 12 pm).

The questionnaire used in this survey consisted of 65 items about attitudes toward Javanese language, values/culture, bilingualism/multilingualism, and the teaching of Javanese in schools. It was distributed to the research subjects and their social networks which include parents, grandparents, siblings, and staff at school.

The data presented in this paper are drawn from the recordings of language use, surveys and interviews on language use and socio-economic background, and journals from the participant observations. The results from the questionnaires on attitudes will not be discussed here but will be discussed in a different paper.

5. Social class

As was mentioned in section 4 (Methodology), the findings from the preliminary research indicated that there are two central factors influencing the language use of the Javanese children in Yogyakarta. One of those factors is social class. Based on these findings, this paper employs notions of class as a variable in distinguishing groups of informants. According to Chambers (2003:42), the main social division in industrialized nations is between people who earn their living by working with their hands and those who earn their living by pencil-work services (the well-known blue and white-collar distinction). Furthermore, he asserts that by historical accident, the manual workers have become known as the 'working class' and the non-manual workers as the 'middle class' (Chambers, 2003:42).

Even though Indonesia is better described as a developing than an industrialized nation, Chambers' (2003:42) basic social class division into manual and non-manual workers is used as a point of reference in this study. Ash (2004: 419) suggested that if social class is determined by a combination of features, the single indicator that accounts for by far the greatest portion of the variance is occupation. Ash (2004:49), however, also suggested that on its own occupation is not a sufficient indicator of social class. Levels of education and income also need to be considered as important indicators. In this study I collected data from the parents of my research subjects about their employment, level of education and the combined income (as a family), and used this information to assign participants to social class categories.

5.1 Parents' employment background

My data suggest seven categories of paid occupations in the research populations. An eighth category is housewives. Starting at the bottom end of social class divisions, the first of the eight occupation categories is: farm labourers. These are unskilled manual workers who do any kind of agricultural work. They are also often referred to as 'peasants'.

The second category is manual labourers. This is another type of unskilled worker and is also a low-paid category which covers manual workers such as road workers, porters (station, airport, and traditional market), construction workers, shop assistants, *becak* (trishaw) or bus or motor-taxi drivers, and security personnel for hotels or shops.

The third category is school teachers. Primary, junior high, and senior high school teachers fall into this category. In the past, and particularly in rural Indonesia, no training or qualification was required to become a school teacher. Some of the teachers were only educated to the level of *SPG* (*Sekolah Pendidikan Guru*, equal to senior high school for teacher trainees). Only for the last 20 years has the government been retraining or re-educating the school teachers by sending them to university to get teaching qualifications.

The fourth category is public servants. This category covers the low ranking government officials usually serving as *TU* (*Tata Usaha*: Administrative Officer) for government bodies such as the Department of Education, Department of Health, Taxation Department and so on.

The fifth category is academics. Those who fall into this category are: lecturers and researchers who work at university and hold a post-graduate degree (Masters or PhD). School teachers and academics were allocated to separate categories because of the different nature of the work, flexibility, and income. A school teacher teaches at one particular school and is allowed to do some private tutorials for extra money. An academic, however, normally teaches at several universities (state and private) and is often involved in some projects related to his or her area that can generate a substantial part of his/her income.

The sixth category is business owners. The people who fall into this category are those who own and run their businesses ranging from dressmaking, food outlets, timber/furniture shops, beauty salons, photocopy and printing shops, and mini-supermarkets.

The seventh category is professionals. Lawyers, accountants, executive managers, bank managers, and bureaucrats or high-ranking government officials are included in this category.

The eighth category is housewives. There are two kinds of housewife to be identified: firstly, those who are historically from low income families and with a low level of education who therefore have difficulty finding a job. The other group consists of those who have a high level of education but have decided to stay at home to be a 'housewife' because their spouse is sufficiently well-paid and does not require the earning of additional income.

The responsibilities of both kinds of housewife are quite similar, that is, to run or be in charge of the day-to-day family wellbeing. This includes housework, washing, cooking, shopping and looking after the children. The major difference is that one group does not have helpers such as servants or drivers and the other group does. It is important to note here that some of the businesses are run at home and these housewives are often (heavily) involved and help their partner. However, they are not categorized or

refused to self-identify as workers. It is somehow ambiguous as to whether being a 'housewife' can be classified as an occupation, but it is clear that these mothers performed income generating activities at the same time as running the household. It is for this reason that category 8 (housewives) is included here (see table 1). The parents of the research population fall into the following class groups and categories.

Class cluster	Categories	Mothers (total: 108)		Fathers (total: 108)	
		No	%	No	%
Cluster A	1. Farm labourers	0	0	11	10
	2. Manual labourers	13	12	19	18
Cluster B	3. School teachers	17	16	6	5
	4. Public servants*	6	6	9	8
Cluster C	5. Academics	8	7	15	14
	6. Business owners	9	8	19	18
	7. Professionals	22	20	29	27
	8. Housewives	33	31	0	0

Table 1 Parent's employment background and social class divisions.

*Low ranking government officials

My further analysis by looking at the parents' income (mother and father separately) at this stage indicates three class clusters within the parents of the research sample (A, B, and C). The first cluster (A) includes farm labourers and manual labourers. The second cluster (B) consists of school teachers and public servants. In the third cluster (C) there are academics, business owners, and professionals. At this stage the categories of occupation were not only treated as a nominal scale, but also indicated ranks.

5.2 Parents' educational backgrounds

Education is another indicator of social class, but it is not considered to be as central as employment. For example, from the data collected about parents' educational backgrounds, there is a case where one father only achieved a primary education level but together with his partner they run several business (food) outlets. Therefore their household income means they are more appropriately allocated to the 'middle class' category. In general, there is a correlation between the parent's occupation and the level of education.

In this study, primary and junior high school level of education is considered to be **low**, senior high school to TAFE is **medium**, and university level of education is categorized as **high** (see table. 2 below).

	Level of education	Mothers (total: 108)		Fathers (total: 108)	
		No	%	No	%
Low	Primary School or drop out	17	16	16	15
	Junior High School	12	11	19	18
Medium	Senior High School	19	18	22	20
	TAFE	23	21	17	16
High	University	37	34	34	31

Table 2 Parents' education background

Table 2 shows that in total, all parents had at least some education. There were only 29 mothers (27%) who had a low level of education, 42 (39%) with a medium level of education, and 37 (34%) who had a high level of education. About 35 fathers (33%) had a low level of education, 39 (36%) had a medium level of education, and 34 (31%) completed a high level of education. In general mothers had a slightly higher level of education than the fathers. The data from table 2 also show that the majority of parents of the research subjects had a medium and high level of education.

Several follow-up interviews (home visits) and observations to document the choice of residential place (dwelling) were carried out. This process provided the researcher with additional information such as home or land ownership, estimated value of the house, cars, motorcycles and so on. Further identification by matching the findings from the interviews and observations, the partner's occupation that made up combined household income and level of education allowed the research subjects to be categorized into two classes:

A. Working Class with 40 families

B. Middle Class with 68 families.

Those who fall into the middle class category are families with either or both parents holding university degrees. Most of the parents who have been classified into the working class category have low levels of education.

6. Pattern of language use by children

6.1 Pattern of language use by children in the home environment

Table 3 shows the language use of children in the home environment based on the synthesis of surveys and recordings of language use, follow-up interviews about language use, and observations.

Pattern of language spoken	Name of languages	Working Class (total:40)		Middle Class (total:68)	
		Girls (19) %	Boys (21) %	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

Table 3 Pattern of language use by children in the home environment

LJ: Low Javanese
HJ: High Javanese
Ind: Indonesian

The home environment or the domain of home covered a variety of interlocutors such as parents, siblings, grandparents, and any other members of the family living in the house. There were 19 girls and 21 boys from a total of 40 children from working class families. From the middle class families, there were 35 girls and 33 boys.

Table 3 shows about 30% of working class girls are in category 2, compared to the boys (81%). In category 3, there are 25% of working girls and only 5% of working class boys. However, in category 4, there are many more working class girls (45%) than the working class boys (14 %). There is no working class girl or boy in category 1 or 5. The next paragraph is about middle class children.

There is no middle class girl or boy in category 1 and 2. About 32% of middle class girls and 48% of middle class boys are in category 3. In category 4 the percentage of the middle class girls (11%) is much smaller than the middle class boys (43%). In category 5, however, the percentage of the middle class girls is much bigger (57%) compared to just 9% of the middle class boys.

The results in table 3 show some indications about the difference in the use of Javanese and Indonesian in the home environment by the working and middle class children. Furthermore, the girls have a strong preference for using Indonesian rather than Javanese at home. 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.

6.2 Patterns of language use by the children in the school environment

Table 4 shows the language use of the children in the school environment based on the synthesis of surveys and recordings of language use, follow-up interviews about language use, and participant observations.

Pattern of language spoken	Name of languages	Working Class (total:40)		Middle Class (total:68)	
		Girls (19) %	Boys (21) %	Girls (35) %	Boys (33) %
1.	LJ	0	0	0	0
2.	LJ + HJ	0	0	0	0
3.	LJ + Ind	40	19	27	74
4.	LJ + HJ + Ind	60	81	11	17
5.	Ind	0	0	62	9

Table 4. Pattern of language use by the children in school-environment in formal and non-formal situations

This domain covered a variety of interlocutors such as classmates, teaching staff, and administrative staff. The findings shown in table 4 (and supported by the language use interviews and observations) indicate that the working class children associate the use of Indonesian with educational settings (and particularly in situations where the staff are present). The regulation says that they are expected to use Indonesian at school because it is the medium of instruction. This is reinforced by the parents, especially the mothers, who keep reminding the children to use Indonesian at school.

Table shows 4 shows that there is no working class girl or boy in category 1 and 2. In category 3, the percentage of the working class girls (40%) is much higher than the working class boys (19%). About 60% of the working class girls and 81% of working class boys are in category 4, while no working class girl or boy is found in category 5. The following paragraph is about middle class children.

There is no middle class girl or middle class boy in category 1 and 2. In category 3, there are 27% of middle class girls and about 74% of middle class boys. There are 11% of middle class girls and 17% of middle class boys in category 4. In category 5, the percentage is substantially different between the middle class girls (62%) and the middle class boys (9%).

Generally, the working class children use Indonesian in formal situations such as in the classroom and when they speak to the staff. However, even in the classroom (in Javanese and non-Javanese classes), the working class children tend to use Low Javanese to each other, switch to Indonesian to the teachers and then switch back into Low Javanese to their classmates. Outside such formal situations, for example in the school yard or cafe, the working class children consistently use Low Javanese to speak

to other children and High Javanese to the school staff. It has been noted from this study that the working class girls show a tendency to use more Indonesian in the school environment than the working class boys.

The middle class children, on the other hand, in general tend to use Indonesian both outside and inside classrooms (in Javanese and non-Javanese classes). However, this study also found that the percentage of the middle class boys who speak Javanese (LJ – to each other) or include Javanese in their linguistic repertoire is much higher than the middle class girls. When asked why they used Indonesian to the teachers (even in the Javanese class), the common answers are: *tidak bisa Krama* (can't speak High Javanese), *takut salah* (afraid of making mistakes), or *tidak sopan pakai Ngoko* (it is rude to use Low Javanese). Interestingly, most of the boys from this group said that the reason for choosing Indonesian is because they cannot speak High Javanese, while half of the girls from this group said they do not want to be rude, and half of them are afraid of making mistakes in using High Javanese to the teachers.

While there were no working class girls or boys who use only Indonesian (pattern 5) in the school environment, the highest percentage of the children who use only Indonesian at school is the middle class girls (62%). Out of the total of 33 middle class boys, about 9% use Indonesian only in school. There is an indication that middle class girls show a strong preference for Indonesian at school (even in the Javanese class) and when asked why, the reasons they gave were: *sudah biasa* (used to Indonesian language), *enak saja* (comfortable using Indonesian), *Bahasa Jawa sulit* (Javanese is difficult), or *tidak semua tahu Bahasa Jawa* (not everybody knows Javanese).

Literature on Javanese (Geertz, 1960; Geertz, 1961; Keeler, 1990; Goebel, 2005) suggests that men are at least stereotypically more likely to be speakers of high Javanese than women. This is consistent with the data presented in this study. The literature also suggested that (stereotypically) higher class people would be more likely to be speakers of High Javanese than lower class. The findings from this study presented here, however, suggest a very interesting change in this regard. Several aspects of the findings from the current study could be used to explain the change. These aspects are the structure of the family, mobility and future orientation.

The structure of the working class family in this study was found to be very different from the structure of the middle class family. The working class family is much wider than the middle class family. It consist of both parents, children, grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, nieces and other members of the extended family living in the same house or the very close neighbourhood. The structure of the middle class family, on the other hand, normally consists of both parents, a small number of children (two or a maximum of three), and a servant.

The presence of a wider range of family members within the working class family would suggest that children raised in such surroundings are exposed to a greater linguistic input than those who are raised in the middle class family, with its more limited membership. 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.

Further, an important factor in this process may be sought in mobility. It can be observed that the mobility of the working class is minimal, as compared with that of the middle class family. In other words, the middle class family often take the opportunity to travel, for example to Jakarta to visit relatives (because they can afford the fares), whereas the working class is much more likely to stay at home. As a result, middle class speakers are more likely to be exposed to linguistic influences from other regions, in particular the varieties of Indonesian spoken in Jakarta, while the working class family remain within the sphere of Javanese.

Finally, there is what can be called future orientation. This refers to the different perceptions that working class and middle class families have with regard to education, career and economic opportunity. The middle class family look at education as a key to building a career that will guarantee a good income, so that they may get the chance to move to another city or even overseas, and this has a strong influence on their linguistic priorities. For them, using and preserving Javanese are not seen as benefiting the children and preparing their way forward in the world.

7 Pattern of language use by parents

7.1 Pattern of language use by the parents to their social networks

Table 5 summarizes the findings from the data collected from the language use survey. The survey asked the parents to indicate language used at home, in the work environment, and at place of worship (church/mosque).

Pattern of language spoken	Name of languages	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.	L J + Ind	0	0	5	2
4.	LJ + HJ + Ind	63	24	95	98
5.	Ind	0	0	0	0

Table 5 Pattern of language use reported by parents

In all three domains (home, work and place of worship) neither working class nor middle class parents reported using Low Javanese only. Mothers (both working and middle class) reported having a strong preference to include Indonesian in their linguistic repertoire. Neither working class nor middle class parents reported using Indonesian only.

The highest percentage of working class fathers (76%) reported using Low and High Javanese. 5% of middle class mothers reported using Low Javanese and Indonesian. A very high percentage of middle class parents (95% mothers and 98% fathers) claimed using both Low and High Javanese together with Indonesian.

7.2 Patterns of language use by the parents to the children

To look at the close link between the children's and parents' language use the survey also asked the parents to report on the language they use to their children. Table 6 gives a summary of the findings from the survey on parents' language use to their children.

Pattern of language spoken	Name of languages	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.	L J + Ind	42	17	4	24
4.	LJ + HJ + Ind	39	23	8	37
5.	Ind	0	0	88	39

Table 6. Pattern of language use by parents to children

There is a clear difference between mothers (both working and middle class) and fathers (both working and middle class) in their use of Indonesian in speech with their children. Combining figures from the linguistic profiles 3 and 4, a total of 81% of working class mothers and 12% middle class mothers include Indonesian in their language use to their children, while 88% of middle class mothers reported using only Indonesian to their children.

Sixty percent of working class fathers reported using both Low and High Javanese to their children, compared to only 19% of the mothers, while none of the middle class mothers and fathers used only Low and High Javanese (and not Indonesian) to their children. The percentage of middle class fathers who included Javanese when speaking to their children is still much higher (61%) than the percentage of mothers (12%).

It is interesting to note that the general linguistic repertoire and language use of the middle class parents (see table 5) do not mirror the linguistic choices of their children. For example, 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, neighbours, and older colleagues at work. This choice is reflected in the language use of the children and particularly the girls (see tables 3 and 4).

Fathers' (both working and middle class) and especially working class fathers, on the other hand, reported having a high maintenance of Javanese and this is reflected in their children's language choice (particularly the boys – see tables 3 and 4). Further investigation needs to be done on whether these findings support the argument that mothers have greater influence in their daughter's language choice, or perhaps it is the case of girls imitating their mothers and boys imitating their fathers.

8. Language use and attitudes toward Javanese

The findings from the parents' language use survey were further supported and confirmed by the results of interviews with children. The interviews were mainly conducted at school and using Indonesian language. The interviews asked questions about the language use of children and parents. An attempt was also made to get the children's views on their parents' attitudes toward Javanese. The interviews were recorded and conducted at the end of the fieldwork.

The girls and the boys were asked to answer or comment on questions about their language use and their parents' language use. Their views about their parents' attitudes toward Javanese were also sought. The results of the interviews confirmed and supported the findings discussed in section 7, where the girls and particularly the middle class girls were found to have a strong preference for Indonesian rather than Javanese and seem to have less positive attitudes toward Javanese.

The following extracts give some insights about language maintenance both in working and middle class families, in particular the girls' views on their parents' language use and their attitudes toward Javanese. Some important points that can be made are: the use of Indonesian was reinforced by the mothers, and middle class mothers appear to have less favourable attitudes toward Javanese than the working class mothers. It appears also that mothers' attitudes influenced the girls' language choice and attitudes toward Javanese. While fathers appear to have a smaller role in the language choice of the girls, they are crucial when it comes to helping the girls with their Javanese classes.

8.1 Working class families

The following extracts (1) – (4) show comments by working class girls about their parents' language use and their attitudes toward Javanese. These comments are representative of a large number of working class girls:

- (1) Ani: Di rumah Ibu selalu pakai Ngoko kepada kami, anak-anak, tapi Krama dengan simbah atau orang tua. Ibu juga pakai Indonesia kepada anak-anak. Pokoknya Ibu bilang Bahasa Indonesia penting untuk sekolah dan ingin bantu kami di rumah. Bapak juga sama tapi kan **ndak pernah** di rumah bantu-bantu!.

‘At home Mum always uses Low Javanese to us, the children, but High Javanese to my grandparents or older people. She also uses Indonesian to us. She told us Indonesian is important for school and she wants to help us at home. Dad is the same but he’s **never** at home to help!’

- (2) Nia: Bapak dan Ibu selalu pakainya Jawa, Ngoko dan Krama ke anak-anaknya, terutama saya #Bahasa Jawa saya jelek#. Tapi, Ibu selalu bilang saya harus pakai Indonesia di sekolah.

‘Dad and Mum always use Javanese, both Low and High to the children, especially me #My Javanese is not good#. But, Mum always reminds me to speak Indonesian at school.’

- (3) Sum: Ibu dan bapak saya tidak sekolah, ya mereka pakai Jawa. Tapi Ibu pesan-pesan saya harus belajar pakai Indonesia yang pintar. ‘Saya ndak mau kamu jadi **miskin** seperti bapak-ibumu!’ katanya.

‘My Mum and Dad are not educated, so they only use Javanese. But Mum insists that I learn to speak good Indonesian at school. ‘I don’t want you to be **poor** like us!’, she said.’

- (4) Sur: Orang tua tidak pernah bicara sama saya atau saudara saya, selalu sibuk dengan kerja mereka. Ibu yang usul supaya saya terima undangan guru untuk kos di rumahnya, jadi bisa konsentrasi sekolah dan jadi murid rajin. Di rumah ya saya pakai Jawa kalau bicara dengan orang tua karena #bapak-ibu **ndak bisa** Indonesia#, tapi di rumah kos guru saya saya sering pakai Indonesia kepada anak-anaknya yang kecil-kecil.

‘My parents never talk to me or other children, they’re always busy with their work. It was Mum’s idea that I accept my teacher’s offer to live at her place, so that I can concentrate on my studies and be a good student. At home I use Javanese to speak to my parents because #they **don’t know** Indonesian#, but at my teacher’s place I often use Indonesian to her young children.’

The extracts (1-4) provide some indications that at home working class families still maintain Javanese (both Low and High) and mothers are more involved in the children’s education than the fathers. Within the working class family, Indonesian is associated with ‘educated people’ and life opportunities, and mothers therefore reinforce the use of Indonesian for school/education.

The following extracts (5) – (8) were taken from the interviews with the working class boys which show rather different attitudes and experiences:

- (5) Ron: Ibu bicara Jawa sama saya tapi pakai Indonesia sedikit kalau bantu PR. Jarang saya bicara sama bapak, kalau ya, ya pakai Jawa. Kenapa? Mungkin semua teman pakai Jawa dan semua orang #Jawa to#.

‘Mum speaks Javanese to me but she uses Indonesian a bit when she helps me with the homework. I rarely speak to Dad, when we do, we use Javanese. Why? I guess all of his friends speak Javanese and we’re all #Javanese#.’

- (6) Fery: Bapak bicara pakai Jawa kepada saya dan mbak saya. Semua pakai Jawa di rumah! Hanya Ibu kadang pakai Indonesia pas menyuruh kita bikin PR atau tugas sekolah. Ibu suka berkata ‘Semua yang berurusan dengan sekolah harus Indonesia!’

‘Dad speaks Javanese to me and my older sister. **Everybody** speaks Javanese at home! Only Mum sometimes uses Indonesian a little bit to remind us to do the home work or school assignments. She likes to say ‘Everything related with school must be in Indonesian!’.’

- (7) Ikhwan: Mereka pakai Jawa ke anak-anak. #Saya kira ndak bisa Indonesia mereka#. Bapak hanya tamat SD dan Ibu ndak selesai!. Mereka senang saya dapat beasiswa belajar di sini, kalau tidak setelah SD saya harus jadi buruh tani seperti mereka. Ibu mau saya jadi guru.

‘They speak Javanese to us. # I don’t think they know Indonesian #. Dad only finished primary school and mum dropped out I think!. They were very happy when I got the scholarship to study here, otherwise after primary school I would have to work as a farm labourer like them. Mum wants me to be a school teacher.’

- (8) Roch: Ya Kami kan **orang Jawa!** Ya bicara Bahasa Jawa. Hanya di sekolah, saya bicara Jawa dan Indonesia, hanya kepada pegawai sekolah. Bapak-Ibu saya pakai Krama kepada guru saya di sekolah.

‘We’re **Javanese!** We speak Javanese. Only at school, I use Javanese and Indonesian, Only to the staff. My parents speak High Javanese to my teachers at school.’

The extracts (5-8) give some indications that the experiences between boys and girls are the same. Both encounter a lot of Javanese at home, and associate Indonesian with education and upward mobility. Both have experiences of their mother supporting the use of Indonesian. The main difference seems to be in the strong Javanese identity expressed by the boys, whereas the girls try to conform to be educationally successful. The question of identity has been touched on here, but this will be discussed in another paper.

8.2 Middle class families

The following extracts (9) – (12) show comments by middle class girls about their parents’ language use and their attitudes toward Javanese. These comments are representative of a large number of middle class girls:

- (9) Mon: Mami ndak pernah pakai Jawa kepada saya, pakai Indonesia terus. Bapak **lain!** Sering bapak pakai kata Jawa dan #yang hanya bisa bantu PR Jawa#. Mami bilang tidak usah khawatir dengan Bahasa Jawa. Sekarang di sekolah, Indonesia **pasti** lebih penting! Kan masuk ujian nasional!

‘Mum never speaks Javanese to me, she always uses Indonesian. Dad is **different!** He often uses words in Javanese and #he’s the only one who can help me with my Javanese homework#. Mum says not to worry with my Javanese. At school now, **definitely** Indonesian is more important! It’s included in the national exam!’

- (10) Tess: Jawa? Saya nggak bisa!#. Di rumah kami semua bicara pakai Indonesia kok. Meskipun, papah dan adik laki-laki bisa pakai Jawa!#mereka sering bercanda pakai Jawa#. Mami dan saya pakai Indonesia. Mami bilang lebih gampang! Ya....papah yang **bantu** PR Jawa saya.

‘Javanese?..I can’t speak Javanese!. # . At home we always speak to each other in Indonesian anyway. Even though my Dad and my brother can speak Javanese! #they often joke in Javanese#. Mum and I use Indonesian. Mum says it’s easier that way! Yes...Dad **helps** me with my Javanese homework.’

- (11) Sel: Sejak dari kecil tuh, saya kira.....Ibu selalu pakai Indonesia. Rasanya #lucu# kalau saya bicara Jawa. Ibu minta saya untuk belajar Bahasa Inggris ketimbang mikir **Jawa!** Lucu deh! Bapak sering pakai Jawa sama adik ! Karena dia bisa. Nggak! Bapak nggak pernah paksa saya bicara Jawa!

‘Since I was little, I think.....Mum always spoke to me in Indonesian. I feel #funny# when I use Javanese. Mum encouraged me to learn English rather than worrying about my **Javanese!** It’s funny! Dad often uses Javanese to my younger brother! Because he can. No, he never forces me to speak Javanese!’

- (12) Wid: Orang tua saya jual ikan asin di pasar. Ya mereka pakai Jawa terus! Wong nggak sekolah kok mereka! ‘#Kata Ibu Indonesia untuk orang sekolahan#’. Ya, Jawa saya lancar! Tapi di sekolah pakai Indonesia terus, karena **semua cewek** begitu!.

‘My parents sell salted fish in the market. They both use Javanese all the time! They’re not educated! ‘#Mum thinks Indonesian is for the educated people#. I speak fluent Javanese I think! But at school I use Indonesian all the time, because **all the girls** do!’

The following extracts (13) – (16) illustrate the middle class boys reporting on their parents’ language use and their underlying attitudes toward Javanese. The boys recognize the fathers’ efforts to maintain Javanese but confirm the role of mothers as the main care givers, the ones who take care of children’s education, and the ones who help with homework. However, it is important to note that the middle class boys show more willingness to maintain Javanese than the middle class girls.

- (13) Andi: Saya ngerti papah mau saya belajar Jawa. Papah sering pakai Jawa lho, #apalagi kalo lagi marah sama saya!#. Mamah dan kami anak-anak pakai Indonesia selalu! Kadang Mamah pakai satu dua kata Jawa. #hanya Ngoko#. Saya sering main sama tetangga dan semua pakai Jawa. Bisa sih aku Jawa Ngoko! Amburadul. Ya, harus belajar saya pikir. Saya pengen jadi romo dan syaratnya harus pinter Jawa kalau mau jadi romo di Yogya!

'I know my Dad wants me to learn Javanese. He often uses Javanese, #and especially when he's angry at me!#. Mum and we (the children) use Indonesian a lot! She does use one or two Javanese words. # Only Low Javanese #. I often play with the neighbours and most of them are Javanese. I can only speak Low Javanese! Very bad. I guess I just have to learn. I want to be a priest, and you must speak very good Javanese if you want to be a priest in **Yogya!**.'

- (14) Kiky: Bapak bicara Jawa ke saya tapi campur Indonesia dengan adik-adik. Ibu lebih sering pakai Indonesia. Mengapa? Karena yang bantu kami dengan PR. Saya pakai Indonesia dan Ngoko sama temen di sekolah. Sama Pak Agus*, saya pakai Krama.

'Dad speaks Javanese to me but mixes it with Indonesian to my younger brothers. Mum uses more Indonesian. Why? Because she's the one who helps us with the homework. I use Indonesian and Low Javanese with friends at school. I use High Javanese with Mr Agus*.'

- (15) Tito: Mami pakai Indonesia ke saya dan adik perempuan. Mungkin karena lebih gampang dari Jawa. Papa sering pakai Jawa, tapi saya tinggal dekat sama keluarga mami. Saya bisa Ngoko tapi takut pakai Krama.

'Mum speaks to me and my younger sister in Indonesian. I guess it's easier than Javanese. Dad uses more Javanese, but I spend more time with my Mum's family. I know Low Javanese but I'm not confident using High Javanese.'

- (16) Dan: Ibu dan bapak guru sekolah. Kalau ngomong-ngomong mereka pakai Jawa. Mereka sering pakai Jawa dan Indonesia ke saya. #Mungkin karena Jawa saya nggak becus#.

'Mum and Dad are both high school teachers. They speak to each other in Javanese. They often use Javanese and Indonesian to speak to me. # Perhaps because my Javanese **is not good** #.'

* Pak Agus is the History and Javanese teacher

9. Conclusion

This paper has focused on small samples of the Javanese community in Yogyakarta and in particular school-aged children and their social networks. This is a case study of language shift currently taking place in Indonesia, especially in Java. The shift is from Javanese to Indonesian. There is also some indication of changes in register usage as well. Besides the findings that show social class as a strong determinant for language shift, the findings of this study also pose some interesting questions about the role of parents, in particular mothers, in language maintenance. One of the interesting findings from a recent study by Winter and Pauwels (2005:167) about gender and language maintenance revealed that ‘mothering’ afforded a potential site for language maintenance agency and activism. This study shows that mothering also afforded a potential site for language shift and change.

Interpreting the data presented above, we are confronted with two important findings. Firstly, there is a striking difference between working class and middle class respondents with regard to language use, in connection with the perceived roles of Javanese and Indonesian in education and the status of Indonesian as ‘the language of modernity’. This suggests a significant difference between the two social levels, but it is unclear whether the difference is in perception of the value of education, or of the status of Indonesian as the language of modernity. Secondly, we saw a contrast along gender lines between the attitudes of boys and girls, and mothers and fathers. This also suggests an underlying difference, perhaps in values, whereby males attach more significance to in-group solidarity through the use of Javanese, rather than striving for social and educational advancement through the use of Indonesian. Finally, at an even deeper level, questions of identity are raised by this study, in that the use of language touches on perceptions of self: “I use Javanese, because I am Javanese”; “I use Indonesian because I want to get ahead as an Indonesian”. This is an avenue for further in-depth investigation on a future occasion.

Appendix: Transcription Conventions

Name: Informant (participant)

! Rising intonation

? Questioning Intonation

Bold Increased loudness for reinforcement/stress

‘....’ Quoted speech

Indicates laughter

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