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Losing the battle

The marginalization of Javanese compact forms

ARIS MUNANDAR

ABSTRACT

In the contact situation with Indonesian, the standard variety of Javanese in Yogyakarta is experiencing an incipient shift. The shift is indicated by the shrinking domain of use, and the degradation of speakers' proficiency. It also reveals some ongoing changes in its structure, observable in the tendency of the younger generation to use particular elements different to those used by grandparent and parent generations. This article examines unique patterns of Javanese morphosyntax by focusing on the suffix *-a*, infix *-um-*, *-in-*, and confix *ka-an*, on the basis of utterances recorded from authentic speech events involving speakers of different generations. The findings show a gradual replacement of these affixes by a more general morphosyntax pattern similar to that of Indonesian. It concludes that the suffix *-a* and infix *-um-*, *-in-* exhibit low resistance to the imposition of Indonesian. It also predicts that in future Javanese will show more convergent with Indonesian because of the marginalization of unique patterns of Javanese morphosyntax.

KEYWORDS

Javanese; compact form; affixation; structural change; shift and maintenance.

INTRODUCTION

Javanese and Indonesian are agglutinative languages, both using affixes to form morphologically complex words (Sukarto 2012). Findings from previous research using contrastive analysis techniques have shown that both languages have similar affixes, for instance, the suffix *-i*, prefix *sa-* (Javanese) / prefix *se-* (Indonesian), prefix *pi-*, etcetera. These similarities influence speakers when they are using either their regional language or Indonesian (Sukarto 2012). In intensive contact with Indonesian, how does Javanese behave,

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and what affect does this have on its morphosyntax? This paper examines Javanese utterances from conversation and monologic speeches recorded at various authentic speech events¹ held in Yogyakarta in the years 2011 and 2012. The total duration of the recording is 4 hours, 37 minutes, 32 seconds. The speech events involve speakers from different age groups, but are not an equal representation of the two genders: the number of male speakers is much higher because of the distribution of social roles in the Javanese society which privileges male members as speakers at formal speech events such as wedding receptions and funeral ceremonies. The focus of the examination is on the use, or absence, of “compact forms”² in the utterances of different age groups of Javanese speakers. The examples will help to explain the outcome of the contact with Indonesian on Javanese morphosyntax and to predict the future of Javanese.

Gradually departing from balanced bilingualism into partial bilingualism in which Indonesian is growing more dominant, in their Javanese utterances younger speakers of this language tend to use morphosyntactic forms which correspond to those in Indonesian. For example, they will very likely use the confix *dipun-* *-i* (for example *dipun paringi*) instead of using the combination of infix *-in-* and suffix *-an* (for example *pinaringan*). The morphosyntactic form *dipun-* *-i* corresponds to *di-* *-i* in Indonesian, while the confix *-in-/-an* is non-existent in Indonesian. Unlike younger generation speakers, older generation speakers (belonging to the grandparents’ generation) still have a wide range of morphosyntactic forms at their fingertips to express their ideas in effective, efficient Javanese. Their skilled use of some unique Javanese forms distinguishes their Javanese utterances from Indonesian.

The tendency to use forms which have corresponding forms in Indonesian, such as the confix for verb passivization *di-* *-aken* (*di-* *-kan* in Indonesian), offers a clue to a degradation in proficiency in Javanese (Munandar 2013). Good indicators of this are either language loss or imperfect-learning (see Thomason 2001); language loss occurs when it is signalled among the older generation, but imperfect-learning describes the situation when it occurs among the younger generation. Both are, in fact, interrelated. Intensive use of Indonesian will easily lead to the transference of Indonesian elements or a gradual loss of some Javanese elements; intensive use of Indonesian means concomitantly less exposure to Javanese and subsequently results in an incomplete transmission of Javanese from parents to younger generations. Problems in transmission is

¹ The conversational talks are in the forms of radio talk show (4 different programmes), neighbourhood meetings (2 occasions), and casual conversations (5 speech events), while the monologic speeches are in the forms of death announcements (6 occasions), funeral speeches (4 occasions), *Jumat* prayer sermons (6 occasions), wedding-related speeches (6 occasions), and an Independence Day speech (1 occasion).

² The term compact form is used here for an expression compressed as a result of the derivational process involving some affixes, especially the infixes *-um-*, *-in-*, affix *ka-*, and the confixes *-in-/-an-* or *ka-/-an-*. If these affixes are absent, either because of the derivational process using other affixes or because of lexicalization, the expression will be elaborative, or show a similarity of form with Indonesian.

one of the indicators of the endangered status of a language (see Lewis and Simons EGIDS 2009).

TRANSFER OF FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN CONTACT LANGUAGES

Bilingual speakers are likely to transfer some elements from another language into the language they are using. Linguists use various terminologies to indicate this transfer, such as “pattern replication” (Matras and Sakel 2007), “borrowing and imposition” (Thomason 2001), and “transfer” (Coetsem 2000). Sometimes, the transferred elements are obvious, but some others are more subtle. Lexical transfers are generally obvious, but grammatical transfers tend to be less conspicuous. Coetsem (2000) classifies transfer into three types on the basis of its agentivity, namely: SL Agentivity, RL Agentivity, and Neutrality. SL Agentivity is the transfer of material from a source language into a recipient language by an SL-dominant bilingual. On the other hand, RL Agentivity is the transfer of material from a source language to a recipient language by an RL-dominant bilingual. Neutrality is when both RL and SL are equally dominant. When they have higher level of proficiency in Indonesian and a concomitant decreasing proficiency in Javanese, Javanese speakers frequently transfer material from Indonesian into Javanese, hence, SL agentivity. Transfers from Indonesian into Javanese under the SL Agentivity mechanism are identifiable by the presence of morphosyntax patterns of Indonesian in Javanese utterance.

JAVANESE AFFIXES

The Javanese morphosyntax pattern is relatively speaking more complicated than Indonesian, partly on account of its larger number of affixes compounded by the possible combination of these affixes. There are no less than thirty affixes³ in Javanese (Sudaryanto 1992). The following Table 1 presents a complete list of Javanese affixes.

Some of the affixes enable the derivational processes to produce relatively more compact forms than when other affixes are used. This contributes to the uniqueness, or distinctiveness of Javanese from Indonesian. Among the affixes mentioned are the infix *-um-* or *-in-* and confix *ka-/an* in the derivational process for verb passivization; the infix *-um-* and *-in-* for denominal adjectivization; and the suffix *-a* for subjunctive/conditional mood.⁴ These affixes are not necessarily productive,⁵ but there are a large number of words which result from derivational processes using these affixes. Such verbs as

³ The total number of affixes in the table is 42 (17 prefixes, 8 suffixes, 4 infixes, and 13 confixes, giving a total of 42 affixes). Some prefixes and confixes can be regarded as variations (see Suwadji, Riyadi, and Sudiro 1986: 7-8).

⁴ The suffix *-a* for the subjunctive/conditional mood has two variations, *-na*, and *-ana* (see Wedhawati, Nurlina, and Setiyanto 2001: 94-96). The use of these variations is affected by the final phoneme of the base-form.

⁵ Sudaryanto (1992: 34) proposes the concept of productivity in which he distinguishes productivity from frequency. The fact that a particular affix produces a large number of derivatives (high frequency) might be regarded as non-productive if it lacks the ability to fit with a new base-word.

cumawis ‘prepared’, *sineksen* ‘witnessed’, *tinandur/katandur* ‘planted’, *katuran* ‘requested’, *kapurwakan* ‘began’, *sugiha* ‘even though rich’, and such adjectives as *kumebul* ‘fume-ridden’, *kemukus* ‘smoky’, and *gumreneng* ‘noisy’ are just a few random examples of the large inventory of the compact forms in Javanese. The following are brief descriptions of the affixes under examination, namely: the infix *-um-*, the suffix *-a*, the prefix *ka-*, and the confix *ka-/an* and *-in-/an*.

Prefix	Suffix	Infix	Confix
<i>N</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-um-</i>	<i>ka-/an</i>
<i>di-</i>	<i>-ake</i>	<i>-in-</i>	<i>-in-/an</i>
<i>tak-</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-el-</i>	<i>ke-/an</i>
<i>kok-</i>	<i>-en</i>	<i>-er-</i>	<i>ke-/en</i>
<i>ma-</i>	<i>-na</i>		<i>paN-/an</i>
<i>mer-</i>	<i>-ana</i>		<i>pa-/an</i>
<i>ka-</i>	<i>-an</i>		<i>pi-/an</i>
<i>ke-</i>	<i>-e</i>		<i>pra-/an</i>
<i>a-</i>			<i>tak-/ane</i>
<i>aN-</i>			<i>tak-/ke-</i>
<i>sa-</i>			<i>tak-/e</i>
<i>paN-</i>			<i>kami-/en</i>
<i>pa-</i>			<i>sa-/e</i>
<i>pi-</i>			
<i>pra-</i>			
<i>kuma-</i>			
<i>kapi-</i>			

Table 1. Javanese affixes (Source: Sudaryanto 1992: 20).

INFIX *-UM-*

Infixes in Javanese are *-um-* (*-em-*), *-in-*, *-el-*, and *-er-*. Javanese infixes appear to the right of the first consonant. For instance, the base verb *cawis* ‘to prepare’ receives infix *-um-* after the first consonant *c* to become *cumawis* ‘prepared’; the base verb *tandur* ‘to plant’ receives infix *-in-* after the first consonant *t* to become *tinandur* ‘planted’; *sampir* ‘to hang’ → *sumampir* ‘hung’ and *sebar* ‘to scatter’ → *sumebar* ‘scattered’ receive infix *-um-* also after the first consonant *s*. Therefore, Javanese infixation falls under the “after initial consonant” classification in Ultan’s infixation pattern (Ultan 1975 in Lun Yu 2003: 6).

Infix *-um-* or *-in-* is productive in deriving adjectives from verbal base forms with the meaning “having such a nature that one would like to perform the action indicated by the verb on it” (Robson and Kurniasih 2000: 300). Robson and Kurniasih put this derivational process into one of the three grammatical categories for adjectivization to describe character in Javanese. They are able to compile a long list of adjectives derived from verbal, adjectival, and

nominal base-words; one of the examples is *cemuwil* 'as if you would like to tear a bit off, that is cute' (299-300). Sudaryanto (1992: 31) observes that the infix *-um-* shows some degree of iconicity. When inserted into a word, the infix *-um-* is contained in the word, and it changes the meaning of the base word into 'containing or having'. The content or the quality being possessed can be kept either inside or released. Among the examples he offers are *sumunar* (*sinar* + *-um-*) meaning having brightness, and *kumringet* (*kringet* + *-um-*) meaning sweating.

The followings are sentences containing words with the infix *-um-*.

- (1) *Ayo tumandang gawe ben kabeh tumata sakdurunge tamune padha teka.*
'Hurry up, get working so that everything is in order before the guests arrive.'
- (2) *Mripate kedhep tumuju marang Sawitri.* (Suwadji, Riyadi, and Sudiro 1986: 55)
'His eyes blink as they are drawn to Sawitri.'

SUFFIX -A

Suwadji, Riyadi, and Sudiro (1986: 63-66) provide a brief description of the suffix *-a*. It has two allophones, *-ya* or *-wa*, and can be attached to a noun, adjective, and verb. The function of the grammatical suffix *-a* is

- 1) to derive an imperative verb from the noun, for example, *sangua* (noun + *-a*);
- 2) to change an imperative transitive verb from a transitive verb, for example, *tukua* (verb + *-a*); and
- 3) to derive a subjunctive contradictive⁶ verb from an adjective, for example, *ayua* (adjective + *-a*). Another function is to make a conditional clause. For this, the suffix *-a* can be attached to a transitive or auxiliary verb.

The following examples of sentences containing words with the suffix *-a* are taken from Suwadji, Riyadi, and Sudiro (1986).

- (3) *Sangua dhuwit sing akeh.*
'Bring a lot of money with you.'
- (4) *Tukua brambang ana pasar.*
'Buy some shallots at the market.'
- (5) *Ayua raine, klakuane ora kena kanggo patuladhan.*
'Though beautiful, she is badly behaved.'
- (6) *Nggawaa payung, ora klebus ngono kuwi.*
'Supposing you carry an umbrella, you won't get wet through.'

⁶ Sudaryanto (1992) in his book *Tata bahasa baku bahasa Jawa* does not mention this function. However, controversy is out of the question as we can obtain an adequate number of examples to support this function.

- (7) *Sidaa budhal wingi, aku wis tekan kana.*
 ‘Had I departed yesterday, I would be there by now.’

PREFIX *KA-*

Sudaryanto (1992) distinguishes *ka-* from *ke-* in that the derivational process with prefix *ka-* produces intentional passivization, and the derivational process with *ke-* produces accidental passivization. For example, *kakempleng* (*ka-* + *kempleng*) means being intentionally hit, while *kekempleng* (*ke-* + *kempleng*) means being accidentally hit. Hence, they are clearly not allomorphs.

The followings are sentences containing words with the prefix *ka-*.

- (8) *Wah, jebul Sri sing kapacak dadi ratu.*
 ‘Wow, it’s surprising that Sri is cast as the queen.’
- (9) *Sinten ingkang tumindak sae badhe kapiji sae.*
 ‘Anyone who does good deeds will be appreciated.’

CONFIX *KA-/AN* AND *-IN/-AN*

Javanese has various confixes; there are thirteen possible combinations of prefix/suffix, prefix/infix, and infix/suffix according to Sudaryanto’s Table of Javanese Affixes above. One of the confixes that is obviously non-existent in Indonesian is *-in/-an*. Some examples of derivational words with this confix are *tinimbangan* (*timbang* + *-in-* + *-an*) ‘summoned’, *kinasih* (*kasih* + *-in-* + *-an*) ‘beloved’, and *pinaringan* (*paring* + *-in-* + *-an*) ‘granted’. Another confix, *ka/-an*, looks similar to the Indonesian confix *ke/-an*, although in fact they are different. The confix *ka/-an* discussed here is used for intentional passivization, whereas in Indonesian, *ke/-an* is for accidental passivization. For example, the Javanese word *kapurwakan* (*ka-* + *purwaka* + *-an*) means being intentionally begun, and *katuran* (*ka-* + *atur* + *-an*) means being intentionally invited. In Indonesian, *kehujan* (*ke-* + *hujan* + *-an*) means being caught in the rain unexpectedly and *kejatuhan* (*ke-* + *jatuh* + *-an*) means being accidentally hit by a falling object.

The following sentences contain words with the confix *ka/-an* and *-in/-an*.

- (10) *Mugi kaparingan putra ingkang solih lan solihah.*
 ‘May God give you a good son and daughter.’
- (11) *Tindakipun kinanthen rahayu nir ing sambekala.*
 ‘The journey is safe and protected from any hardship.’

JAVANESE IN REAL SPEECH EVENTS TODAY

Javanese is contending with a shrinking domain of use and with a shrinking number of proficient speakers. The disfavoured attitude shown by the younger generation towards Javanese (see Kurniasih 2005) offers a sound reason for the shrinking number of proficient speakers. Socio-political changes (see Errington 1998) must also not be overlooked in the contracting domain

of use in the society. The domains no longer using Javanese as the main language of instruction are limited to government affairs and education, but other domains do continue to use it. Up to the present day, it is easy to find Javanese in use in various speech events in Yogyakarta, although the Javanese being used in those speech events shows some different features from that used in speech events a few decades ago. An increasing number of Indonesian words are appearing and they are gradually replacing Javanese words. Furthermore, some less natural morphosyntax patterns are also observable and are beginning to gain acceptance.

The following excerpt gives an honest picture of the Javanese currently in use in a *khotbah* 'sermon delivered at Friday prayers in a mosque'. The *khotib* is the speaker delivering the sermon.

- (12) *Khotib: "[...] Para hadirin ingkang kita mulyaaken. Wonten ing taun menika sewu kawan atus tigang dasa dua sampun terlewati. Setaun saking gesang kita sampun kirang. Wonten ing taun ingkang sampun kita liwati menika, kita sedaya sampun dipun kalungi macem-macem nikmat saking Alloh SWT kathah ingkang dereng saged kita mensukuri. Kita sampun direksa dening Alloh Subhanahu wataala terhindar saking perkawis-perkawis ingkang awon ingkang badhe kita renungi. Maha suci Alloh subhanahu wataala; [...] mugi-mugi Alloh paring pangapunten dhateng ngamal-ngamal awon kita; paring pangapunten ngamal ngamal ingkang mboten dipun ridoi Alloh subhanahu wataala. Mugi-mugi Alloh kersa paring kanugrahan sedaya menapa ingkang dados pangajeng-ngajeng kita nggih menika pikantuk ridonipun Alloh subhanahu wataala. [...]"*

[Baiturrohim mosque,
Taruban Kulon, Sentolo, Kulon Progo, 16 November 2012]

'[...] Worthy congregation. The year one thousand four hundred thirty-two has passed in our Hijr⁷ calendar, which means that one more year has been taken from our lives. During the past year, we were granted many kinds of blessings from Alloh the Almighty, and we might not have been sufficiently grateful in return. We were protected from calamities by Alloh the Almighty, and we should contemplate them. Glory be to Alloh Who is above all faults. May He grant us forgiveness for our bad deeds; May our deeds which have displeased Him be forgiven. May Alloh grant all our wishes of which He approves. [...]'

[my translation]

The speaker, *khotib*, is in his mid-thirties, a graduate of tertiary level education. Apart from several instances of Indonesian vocabulary in use (double-underlined), the utterances he produces reveal, some atypically Javanese morphosyntax patterns (underlined). The forms *ingkang kita mulyaaken* 'Whom we honour', *ingkang sampun kita liwati* 'which we have passed by', *sampun dipun kalungi* 'having been given', and *sampun direksa* 'having been protected' sound unnatural to proficient Javanese speakers, particularly the older generation, although they might sound just fine to some others, especially the younger generation. The forms showing a morphosyntax pattern similar to those in

Indonesian as exemplified in this sermon are now more frequently used, particularly by the younger generation of Javanese speakers.

For comparison, a similar excerpt (13) from another sermon is presented in the following. It was delivered by an older *khotib* (in his sixties) in standard Javanese containing compact forms.

- (13) *Khotib: "Para sedherek Jamaah Jumah ingkang minulya rohimakululloh. Mangga kita tansah ajrih dhateng Alloh subhanahu wa ta'ala kanthi nglampahi dhawuhipun lan nebili awisan-awisanipun. Kita aturaken jiwa raga kita dhumateng Alloh subhanahu wa ta'ala. [...] Pramila solat dhumawah wonten ing rukun Islam ingkang nomer kalih saksampunipun kita ngucapaken syahadat. Alloh Ta'ala ngendika "[ayat] laksanaaken apa kang wus diwajibake; apa kang wus den turunake marang sira kabeh saka Al-Qur'an. Lan lakonana solat. Saktmene solat iku bisa nyegah saka penggawe keji lan kemungkaran. Lan iling marang Alloh [...]."*

[Jami' Krapyak Mosque, Wedomartani, Sleman, 6 January 2012]

'Worthy Jumat congregation, *rohimakululloh*. Let us be reminded always to fear Alloh the most Glorious by following His admonitions and avoiding His prohibitions. Let us surrender ourselves body and soul to Alloh the most Glorious [...].

Obligatory prayer is the second obligation in Islam after one has said the *syahadat*. Alloh *Ta'ala* says: "Perform whatever Alloh commands you; whatever is revealed to you in the Qur'an. Then perform the prayers. Verily, prayer will withhold you from evil deed and disobedience. Always remember Alloh [...]."

[my translation]

The sermon contains expressions *ingkang minulya* 'the venerable' and *dhumawah* 'commanded' which strike just the right note for a proficient speaker, particularly of the older generation, but might sound like a distant kind of Javanese to younger-generation speakers.

These excerpts (12) and (13) are authentic speeches produced in speech events held regularly by Muslim communities in mosques on Friday. The first excerpt (12) was produced by a middle-aged speaker, while the second excerpt (13) was produced by a grandparent-aged speaker. Both provide the forms under examination, which are morphologically complex words represented by the expressions *ingkang kita mulyaaken* 'Whom we honour', *ingkang sampun kita liwati* 'which we have passed by', *sampun dipun kalungi* 'having been given' and *sampun direksa* 'having been protected' as in (12) and *ingkang minulya* 'the venerable' and *dhumawah* 'commanded' as in (13). These expressions do not share the same pattern: the forms in (12) show a pattern similar to that found in Indonesian, while the forms in (13) have typically Javanese morphosyntax patterns. The compact forms (*ingkang*) *minulya* and *dhumawah* are derived from the base-verbs *mulya* 'to respect' and *dhawah* 'to fall' + infixes *-in-* and *-um-*. The forms in (12) can be corrected into standard forms *ingkang minulya*, *sampun kliwat*, *sampun kinalungan*, and *sampun rineksa* to meet the requirements

of a religious text. The Friday Sermon must be delivered in a formal style, either in Ngoko or Krama, or a combination of the two speech levels,⁷ to produce a solemn effect.

Such forms as *minulya*, *kinalungan*, and *rineksa* are less frequently used by younger speakers, because they are more familiar with the general passive *dipun/-aken*. Younger speakers of Javanese often impose the general confix *dipun-aken* to other forms which are supposed to take the infix *-um-* or *-in-*. The imposition of general affixes on otherwise compact forms undermines the use of the compact form from which they feel distanced by younger speakers.

Focusing on the morphologically complex words shown in these two excerpts, we can identify three types of behaviour in the Javanese morphosyntax pattern: following the standard form, analogy, and indirect partial transfer. The following section discusses these.

STANDARD FORM, ANALOGY, AND INDIRECT PARTIAL TRANSFER

Depending on their proficiency level, at various speech events, Javanese speakers produce utterances which can contain different forms of morphologically complex Javanese words. The forms can fall into the following types: standard form, analogy, and indirect partial transfer. The analogy and indirect partial transfer are examples of transfer by SL agentivity.

STANDARD FORM

Speakers of the grandparent generation generally produce utterances which demonstrate a wide variety of morphosyntactic forms. They are able to use various standard forms to help them communicate ideas in a very natural manner, modelling themselves on the ideal native speaker of Javanese. Their utterances maintain the distinctiveness from Indonesian because of their adherence to the Javanese structure. Among the grammatical elements which keep Javanese distinctive from Indonesian are the suffix *-a*, infix *-in-* or *-um-*, and confix *ka/-an* used in the morphological process to produce compact forms.

The following are examples of utterances in standard Javanese containing some compact forms as produced by speakers of the grandparent generation. The compact forms are *kinurmatan* 'venerable', *cumawis* 'prepared and served', *piningan* 'given', *kasarirani* 'represented' (verb passivization), *paseksen* 'acknowledgement' (nominalization), and *tekaa* 'even if attending' (subjunctive).

- (14) *Para lenggah ingkang kinurmatan, pasugatan sampun cumawis, pramila sumangga dipun rahapi kanthi merdikaning penggalih.*

'Honourable guests, the refreshments are ready; you are invited to enjoy them as you please.'

⁷ Formal Ngoko is used in the translation of Qur'an verses, or the sayings of the Prophet.

- (15) *Inggang punika putra wayah saha keluarga nyuwun paseksen mugi-mugi almarhum pinaringan seda inggang khusnul khotimah.*

'So, all the family members appeal for witnesses so that the late Mr X be granted a blessed end to his life.'

- (16) *Menggah titi laksana adicara salajengipun inggih atur pambagya harja saking inggang hamengku gati, inggang badhe kasarirani dening bapak er-te.*

'The following part of the programme is a welcoming speech by the host, who will be represented by the neighbourhood head.'

- (17) *Tekaa sak kampung kabeh, ora-orane kentekan suguhan.*

'Even if all villagers were present, everyone will have enough food.'

The compact forms in utterances (14), (15), and (16) have a high frequency occurrence because they are used in formal speech events (a wedding reception and a funeral ceremony) and are utterances frequently produced in Javanese society. However, it is important to note that the speaker at several formal speech events might be the same person because of the limited number of persons linguistically qualified to play this role on such formal occasions as wedding receptions and funeral ceremonies. The compact form in utterance (17), which is in a non-formal style, can be produced in family and friendship domains by almost every older generation of Javanese speaker .

More examples of standard morphologically complex forms are presented in the following utterances produced by a grandparent-aged speaker at a wedding reception in Mranggen, Candirejo village, Semanu sub-district, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta on Sunday, 27 March 2011. They are *sinengkuyung* 'accompanied', *kinayungan* 'protected', and '*kinanthen* 'accompanied by', three verb passivizations involving the infix *-in-*. Besides being compact, these forms are also poetic.

- (18) *Dene atur kula minangka talanging basa saking rayi kula adhimas Sarimin sekalian Ibu inggang sinengkuyung dening sedaya baraya saking tlatah Sleman Ngayogyakarta.*

'While my words serve as channel for the words of my younger brother, Sarimin, and his wife who are accompanied by their extended family from Sleman region.'

- (19) *[...] sedaya lampah kula samargi-margi kinayungan dening Alloh subhanahu wa ta'ala saged sowan kanthi raharja nir ing sambikala*

'[...] throughout our journey we were protected by Alloh the Most Glorious, and have finally been able to arrive here safely and free from any troubles.'

- (20) *[...] kinanthen ngaturaken salam taklim katur dhumateng Bapa Suasta sekalian saha keluarga inggang kepanggih mudha*

'[...] along with our greetings to Mr Suasta and his wife and to other families junior in rank.'

ANALOGY

Because of their faulty language education, speakers of the younger generation have not acquired the unique patterns/forms with which proficient speakers are familiar. Sticking to the regular generic pattern/form they have acquired, they produce morphologically complex Javanese forms which supposedly have irregular or unique forms. In other words, they produce analogous forms in their utterances. The analogy can take two different paths: replicating a generic pattern or using lexicalization.

The absence of Indonesian base-words in the Javanese morphologically complex forms in younger speakers' utterances does not mean that they are free of Indonesian interference because the analogy itself is also suspected of having been influenced by Indonesian patterns. They might still transfer an Indonesian element in a way which is virtually non-perceptible, namely: by imposing the morphosyntax pattern of Indonesian, to which Coetsem (2000) refers as SL agentivity transfer.

Analogy results in forms of Javanese convergent with Indonesian. For instance, the affixation of confix *di-/ake* (Ngoko) and *dipun-/aken* or *dipun-/i* (Krama) to a base-verb, which according to standard morphosyntax requires the infix *-um-* or the confix *-in/-an*, produces a morphologically complex verb which is very similar to the Indonesian form. The intensive use of analogy by younger speakers has marginalized the infixes *-um-*, *-in-*, and the confix *ka-aken* (*ka-an*), which that are forms distinctive to Javanese. This is indisputable evidence of younger speakers' imperfect language acquisition (compare Thomason 2001); they have obviously failed to master uniquely Javanese morphosyntactic patterns. Their lack of competence in being able to use unique morphosyntactic patterns, compounded by their familiarity with the Indonesian morphosyntactic patterns, leads them to employ general affixes in their Javanese utterances, making them guilty of SL agentivity transfer (Coetsem 2000).

Empirical findings reveal that the passivization of verb using the infixes *-um-*, *-in-*, or the affixes *ka-an* is rare in younger speakers' utterances. The younger generation tends to adopt the general pattern of *di-ake* (Ngoko) or *dipun-aken* (Krama), as in the following examples.

	Analogues form	Standard form	Gloss
(i)	<i>dipun mulyaaken</i>	<i>minulya</i>	the venerable
(ii)	<i>dipun hurmati</i>	<i>kinurmatan</i>	whom we respect
(iii)	<i>dipun cawisaken</i>	<i>cumawis</i>	having been prepared
(iv)	<i>diaturi, dipun aturi</i>	<i>katuran</i>	being requested
(v)	<i>diwiwiti, dipun wiwiti</i>	<i>kawiwitan</i>	begin

In some cases, analogous forms can give rise to ambiguity. Younger speakers (or incompetent speakers) and older speakers attribute different

meanings to the forms *karawuhan* and *dipun mulyaaken*. Younger speakers use *karawuhan* with the intended meaning 'attendance', but to older generation it means 'being possessed by'. The following utterances (21) by a younger and (22) by an older speaker show the use of *karawuhan* but with different meanings.

(21) *Ngaturaken gunging panuwun atas karawuhan bapak lan ibu sekalian.*

'My deepest gratitude for your attendance, ladies and gentlemen.'

(22) *Parmin wingi kae kaya wong ngengleng mergane karawuhan sing mbaureksa wit asem gedhe kulon ndesa.*

'Parmin was like an idiot after being possessed by the ghost inhabiting the giant tamarind tree on the western outskirts of our village.'

It should be explained that the form *karawuhan*, which means 'being possessed', has a very low frequency of use. Firstly, a person's being possessed is an extraordinary phenomenon which occurs only very rarely in real life; and secondly, their more rational outlook makes it hard for younger people to believe in a such phenomenon. Meanwhile, the non-standard form *kerawuhan*, which means 'attendance', has a high frequency of use, especially in the opening part of a formal speech.

The second example of ambiguity is in *dipun mulyaaken* with a newly acquired meaning 'honourable' (23); the original meaning is 'transformed into a sepulchre' (24).

(23) *Para rawuh ingkang kita mulyaaken, mangga kula dhereaken maos Basmallah.*

'Honourable guests, let's recite basmallah together.'

(24) *Bubar sewu dinane, Mbah Sumo dimulyaake dening anak putune; apik tenan cungkupé.*

'Following the thousandth day commemoration of Grandpa Sumo, his descendants have transformed his grave into a sepulchre; what a beautiful tomb!'

As they are frequently produced, especially in the opening speech at formal events, utterances (21), and (23) have gradually become acceptable despite their deviation from the standard form. Nevertheless, proficient speakers, will take good care not to use them. The standard form for (21) is *rawuhipun* 'one's attendance' and for (22) is *minulya* 'venerable'.

Apart from analogy by applying the general pattern of affixation, younger speakers also resort to lexicalization. They produce a verbal phrase (V+O) instead of the standard denominal adjectivization using infix *-um-*, or nasalization (*m-*, *ng-*). Some verbal phrases are found in the expressions they use to describe a process by adding such lexicons as *metu* 'producing' or *dadi* 'transforming into' to the base-noun. The followings are some examples:

- (25) *metu asape* (standard: *kumukus*) 'emiting smoke';
 (26) *metu banyune* (standard: *mbanyu*) 'producing water/juice';
 (27) *dadi oyod* (standard: *ngoyod*) 'transforming into a root'.

Lexicalization is, in fact, inconsistent with the denominal adjectivization in Indonesian, that is, the use of prefix *ber-*. Leaving aside *ngoyod*, which has no corresponding form in Indonesian, *kemukus* and *mbayu* do show a similarity to *berasap* and *berair*, both in their morphological process (affixation) and their meaning in describing a process.

Similarly, when expressing regret or a wish, younger speakers hardly ever use the suffix *-a*. They more frequently use a longer phrase by adding the words *upama* 'if' or *sanajan* 'although', hence lexicalization; for instance: *upama ngerti* (standard: *ngertia*) 'if knowing'; *upama disiram* (standard: *disirama*) 'if being watered'; *sanajan panas* (standard: *panasa*) 'even though hot'. Indonesian does not have any morphologically complex words to express wishes or regret, so speakers of Indonesian rely on such lexical items as *seandainya*, *jika*, or *kalau* which are equivalent to 'if', 'only if', 'supposing' in English. Javanese, on the other hand, provides the suffix *-a* which has no equivalent in Indonesian. When younger speakers use lexical items such as *upama* 'supposing' or *nek* 'if', they are resorting to the analogy of lexicalization on the basis of the pattern available in Indonesian.

The following examples are utterances expressing regret and wishes obtained from non-formal conversational exchanges involving both younger and older generation speakers. The speech event took place in the courtyard of Ngemplak sub-district office in Sleman regency on 10 February 2012, while the speakers were sitting in group waiting for the citizen ID card renewal service to open at the office. These data show that speakers from different age groups use different forms of utterance to express regrets and wishes: the older speakers use the suffix *-a* in utterances (28) and (29), but younger speakers use lexicalization in utterances (30), (31).

- (28) *Ngertos^a nek jam sanga lha nggih ngrampungke griya riyin.*
 'Had I known it opened at 9, I would have done the housework chores.'
 (29) *Ajaa lunga, ditonyo hee...hee.*
 'Had he not gone, he would've been slapped.'
 (30) *...Oo lha ngertos ngaten malah kula sonten, nggih.*
 'Had I been informed, I would have gone in the afternoon.'
 (31) *Wa nek ngerti ket biyen ngono ya ra bakal. Nek wis ngerti ket mbiyen [...]*
 'If only I had known about it, I would not. If only I knew [...].'

Another sample of a compact form using the suffix *-a* is utterance (32) as produced by a man in his sixties while narrating a story of the Creation to his friends. The speech event took place in Ngebel Cilik, Ngaglik sub-district, Sleman on 8 July 2012.

- (32) *Mulakna, panasa sing kaya ngapa, sing jenenge geni kuwi nek mungsuh banyu ya tetep lere.*

'So, despite its extreme heat, a fire will extinguish when you pour water on it.'

INDIRECT PARTIAL TRANSFER

Younger speakers perform indirect partial transfer by incorporating Javanese affixes, such as the Krama suffixes *-ipun* and *-aken*, the prefix *dipun-*, and the confix *dipun-/aken*; the Ngoko suffix *-ne*, the prefix *N-*, or the confix *di-/ake* and an Indonesian base-word. The morphological processes motivated by indirect partial transfer produce even more convergent forms with Indonesian because the affixes used are already similar to Indonesian, and consequently the base-words are transferred from Indonesian.

The following pairs show that indirect partial transfer can produce a Javanese form which is virtually identical to Indonesian.

	Javanese	Indonesian	Gloss
i)	<i>didorong</i>	<i>didorong</i>	pushed
ii)	<i>disiapake</i>	<i>disiapkan</i>	prepared
iii)	<i>dipun masukaken</i>	<i>dimasukkan</i>	entered

Example (i) is exactly the same in Javanese and Indonesian except in the way the initial consonant /d/ of the prefix is pronounced, which is retroflex in Indonesian but dental in Javanese. Examples (ii) and (iii) are less identical, but offer a direct association with the Indonesian forms. In the most extreme case in which the speaker did not restrain himself from borrowing Indonesian elements, the form is a mixture of Javanese and Indonesian affixes, as in the following example (33). The form *terlaksananipun* 'the implementation of' contains an Indonesian prefix *ter-* and a Javanese suffix *-ipun*. The standard form in Javanese is *lampahipun*.

- (33) *Ingkang menika nyuwun saking para rawuh dukungan doa mugi-mugi kanthi terlaksananipun akad nikah samangke estu keparingan lancar saha pikantuk ridha saking ngersa dalem gusti Alloh Subhanahu Wa Ta'ala*

'For this, I request all guests say a sincere prayer for the smooth running of the wedding and the blessing of Alloh the Most Glorious.'

A comparison of the standard form, analogy, and indirect partial transfer is summarized in Table 2.

STANDARD FORM	ANALOGY	INDIRECT TRANSFER	GLOSS
Passivization with <i>-in-</i> , <i>-um-</i>			
<i>cumawis</i>	<i>dipun cawisaken</i> (Kr)	<i>dipun siapaken</i> (Kr)	(be) prepared
<i>minulya</i>	<i>dipun mulyaaken</i> (Kr)	<i>kita hormati</i> (Kr)	the honourable
<i>kinurmat(an)</i>	<i>dipun hurmati</i> (Kr)	<i>dipun hormati</i> (Kr)	the honourable
Passivization with <i>ka-/an</i> ; <i>ka/-ake</i>			
<i>kaaturan</i>	<i>dipun aturi</i> (Kr) <i>diaturi</i> (Ng alus)	<i>dipun undhang</i> (Kr)	(be) invited
<i>kacawisaken</i>	<i>dipun cawisaken</i> (Kr)	<i>dipun siapaken</i> (Kr)	(be) prepared
<i>kinabekten</i>	<i>dipun bektosi</i>	<i>dipun patuhi</i>	(be) followed
Nominalization with <i>-ne</i> , <i>-ipun</i>			
<i>rawuhipun</i>	<i>karawuhanipun</i> (Kr)	<i>kerawuhanipun</i> (Kr)	his attendance
<i>angkatipun</i> (<i>layon</i>)	-	<i>pemberangkatanipun</i> (Kr)	the departure
Adjectivization with infix <i>-um-</i> or prefix <i>N-</i>			
<i>kemukus</i>	<i>metu kukuse</i>	-	smoky
<i>mbanyu</i>	<i>metu banyune</i>	-	watery

Note: Krama (Kr); Ngoko (Ng); Ngoko Alus (Ng Alus).⁸

Tabel 2. Comparison of the standard form, analogy, and indirect partial transfer.

MAINTENANCE OR SHIFT?

The fact that standard morphologically complex words are still in use in real speech events by Javanese speakers is strong evidence that Javanese is being maintained. Quite a few proficient speakers in Yogyakarta, particularly among the older generation age group, are keen users of standard morphologically

⁸ For Javanese speech levels see Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1981: 3-4). There are three levels: Krama (High), Ngoko (Low), and Madya (Middle) the use of which are determined by several factors such as those of status and intimacy. Ngoko Alus is not explicitly mentioned in this division, but it is clearly a variant of Ngoko adopting honorific Krama base and Ngoko affixes, such as in the form *diaturi* (honorific *atur* + Ngoko confix *di-/i*). An example of use of Ngoko Alus is between husband and wife, where the intimacy and respect are intertwined.

complex forms. When performing speech modelling or thinking out loud⁹ (see Poedjosoedarmo et al. 1982: 164, Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982: 69-76, Errington 1998: 139), older speakers also use the compact form. The conclusion is that older speakers generally have very good competence in Javanese and are used to using the compact forms.

However, the knowledge and skill of the morphological process which produces the compact forms is not going to be easily passed down to the next generation as present-day younger speakers think it too complicated to acquire –not so much in terms of the linguistic rules, but in the view of the economy principle. In comparison with the Indonesian morphosyntactic pattern, the unique Javanese morphosyntactic pattern is relatively more complicated because it demands knowledge not only of the morphological process (derivation), but also of a supra-segmental element (falling-raising intonation). This could offer a partial explanation of why younger speakers find it hard to master this form, and consequently use only the general morphosyntactic pattern which shares a similarity with the Indonesian morphosyntactic pattern. Nevertheless, this complexity will not discourage a person from acquiring the compact forms if he or she has a strong internal motivation to do so. Therefore, another generally accepted reason is that Javanese no longer offers any big incentive to those who acquire it. This leads to a “change of affiliation” to another language –Indonesian– which has more prestige and a wider currency (Dorian 1980). Kurniasih (2005) reveals that parents prefer their children to use Indonesian at home so that they become fluent speakers of this language. It clearly demotivates young speakers to have to spend time and energy on Javanese acquisition to the level of the proficiency mastered by the older generation. Apart from the belief that Javanese does not offer incentives, young speakers no longer find Javanese the only code they can utilize for their survival in communication with other Javanese people. As most of members of the society are now bilingual, they can use Indonesian in almost all domains in which formerly only Javanese was used. Neighbourhood meetings, for instance, now welcome the use of Indonesian even by native speakers of Javanese and, in the past few years, they have been restricted to the use of Indonesian only for the benefit of non-Javanese speaking newcomers. So, any effort to acquire a particular language item less relevant to their needs might be regarded not really worth making. This can have dire consequences for the future of Javanese in that younger speakers will remain incompetent users of unique, compact forms when they become the parent generation, and will consequently be unable to pass down the compact forms to their children’s generation.

Some analogous forms which younger speakers produce in their utterances are gaining approval among the Javanese speech community. From this point

⁹ Older speakers do not use an introductory statement for *ngunandika* (thinking out loud) or speech modelling. Instead, they use a different intonation to show the switch of persona. For instance: *Ha terus “parani” aku. “Aja wedi”, “wedi apa?” “dilaporke karo kepalane”*. The phrases within the direct quotes are uttered in marked intonations to model someone else’s utterance.

of view, Javanese is clearly shifting, at least in the following two instances. Firstly, in terms of the number of proficient speakers, which continues to decrease because younger speakers are less incentivized to acquire Javanese to the level of an ideal native speaker. Secondly, in terms of distinctive feature loss, in which the compact forms will be replaced by generic forms showing a higher degree of convergence with Indonesian.

Finally, hoping to strike a more optimistic note, this paper presents an excerpt (33) in standard Javanese produced by a thirty-year-old speaker at a wedding reception in Mranggen, Candirejo village, Semanu subdistrict, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta on Sunday, 27 March 2011. Despite his youth, the speaker demonstrates a very high proficiency in Krama, so, his utterances are a good model of standard Javanese. The speaker uses a variety of forms and his achievement should be convincing proof that, if the acquisition process is not disrupted, even the younger generation can be model speakers of Javanese and be in a position to help maintain the distinctiveness of Javanese.

- (33) *Bapak Ibu sandyaning para lenggah ingkang minulya. Sawetawis keparenga kula marak sowan ngantu kamardikan kalanipun sagung para tamu lenggah lan wawan pangandikan, awit kula pinaringan dhawuh saking panjenenganipun Bapa Suasta kinen ngaturaken tata rakiting titilaksana ingkang badhe kalampah wonten ing rahina punika. Minangka titilaksana ingkang angka sepisan nun injih pambuka. Titilaksana ingkang angka kalih atur pambagya harja saking ingkang amangu gati. Titilaksana ingkang angka tiga atur pangandikan saking Bapa Sarimin utawi ingkang tinanggenah amakili. Titilaksana ingkang angka sekawan panampi. Sampun kapenggali cekap, tumunten titilaksana ingkang angka gangsal panutup. Mekaten sagung pilenggah ingkang minulya menggah rantamanipun titilaksana ing dinten rahina menika.*
Minangka titilaksana ingkang angka sepisan nun injih pambuka. Dhumateng sagung tamu kasuwun dedonga nganut kapitadosan kita piyambak-piyambak. Ndedonga kula dhereaken. Ndedonga kapenggal, cekap. [...]

[Mranggen, Candirejo village, Semanu, Gunung Kidul,
Yogyakarta/ Sunday, 27 March 2011]

‘Ladies and gentlemen and distinguished guests. Allow me to interrupt your leisure and conversation as Mir Suasta has requested me to inform you of the rundown of this afternoon’s programme. The first item on the agenda is the opening. The second is a welcoming speech by the host. The third is an address by Mr Sarimin, or his representative. The fourth is the speech in response. When all this has been completed, the next point will be the closing. Ladies and gentlemen, this is a complete rundown of our agenda this afternoon. Now we come to the first item, which is the opening. Accordingly I would like to invite all the guests to recite prayers. The prayer commences. The prayer ends, thank you.’

[my translation]

If the acquisition process by the younger generation is disrupted, Javanese will continue to lose ground. The future of the Javanese used in real speech events will look even more discouraging than the following excerpt (18) produced by a young speaker in his twenties from a neighbourhood in Wedomartani, Sleman regency on 19 March 2011. Despite his low level of proficiency in Javanese, he was sent to the neighbours by his relatives to deliver an oral invitation. In the past, sending someone with a low level of Javanese proficiency to the neighbours' home would have been a blemish because it would have been regarded as an insult to the neighbours. In a Javanese environment, the use of proper Krama is so important that it has been very common [in the past few years] to see parents speaking Krama on behalf of their children when conversing with other older interlocutors as the children have not been able to master high Javanese language (Nadar 2007: 173). Today, however, in the wake of the changing attitude towards Indonesian (see Kurniasih 2005), finding a young man with a sufficiently high level of Javanese proficiency would probably be as difficult as finding primary school-child who does not speak Indonesian. Fully aware of this situation, Javanese society is now far more lenient with the use of non-standard Krama. The young man's original utterances (left) are almost unintelligible on account of some missing words (a first person pronoun *kula* 'I', and a second person pronoun *panjenengan* 'you'), as well as the unnatural Javanese syntax pattern resulting from missing function words (prepositions *dhumateng* 'to', *minangka* 'for', and *wonten* 'in', and a prefix for verb passivization *dipun-*). An improved version (right) helps convey the message to the interlocutor much better.

ORIGINAL UTTERANCE:

(18) *Kepareng matur sak keluarga, spindhah sowan kula mriki silaturahmi. Kaping kalih ingkang sak lajengipun sowan kula mriki dipun kengken Bapak Sarimin bilih benjang dinten Kemis legi tanggal kawanlikur kalih ewu sewelas jam sembilan suwun rawuh dalemipun Bapak Sarimin ingkang nyuwun donga pangestu anggen nikahaken putrinipun Bapak Sarimin nami Wahyuni.*
[Oral invitation: Wedomartani, Sleman, 19 March 2011]

IMPROVED VERSION:

Kepareng kula matur dhumateng panjenengan sak keluarga, sepindhah sowan kula mriki minangka silaturahmi. Kaping kalih ingkang sak lajengipun sowan kula mriki dipun kengken Bapak Sarimin bilih benjang dinten Kemis legi tanggal kawanlikur kalih ewu sewelas jam sembilan panjenengan dipunsuwun rawuh wonten dalemipun Bapak Sarimin saperlu paring [ingkang nyuwun] donga pangestu anggen nikahaken putrinipun Bapak Sarimin ingkang nami Wahyuni.

'Allow me to address you and your family. Firstly, I come to see you for the purpose of maintaining our good relationship; secondly, I come here to comply with the request of Mr Sarimin to invite you to come to his house on Thursday, twenty-fourth [March] two thousand and eleven at nine o'clock; he is going to hold a wedding of his daughter named Wahyuni. For that, he asks for your prayers.'

[my translation]

The speaker issuing this oral invitation was born and grew up in Wedomartani, Sleman. He has the potential to be an ideal native speaker of Javanese as he has been living in a rural area with family and relatives who are also native speakers of Javanese. Yet, his Javanese proficiency is underdeveloped, and it can be predicted that he will never be an ideal native speaker of Javanese when he grows older. Urbanization and contact situations are the chief suspects in the disruption of his Javanese acquisition. Many areas in Sleman regency, including the village in which he lives, have developed into a suburban area. Apart from an abundant supply of clean water and pleasant weather, Sleman has many reputable educational facilities which attract people of various cultural and linguistic backgrounds to come there, above all for the purpose of pursuing good education. Their arrival creates a contact situation, also in Wedomartani, the birthplace of the speaker. Unfortunately, many of the incomers do not remain permanently, so they do not regard Javanese acquisition essential as being to their future survival. For their part, the local people do not assert their power to negotiate the use of Javanese in daily communication. Instead, they accommodate the newcomers' linguistic repertoires by allowing the use of Indonesian as the *lingua franca*. This attitude marginalizes the use of Javanese.

The orientation towards the acquisition of formal education qualifications above non-formal education qualifications reduces the opportunity for younger speakers to be exposed to standard Javanese, which, in turns, undermines their motivation to acquire standard Javanese. This situation is reflected in the selection of a *khotib* (a person delivering sermon in the *Jumat* prayer) and a *naib* (an official administering the marital oath) who both hold a university degree. As shown in excerpt (12), the *khotib* speaks non-standard Krama containing a number of Indonesian words and he resorts to a non-typical Javanese morphosyntactic pattern. Although a *khotib* is not required to have a university degree, the society seems to have a particular preference for one who has completed his tertiary education. To satisfy the congregation's expectations of having the sermon delivered by a 'well-educated *khotib*' at their *Jumat* prayer, the *takmir* (the mosque management) invites *khotibs* holding an academic degree¹⁰ earned at a formal educational institution. In their formal education, having been trained using Indonesian as the language of instruction, the *khotibs* are generally more fluent in Indonesian than in Javanese when they discuss religious-related subjects. As a result, they are more comfortable about delivering a *khotbah* in Indonesian or, if they are required to deliver it in Javanese, they can only use non-standard variety of this language. This is completely different to the nature of the training for a cleric in *traditional pesantrens* around (Central) Java, institutions in which Javanese and Arabic are used as the languages of instruction. Generally, Muslim clerics who graduate from these *pesantrens* have a good command of Javanese, so, when they deliver a *khotbah* in Javanese, they are able to produce standard

¹⁰ In fields related to Islamic Studies, such as S.Ag (Bachelor of Religious Study), M.Ag (Master of Religious Study), or M.PdI (Master of Islamic Education).

Javanese (Excerpt 13 serves as a sample). Unlike a *khotib*, a *naib* must have a formal educational qualification at university level. Therefore, a *khotbah* by a *naib* who delivers it during the administration of the marital oath is more frequently conducted in Indonesian. In a *khotbah* delivered during a marital oath ceremony in Kulon Progo on 4 November, 2012, the *naib* codemixed with Indonesian very frequently, producing a “*bahasa gado-gado*” or “word salad” (Errington 1998: 98),¹¹ a non-standard Javanese which is feared will set younger speakers a bad precedent.

Javanese society must be alert to the growing spirit of egalitarianism. This spirit could become counter-productive to the younger speakers’ Javanese acquisition process as they might prefer Indonesian to Javanese because Indonesian does not have the speech levels so integral to Javanese. Speaking proper Javanese requires skills in assessing status relationships, and on this basis making an assessment of whether or not to use of humific or honorific forms (Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982). Growing up in a relatively more egalitarian society than that of their parents, younger speakers could find assessing status a daunting task, as it is not as simple as estimating age differences. Errington (1988: 71) observes that younger speakers “are not particularly sensitive to *awu* seniority”¹² which determines the use of humific and honorifics forms. Besides, growing up with the values which promote equality, they are inclined to be against the principle that “showing respect is related to the perception that the other person is superior” (Koentjaraningrat in Nadar 2007: 173).

Above all, acquiring a language offering less incentive is undesirable. Being a proficient speaker of Javanese does not offer any privileges; only a few professions value Krama-speaking skills, and these are professions created by the commodification of Javanese culture (see Errington 1998), such as *pranatacara* (master of ceremonies). A *pranatacara* in the context of commodified traditional ceremonies is not necessarily a culturally proficient individual. Being able to recite the sentences in Javanese written out for him does not give an observer much faith in his true professionalism. The upshot is that even an aspiring professional *pranatacara* is not encouraged to acquire Javanese up to the level of an ideal native speaker of Javanese.

CONCLUSION

Javanese and Indonesian share a number of similarities in their affixes. Some affixes give Javanese its distinctive features because of the morphological processes which produce compact forms. Older generation speakers, with a very good proficiency in Javanese, continue to use these compact forms.

¹¹ “Word salad” is a linguist’s designation for randomly mixed, ill-formed, and unpatterned combinations of grammatical and lexical material.

¹² “Birth order of the sibling-ancestors is superimposed on their descendents to determine seniority in *awu*. *Awu* relations traditionally governed kin term use in address and reference. [...] Traditionally such usage was accompanied by more or less overtly asymmetric patterns of etiquette use [...]” (Errington 1988: 71).

Unlike the older generation speakers, as their language proficiency leaves much to be desired, younger generation speakers are not familiar with the morphological process which produce the compact forms. As a result, the compact forms are marginalized in younger generation speakers' utterances.

On the basis of these findings, it is concluded that the absence of the compact forms brings Javanese morphologically complex words closer to convergence with the Indonesian patterns. Older generation speakers who continue to use the compact forms help maintain Javanese, while younger generation speakers who promote analogous forms and indirect partial transfer contribute to the shift in Javanese.

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