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**ENABLER FACTORS IN THE SURVIVAL OF “NGOKO” JAVANESE IN THE SPECIAL REGION OF YOGYAKARTA
(Enabler Factors Survival Bahasa Jawa “Ngoko” di Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta)**

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi lebih jauh alasan di balik preferensi pemilihan salah satu ragam bahasa Jawa, yakni bahasa Jawa Ngoko di kalangan siswa Sekolah Dasar, Sekolah Menengah Pertama, dan Sekolah Menengah Atas di lima wilayah kabupaten/kota di Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (DIY). Alasan pemilihan bahasa ini dipandang memiliki kaitan erat dengan sosialisasi bahasa yang dilakukan di lingkup keluarga, peer groups dan media, baik media sosial maupun media konvensional. Teori mengenai kerentanan bahasa dipakai untuk menganalisis sumber data. Penelitian ini menggunakan mix method, yakni dengan penelitian survei menggunakan analisis kuantitatif terhadap aspek-aspek terkait dengan alasan pemilihan bahasa dan peran subjek-subjek yang berpotensi menjadi enabler factor pemilihan bahasa Jawa Ngoko tersebut. Metode kedua adalah dengan Geographic Information system yang merupakan metode dengan fokus pada spasialitas untuk menengarai sebaran pemilihan-pemilihan bahasa Jawa di lima wilayah yang dianalisis. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa practical reason menjadi alasan utama dari para siswa untuk menggunakan bahasa dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Habitus DIY merupakan enabler factor alasan pemilihan ragam bahasa ini secara umum di jenjang sekolah yang berbeda. Selain itu, keluarga, peer groups serta sosial media memiliki potensi sebagai enabler factor yang lain meskipun membutuhkan cara dan mekanisme yang berbeda di dalam pengelolaannya.

Kata-kata kunci: bahasa Jawa, ngoko, kerentanan, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, enabler factor

Abstract

Conducted in one city and five regencies in DIY (the Special Region of Yogyakarta), this study aimed to identify the reason as to why the elementary, junior high, and high school students in these regions prefer using one Javanese register, namely ngoko, over the other registers. It is believed that this preference pertains to language socialization within the family, peer groups, and the media, both social and conventional. The theory of language vulnerability was used to analyze the data. The study employed two relevant quantitative methods. The first one includes a quantitative analysis of survey data on the background of language selection and the roles of subjects believed to be the enabler factors in the selection of ngoko. The second one is GIS (Geographic Information System) mapping to display spatial information on the distribution of Javanese register usage in the five regions. This study found that practicality is the main reason for students to use ngoko in everyday life. The habitus of DIY is an enabler factor in choosing this language variety at different school levels. Additionally, family, peer groups, and social media have the potential to be enabler factors, although it requires different ways and mechanisms to manage them.

Keywords: Javanese, ngoko, vulnerability, Special Region of Yogyakarta, enabler factor

INTRODUCTION

Language vulnerability does not only affect small languages or languages spoken by minority groups. In fact, it can also happen to dominant languages used by the majority groups around the world. Linguistically, language vulnerability transpires due to various factors. One of the major contributors to language vulnerability is the dominance of a language that is legitimized as a national language. Language vulnerability also occurs in many countries that claim to preserve their local languages. In France, for example, the local language Alsatian, which is spoken by the people living at the border region between France and Germany, is in a vulnerable state due to the dominance of French as the official language (Vajta, 2020). According to a report by UNESCO, there are approximately 7000 languages spoken by more than 7 billion people throughout the world. Of the 7000 languages, more than 3000 are listed as endangered languages. Of the 7 billion people in the world, 97% of them speak only 4% of the existing languages, while the remaining 3% speak endangered languages (UNESCO, 2003).

Filipović and Pütz in their research claim that only minority languages experience vulnerability (Filipovic & Pütz, 2016). However, in the context of Indonesia, languages used by minority groups in archipelagic or periphery areas are not the only languages experiencing vulnerability. In fact, the Javanese language, the focus of this study, is the language used by the Javanese people, which are the largest ethnic group in the country. The island of Java, one of the five largest islands in Indonesia, is inhabited by 60% of the Indonesian population, the majority of whom are

ethnic Javanese. The island is divided into 5 provinces, namely West Java, DKI Jakarta (Jakarta Capital Special Region), Central Java, DIY (Special Region of Yogyakarta), and East Java. Of these areas, four provinces, except West Java, are mostly inhabited by Javanese, although nowadays it is very difficult to identify a person as a Javanese (Zen, E, 2021). This is mainly due to the process of ethnic hybridity resulted from the growing number of interethnic marriages (Pardi et al., 2019) in the last four decades. The people's increasing acceptance of interethnic marriages is a result of the declining Javanese feudalism, which was the cause of many Javanese people's disinclination to espouse the *sabrang* (outsider) people (Mardiana, 2019; F. Saputri et al., 2018; Sopar & Maifizar, 2020; Wahyuni, 2020). Apart from DKI Jakarta, which is a very complex metropolitan area in terms of ethnicity, the Javanese language is widely used in many other areas, especially in Central Java, DIY, and East Java. However, DIY, a tourist destination often called the student city, is becoming an increasingly cosmopolitan area in which language vulnerability is taking place. Every day, more and more school-age children use the Indonesian language as a communication tool, both at school and at home. There is a growing bilinguality. Three decades ago, the Javanese language was the dominant means of communication at home and in social interactions. Today, the mixing of both Indonesian and Javanese is also practiced in everyday life (Bhakti, 2020; Hendrasuti, 2017; Kurniawati, 2021; Suryadi, 2017).

A number of studies on the vulnerability of the Javanese language have been conducted. Since the 1990s,

Javanese has experienced the declination because of the use of Javanese has been replaced by Indonesian, which has a higher political linguistic position. This decline took place gradually starting in the 1970s. In these years, Indonesian was still used as the language of instruction in educational institutions, office and business environments. Indonesian was still also used by certain groups, especially the upper-class and the intellectual groups. Furthermore, in the 1980s, there was a leak of diglossia due to the use of Indonesian which seeped into areas that previously used Javanese, including the realm of adat. Finally, in the 1990s the leakage of diglossia in DIY was getting wider. Indonesian is not only used in the realms of education, government and custom, but has penetrated the realm of the family. More and more families in Yogyakarta use Indonesian to communicate among family members (Munandar, 2013).

The shift in the use of Javanese to Indonesian in DIY, which is the center of Javanese culture, can also be seen not only from the situational domain but also from the language level (*krama* and *ngoko*), the age of the speakers, and the regions (towns and villages). Broadly speaking, *ngoko* Javanese is still spoken better by adults than by children. This is because more children use Indonesian at school (Yulianti, 2013).

Joseph Errington (1998) also investigated the decline in the use of the Javanese language and explained its potential vulnerability due to the dominance of the Indonesian language. Errington, who conducted his research in

Yogyakarta and Surakarta, found that in both regions there is an immense potential for one of the registers of Javanese, namely *krama*, to be extinct. Another finding posited that the decline in Javanese language usage occurred in both active and passive Javanese speakers. Meanwhile, other studies explained more about the aspects that contribute to this decline (Nurhayati, 2013; Suparta, 2017). The potential vulnerability of Javanese registers and the possibilities for their preservation (S. Saputri, 2015; S. Saputri & Nurhayati, 2019; Sulistyowati, 2014) are also the focus of research by many Javanese linguists.

Another popular research topic is the use of language defense strategies to tackle language vulnerability (Rochayanti et al., 2012). These studies described the efforts that have been carried out by various government institutions, agencies, schools, and the media to encourage an increased use of the Javanese language (S. Saputri, 2015; S. Saputri & Nurhayati, 2019).

To extend the research on language vulnerability, the current study investigated why a particular register in Javanese is still widely used by language users among the millennials, whereas the other registers are slowly abandoned. Respondents in this study are students from all the elementary, junior high, and high schools in one city and four regencies in DIY. As shown in the table below, *ngoko* (low register) is still in usage while *krama* (medium register) and *krama inggil* (high register) are gradually left behind.

Table 1
Choice of Javanese Register

No.	CHOICE OF LANGUAGE/REGISTER	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1	<i>Ngoko</i>	259	78.48%
2	<i>Krama</i>	53	16.06%
3	<i>Krama inggil</i>	9	2.73%

4	Not using Javanese	9	2.73%
	Total	330	100%

Table 1 shows that 78.48% of students from elementary, junior high, and high schools in DIY used the *ngoko* register. Only 16.06% used *krama*, while the remaining 2.73% used *krama inggil*. Table 1 also shows that language vulnerability occurs in the *krama* and *krama inggil* registers. This is due to the fact that the Javanese language users in DIY choose *ngoko* in preference to the other registers. For this reason, this study aims to explore two issues, namely the reasons for choosing the *Ngoko* register as a daily communication tool and the contribution of the environment in which the language is socialized, such as family, peer groups, and the media, to the use of the register. In other words, this study investigated the aspects supporting the survival of *ngoko* as the most used among all three Javanese registers, leaving *krama* and *krama inggil* subjected to subordination and neglect. The distribution of the respondents' positionalities regarding the reasons for choosing the registers and the social environment that supports the selection of register variety is shown in the form of a map.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Linguists in general argue that language vulnerability is the result of several factors. The first is the drastic decrease in the number of active speakers. The second is the decreasing number of domains in which the language is used. The third is the neglect of a mother tongue by young speakers. The fourth is the effort to maintain an ethnic identity without actively using the local language corresponding with the ethnicity. The fifth is the younger generation's lack of proficiency in using their parents' mother

tongue. The sixth is the increasingly disappearing dialects of a language (Ewing, 2014; Isern & Fort, 2014).

Meanwhile, Filipović and Pütz explain that there are several factors that contribute to language vulnerability.

Endangered languages are those that are moving towards extinction, for a variety of reasons that our contributors discuss, mainly related to diminishing sizes of speaker populations, lifestyle changes and other socio-economic and political factors. Languages in danger, on the other hand, refers to the circumstances that create a disadvantaged position for speakers of certain languages when they find themselves within another linguistic environment that speaks a different, majority language (Filipovic & Pütz, 2016).

In other words, Filipović and Pütz posit that there are several determining factors contributing to language vulnerability. The first factor pertains to the ethnic minority who speak the language. This is marked by the drastic decrease in the number of active speakers and the decreasing areas in which the language is used. The second factor is the perceived social status generated by the use of a certain language. For example, the use of English among young people in Indonesia is seen as a mark of high social class and modern lifestyle. This phenomenon is characterized by the decreasing use of the mother tongue by the younger generation. The third one is sociopolitical factor. The lack of effort by the government and the society in preserving a language is a major factor that triggers language vulnerability. The last one is the speakers' disinclination to maintain their local language or its dialects.

RESEARCH METHOD

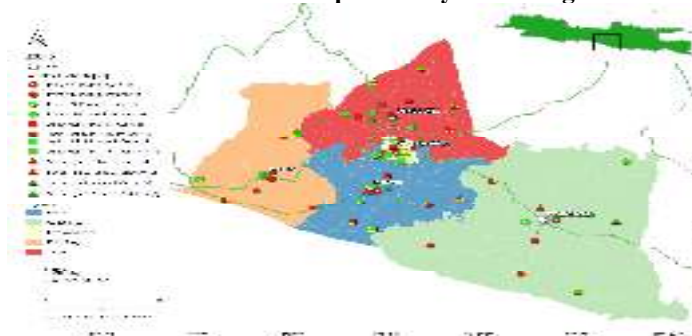
This study used two relevant methods, namely survey and Geographic Information System (GIS). The data obtained from the survey were analyzed quantitatively and then presented in the form of maps and their corresponding spatial information. In relation to language vulnerability, the study focuses on the relation between *ngoko* language competency and the reasons for using it, as well as the social environments related to the decision to use of the register. On the other hand, the geographical mapping was carried out to raise an understanding that in addition to linguistic aspects, geographical aspects play a significant role in language vulnerability. GIS or the Geographic Information System is a method used to analyze an unlimited amount of spatial data (Brimicombe, 2010) and provide specific spatial information for the researchers. It works by collecting data that will be used as variables in the form of data tables, which are then analyzed in GIS and presented in the form of maps and spatial information (Yuwono et al., 2017). The geographical mapping elucidates the potential spread and escalation of language vulnerability. Thus, it paves the way for specific policies for different zones.

Five areas in DIY were investigated in the survey, namely the City of Yogyakarta and the regencies of Kulonprogo, Bantul, Sleman and Gunung

Kidul. The study focused on school-age children's daily use of Javanese language in these regions. The data were retrieved by surveying elementary, junior high, and senior high school students. For the elementary level, children in second grade were chosen as respondents in order to determine if the Javanese language was introduced from an early age. Meanwhile, respondents from both junior high and senior high levels are selected from second grade to provide proper intervals in between. The location (central or peripheral) and status (public or private) of the schools were also taken into consideration. For each regency/city, two public and two private schools were selected from both central and peripheral zones. Using these predetermined criteria, 12 schools were selected from each regency/city. However, the researchers had difficulties in obtaining data from the City of Yogyakarta because there were only 11 schools interested in participating in the research. In the end, the study surveyed 330 respondents from 59 schools. Collected data were processed in GIS and displayed in geographical images. A balanced distribution was one of the criteria for school selection to make sure that every corner of each region was reached by this study.

The following map shows the distribution of schools sampled in this research.

Figure 1
School Distribution Map in 1 City and 4 Regencies



DISCUSSION

***Ngoko, Krama, and Krama Inggil*
Language Competencies**

Many speakers of Javanese language in other areas—both in Indonesia and abroad—hail DIY as the seat of knowledge when it comes to learning the Javanese language and culture. This study revealed an important finding related to Javanese language vulnerability that the policy makers should heed. Quantitative analysis

revealed that the students in all five surveyed areas still used the Javanese language, especially the *ngoko* variety, although qualitative research on their level of competency as active or passive users of *ngoko* needs to be conducted. It is evident that the students have low competency level for *krama* and *krama inggil*. The following table presents the participants’ competency levels and use of Javanese language in daily lives. From the table we can also identify which city/regency in DIY has higher levels of competency in *krama* and *krama inggil*.

Table 2
Respondents’ Levels of Language Choice/Competence

No.	Regency/City	Language Options				Total
		<i>Ngoko</i>	<i>Krama</i>	<i>Krama Inggil</i>	Not speaking Javanese	
1	Bantul	40 (66%)	16 (27%)	1 (2%)	3 (5%)	60
2	GunungKidul	55 (87%)	5 (8%)	3 (5%)	0 (0%)	63
3	Yogyakarta City	52 (80%)	9 (14%)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)	65
4	Kulon Progo	58 (82%)	10 (14%)	1 (1%)	2 (3%)	71
5	Sleman	54 (76%)	13 (18%)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)	71
	Total	259	53	9	9	330

Table 2 shows that the Javanese language is still used in all five studied areas. More than 50% respondents claimed that they used Javanese language in their daily communication (Sundari & Sumartono, 2020). However, the majority of the speakers use *ngoko*, the low-register variety of Javanese language. Gunung Kidul has the highest number of *ngoko* speakers (87%) compared to the other areas. Lining up in second and third places are Kulon Progo (82%), Yogyakarta City (80%), while the lowest number of *ngoko* users is found in Bantul (66%).

The relatively low percentage of *ngoko* users in Bantul may be related to the significantly high number of *krama*

users in this region (27%), which is the highest compared to that in the other areas. Gunung Kidul has the lowest number of *krama* users (8%), followed by Yogyakarta City (14%). The number of *krama inggil* users is even lower. In Kulon progo, for instance, there is only 1% of student has *krama inggil* competence. The highest percentage for *krama inggil* speakers is found in Bantul, with a value of 5%.

The following table illustrates the three main reasons for using *ngoko*, i.e., family, practicality, and social interaction. The students’ tendency to imitate their parents, grandparents, or other family members is a factor in their decision to use a language. This indicates

a strong external influence in their decision to use *ngoko*. Practicality is related to the respondents' convenience in using *ngoko* as compared to *krama* and *krama inggil*. Both *krama* and *krama inggil* are considered more difficult and complicated due to their higher statuses and complex forms (Damariswara, 2016; Sunarso, 2000; Wibawa, 2005). In this

context, individual preference is important. Lastly, social interactions pertain to the students' social environment. Peer groups and the media have an important role in the preservation of the Javanese language, especially for the *ngoko* variety. This re-emphasizes the significance of external influences in the decision to use the *ngoko*.

Table 3
Reasons for Language Choice

No.	Regency/City	Reasons			Total
		Family	Practicality	Social Interactions	
1	Bantul	11 (18%)	41 (69%)	8 (13%)	60
2	GunungKidul	7 (11%)	52 (83%)	4 (6%)	63
3	Kota Yogyakarta	20 (31%)	37 (57%)	8 (12%)	65
4	Kulon Progo	8 (11%)	54 (76%)	9 (13%)	71
5	Sleman	16 (23%)	42 (59%)	13 (18%)	71
	Total	62	226	42	330

From the data presented above, it can be seen that practicality is the main reason for using *ngoko*, with an average percentage of more than 50%. For this group of response, Gunung Kidul recorded the highest percentage of 83% followed by Kulon Progo (76%). Practicality in this context is related to the users' personal preference of language and not because of external influences. The relative simplicity of *ngoko* is what drove the respondents to choose practicality as their reason for using the register. Moreover, this low register variety of Javanese is commonly used as a means of communication in Yogyakarta.

Meanwhile, the respondents who chose family and those who chose social interactions as their reasons to use *ngoko* are almost equal in number. Both reasons indicate that there are external factors influencing the decision to use a specific register. Family reason, as explained

above, is related to the influence coming from the family circle. The family members mentioned the most by the majority of respondents were mother, father, and grandmother. It is assumed that both parents' influences on language register selection are equally significant because the respondents converse in Javanese with their parents on a daily basis. Some respondents chose grandmother although the influence is not as significant as their parents'. On the other hand, social interactions include peer groups and the influence from the media.

Reasons for Choosing Language Register in Elementary and Junior High School

Although practicality is the main reason for choosing language register by the respondents in the surveyed regencies/city, there existed dynamics in

terms of reasons for choosing *ngoko*. In the elementary school level, it can be seen that in addition to practicality, family is

also a significant factor for the second-grade students in using *ngoko* as shown in the following table:

Table 4
Reasons for Choosing *Ngoko* in Elementary Level

School	Reason	Number of Students	Percentage
Elementary School	Family	29	26%
	Practicality	67	61%
	Social Interactions	14	13%

The practical reason in the elementary level may be related to the difficulty level of the language. For elementary school students, the Javanese language is often considered as a difficult language to learn (Kurniati, 2015; Mahardika & Setyaningrum, 2020; Mustikasari & Astuti, 2020; R. A. Putri, 2020; F. Saputri et al., 2018; Setyawan, 2019; Suharyo, 2018; Suryadi, 2017). In fact, the difficulty of Javanese language as a school subject is comparable to mathematics. However, Javanese is still widely used in the daily habitus of DIY, especially by older generations. *Ngoko* is chosen because it is considered easier to learn and can act as a bridge of communication. By listening to Javanese speakers, the students are accustomed to the language. They also have to interact in their daily activities, although mostly with the people of the same generation. This limitation is due to the complicated convention of the Javanese language which demands the speakers to use *krama* or *krama inggil* registers. These registers, which are no longer mastered by the majority of elementary school students, are a means to interact with older or respected people (Damariswara, 2016; Isodorus, 2020). As mentioned before, this study does not cover a qualitative analysis of the respondents' language competencies. It has not been identified how far the students understand or practice Javanese language in both active and passive forms. That being said, the option "practicality" chosen by the

majority of the students signifies their effort to survive linguistically in a habitus where the Javanese language is commonly used.

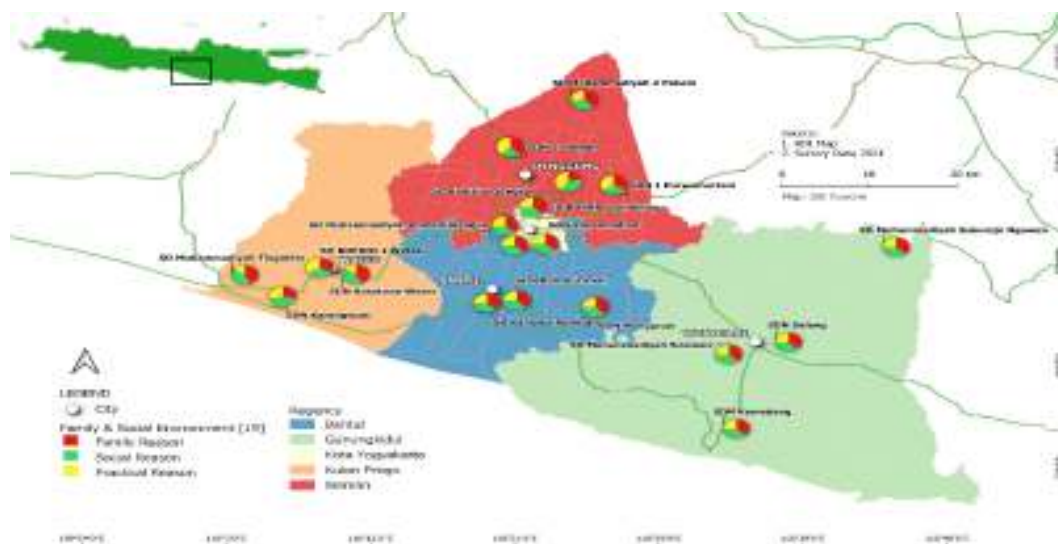
Meanwhile, the second most chosen reason is family, which is an important aspect for the students. Despite the lower percentage compared to practicality, family reason is still important to be analyzed since the language used in social life usually reflects the language used at home. There is an argument that can explain why family, especially when compared to practicality, is not a major reason for the students to use *ngoko*. The *ngoko* register is rarely used by Javanese parents (Kurniawati, 2021). Communication with parents is not the strongest drive for the students to use *ngoko*. As the younger members of the society, some of the students' language use is highly influenced by their parents or caretakers.

This explains the role of parents in the development or socialization of *krama* and *krama inggil* in children, which is still carried out by a small number of parents. Furthermore, the role of schools in Javanese language education is slowly diminishing. In the last two decades, schools have become spaces for learning the Javanese language where students only learn vocabulary, proverbs, Javanese scripts, and other language components, with minimal attention to language practice. Compared to 20 or 30 years ago, students today no longer use Javanese in their

communication with teachers. Thus, in addition to where they learn the Javanese language from, the reason why they use *ngoko* is because it is less complicated

than the higher *krama* and *krama inggil* registers. The following map describes the spatial distribution of the data from table 4:

Figure 2
Map of Reasons for Choosing *Ngoko* in Elementary Schools in One City and Four Regencies



Meanwhile, similar findings can be observed from the junior high and senior high school levels. As shown in the table below, practicality is still the reason for

the majority of both junior and senior high school students to use the *ngoko* register.

Table 5
Reasons for Choosing *Ngoko* Register in Junior and Senior High School Level

School	Reason	Count	Percentage
Junior High School	Family	17	16%
	Practicality	76	72%
	Social Interaction	13	12%
	Total	106	100%
Senior High School	Family	16	14%
	Practicality	83	73%
	Social Interaction	15	13%
	Total	114	100%

As shown in the table above, more than 70% of junior and senior high school students chose practicality as their reason to use *ngoko*. In this context, the practicality reason shows relevance to the simplicity of language. This shows that using an easier language register is a language strategy for these students.

There is an awareness that they live in a Javanese-speaking habitus, therefore they have a need to apprehend the Javanese language, albeit only the low register. Parental influences and social influences (peer groups and media influences) on language register choice are quite equal.

The following map illustrates the spatial data on the reasons for choosing

ngoko in junior and senior high school level.

Figure 3
Map of the reasons for choosing *ngoko* in junior high school level

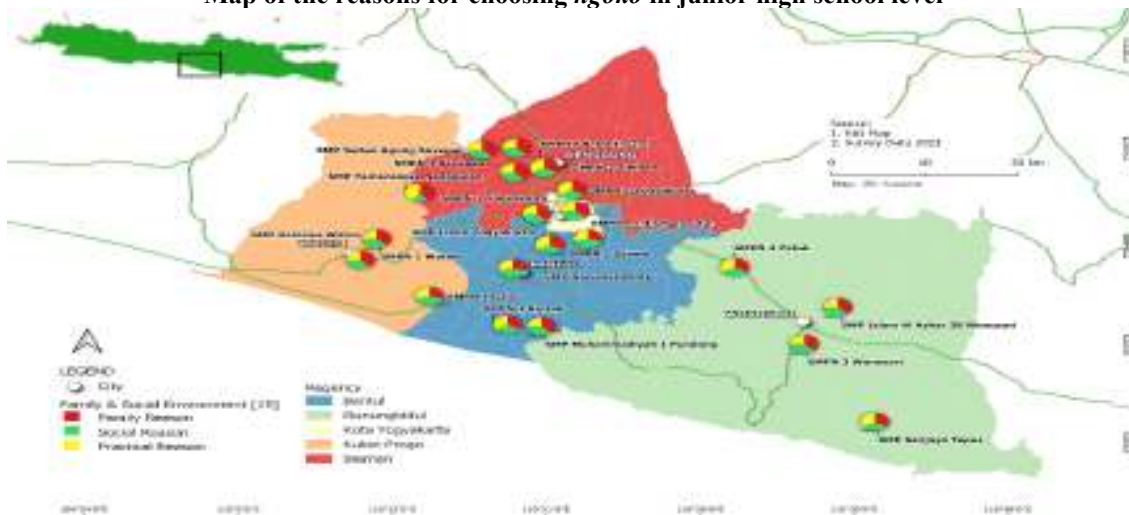
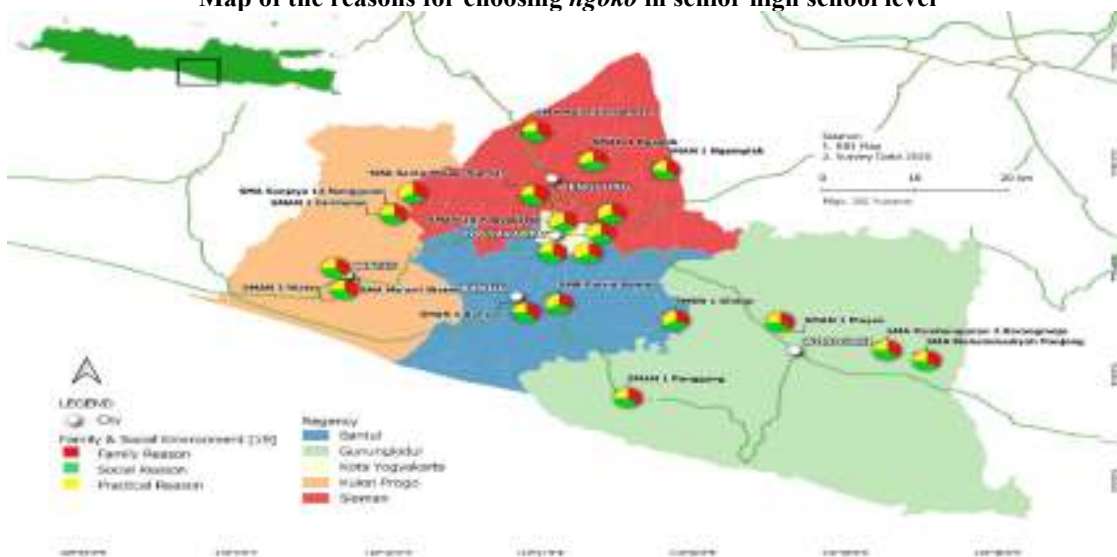


Figure 4
Map of the reasons for choosing *ngoko* in senior high school level



Media and Its Contribution in the Students' Language Choice Decision

In addition to family influences, social environment has a role in the students' language use, although the percentage is not significant. Nevertheless, this factor is important because social environment has a relevance to language adoption although the influence cannot yet be measured. For

example, social media can contribute—though often unnoticed—to the development of language practices. WhatsApp group, Tik Tok, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, etc.often offer various contents in different languages, including Javanese language, that can be accessed by anyone. For example, Javanese language can be socialized by social media content creators who come from different regions of Indonesia,

especially regions that have many Javanese speakers. This language socialization can also be done by Javanese people living in non-Javanese speaking regions, even those outside Indonesia (Endryanti et al., 2020; Hasan, 2020; C. I. K. Putri, 2019; R. A. Putri, 2020; Susanto & Sandi, 2020; Untari, 2017). Aside from social media, conventional media such as radio stations and television channels also offer Javanese language programs. These programs are created by the media as an effort to preserve Javanese culture. For example, during the reformation era, some local television channels brought Javanese locality to light by showing their Javanese identity. Various Javanese-language programs were aired in both state and private television stations. Likewise, radio stations also play a huge role in the socialization of Javanese language (Ariviani & Sumarlam, 2019; Handono, 2017; Putro & Ibrahim, 2017; Qurniawati & Nurhayati, 2015; Sudono, 2021; Sukoyo, 2011). Radio broadcasters often speak Javanese or a mixture of Indonesian and Javanese during broadcasts aimed at younger generation, such as music program.

Therefore, it is necessary to gain an understanding on the extent to which conventional media and social media are accessed by the student respondents in their daily lives. This is important because there is a possibility that the practical reason they chose is related to their access to conventional media and social media, which is a part of their daily activities.

The table below describes three categories of conventional media and social media usage by the survey respondents in relation to their use of Javanese language. The data show that the majority of respondents sometimes use Javanese language on social media. More than 60% of respondents in Bantul Regency, Gunung Kidul Regency, and Yogyakarta City gave the same response. Meanwhile, in Kulon Progo, only 37% of the participants responded that they occasionally use Javanese language on social media. Nonetheless, these results indicate that the majority of the respondents in Kulon Progo chose “occasionally” over “always” and “never.”

The data shows a relatively large percentage of respondents in three regencies chose “always” in terms of Javanese language usage on social media. They are Kulon Progo (31%), Bantul (25%), and Gunung Kidul (22%). It can be interpreted that Javanese language is still widely used on social media by school-age children outside their family circles. Online peer groups have a significant role in Javanese language preservation, although the mechanism lacks structure, unlike the government efforts through various policies. The numbers in the table below indicate that these students still use Javanese language on social media, although not frequently. This means that social media has the potential to be the medium to socialize Javanese language for students. The following table presents data on the respondents’ use of Javanese language on social media.

Table 6
The Use of Javanese Language on Social Media

No.	Javanese Use on Social Media	Regency/City				
		Bantul	Gunung Kidul	Yogyakarta City	Kulon Progo	Sleman
1	Never	13%	10%	26%	32%	34%

2	Occasionally	62%	68%	62%	37%	48%
3	Always	25%	22%	12%	31%	18%

Meanwhile, the students also access Javanese-language contents, mostly from the social media. More than 50% of all the participants from 4 regencies and 1 city who use Javanese answered that they sometimes access contents in Javanese language. The presence of social media such as YouTube, Tik Tok, etc. gives space for many people to create contents using any language of their preference, including the Javanese language. Meanwhile, more than 40% of the participants said that they never read social media contents in Javanese, while

the remaining percentage of the participants answered that they always access contents in Javanese.

Table 7 shows that the number of participants who never read Javanese-language contents on the social media and the number of those who do only differ slightly. However, the potential for the development of the Javanese language through social media is significant, given that most of the students who are Javanese speakers still access Javanese-language contents.

Table 7
Reading Contents Written in Javanese

No.	Reading Contents Written in Javanese	Regency/City				
		Bantul	Gunung Kidul	Yogyakarta City	Kulon Progo	Sleman
1	Never	40%	43%	40%	49%	42%
2	Occasionally	50%	54%	54%	44%	56%
3	Every day	10%	3%	6%	7%	1%

In terms of access to Javanese-language contents in conventional media, i.e., television and radio, the survey reveals a different result. More than 50% of students who speak Javanese responded that they never accessed Javanese-language television program or radio broadcasts. On the other hand, more than 40% of the students responded that they accessed Javanese-language television program or radio broadcast. Similar to the result from the previous survey question, only small number of

students responded that they accessed Javanese-language television program or radio broadcast daily.

From the table below, it is clear that conventional media such as television programs and radio broadcasts still have a role in the socialization of Javanese language. Based on the three tables above, it can be inferred that both conventional media and social media still have good potentials as the medium for Javanese language socialization to elementary to senior high school students.

Table 8
Accessing Javanese Television Program or Radio Broadcast

No.	Accessing Javanese-language Television Program and/or Radio Broadcast	Regency / City				
		Bantul	Gunung Kidul	Yogyakarta City	Kulon Progo	Sleman
1	Never	52%	59%	52%	51%	58%
2	Occasionally	45%	41%	42%	45%	42%
3	Every day	3%	0%	6%	4%	0%

CONCLUSION

It is concluded from the analysis that out of the three registers of the Javanese language, *ngoko* is the most used, either actively or passively, by elementary, junior high school, and high school students in the studied regions. Practicality is the main reason for these students to use *ngoko* in everyday life. The habitus in DIY is an enabler factor in their decision to choose this reason. The social habit in this region, where the people still use Javanese in their daily life, makes them adopt Javanese language actively or passively, although the active or passive language fluency is a subject that needs further investigation. The use of *ngoko* is a form of effort to survive linguistically in an environment habituated to the use of Javanese language. In addition, the use of *ngoko* cannot be avoided since many people in these regions use it on a daily basis.

The theory that the students use *ngoko* as an effort to survive in social interactions is supported by the fact that the highest percentage of the participants in this study chose practicality rather than the influence of family, peer groups, and the media as their reason for using *ngoko*. However, in terms of enabler factors, the external influences cannot be ruled out. Family can still be relied on as a source of Javanese language learning for a child, even if only for the *ngoko* variety. The same goes for peer groups, which have the potential to be a means of transmitting and socializing *ngoko*.

Another increasingly important factor is the media, both social and conventional. The millennials and school-age generation have easy access to the media, and most of the participants in this study access Javanese-language contents on social media, although only moderately. The media is an important enabler factor in socializing the Javanese

language that comes in a packaging that suits the younger generation's way of thinking and lifestyle in general.

Thus, there is still a lot of potential that the Javanese language will become a language that is actively used again by the younger generation. Various efforts need to be carried out in a structured manner with an emphasis on empowering the agents who can socialize the language, namely family, social environment (peer groups), and the media. Making the subjects as enabler factors needs to be done in a more structured way, such as by making policies or developing creative methods. Still a more complex homework assignment is how to socialize the other higher-level registers of Javanese, namely *krama* and *krama inggil*. Enabling the survival of these two registers would require other strategies, considering that the level of mastery of *krama* and *krama inggil* is increasingly lower and that the registers' usage in the society continues to decline. These two varieties of Javanese language will become endangered languages in the next few decades, thus requiring a more comprehensive and strategic policy.

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