

**LANGUAGE CHOICE
OF NON-JAVANESE IMMIGRANTS
IN SEPANJANG-TAMAN SIDOARJO**

A THESIS

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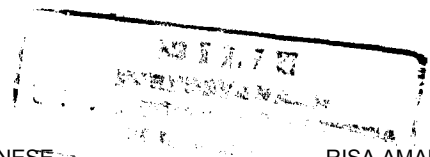
By:

RISA AMALIA

St. N: 120110276

**ENGLISH DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF LETTERS
AIRLANGGA UNIVERSITY
SURABAYA**

2007



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**Submitted as Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Sarjana Degree of
English Department Faculty of Letters Airlangga University**

Surabaya



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RISA AMALIA

St. N: 120110276

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2007

DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university. And to the best of this candidate's knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published except where due reference is made in the text of this thesis.



Signed

Risa Amalia

*This thesis is dedicated to
my beloved family:
Ayah, Ibuk, and Adek-adek.*



*"Whatever you can do or dream you can, begin it.
Boldness has genius, power, and magic in it.
Begin it now."
— Goethe —*

*"It only takes one person to change your life - you."
— Ruth Casey —*

Approved to be examined

Surabaya, 5 January 2007

Thesis Advisor



Lusvita F. Nuzuliyanti, S.S., M.App.Ling.
NIP. 132295669

**ENGLISH DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF LETTERS
AIRLANGGA UNIVERSITY
2007**

This thesis has been approved to be examined and accepted by the board of examiners of the English Department Faculty of Letters, Airlangga University on January 25, 2007.

The Board of Examiners:



Drs. Hariawan Adji, S.T., M.Kes.

NIP. 132 048 735




Lusvita F. Nuzuliyanti, S.S., M.App.Ling.

NIP. 132 295 669



Deny Arnos Kwary, S.S., M.Hum.

NIP. 132 230 684



Ema Faiza, S.S.

NIP. 132 303 988

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ABSTRACT

Amalia, Risa. Language Choice of Non-Javanese Immigrants in Sepanjang-Taman, Sidoarjo. Submitted as the partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Sarjana Degree of the English Department Faculty of Letters, Airlangga University.

This study is aimed to analyze one of language phenomena, that is language choice. Language choice is a condition in which a speaker is faced with the decision to choose a particular language in a certain social context. It happens when the speaker lives in the new place which the language used is different from the speaker's native language. The speaker should be able to choose which language suits the needs.

The writer takes 22 first generation of non-Javanese immigrants from various ethno-linguistic backgrounds who live in Sepanjang-Taman, Sidoarjo. The writer proposes two problems as follows: (1). What social conditions promote their choice of converging to or diverging from Javanese language and culture? (2). How do they identify themselves? The writer uses qualitative approach by doing a language survey toward language use of non-Javanese immigrants in Sepanjang-Taman, Sidoarjo, particularly those who live near Pasar Sepanjang. The writer takes the technique of data collection as follows: (1). Collecting information about the immigrants who are potential to be the participants, (2). Recruiting the selected participants, (3). Distributing the questionnaire. The technique of data analysis that are used: (1). Tabulating the collected data, (2). Categorizing the data into five socio-linguistic variables, Describing the data in the Discussion section.

The results of this study illustrate non-Javanese immigrants' choice of convergence to Javanese language and culture. The social factors that promote their convergence are the functional motivation, the social need of acceptance, and the effectiveness of the communication. Though non-Javanese immigrants in Sepanjang-taman, Sidoarjo show positive trend toward assimilation, it does not automatically mean that they have lost their cultural identity. In fact, they still hold their identity as a particular ethnic group.

Keywords: convergence, divergence, ethno-linguistic, cultural identity, socio-linguistic variables, assimilation.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. 1. Background of the Study

In modern times, most countries are multilingual, having within their boundaries several languages spoken by a greater or smaller number of people. Indonesia for instance is one of multilingual countries. With around 400 languages within its borders, many Indonesian people speak more than one language namely Indonesian as the national language and the medium of official communication, local language for effective in-group communication, and perhaps other out-group language as well as means of communication with people of different group.

In a variety of social context, appropriate language markers constitute a desired norm of communication by which the participants in the speech situation abide. Appropriateness of such language features is context-specific on the participants' perception of the contextual norm, i.e. their knowledge of and sensitivity to the interaction rules specific to the situation. While language always serves some communicative function, its appropriate form is not motivated only by the function itself. On the continuum of language variation, other socio-cultural factors are manifested in the levels of formality, registers, genres, etc. Together, these contextual factors and the corresponding linguistic features indicate that language is molded as much

as preserved in every instance of language use. In the background of every communicative act lies the participants' awareness of their social identities and demands of a speech communication. As a result, lexical choice, phrasing, syntax, tone, or intonation which is appropriate in one situation may be inadequate in another.

The significance of contextual factors for the choice of linguistic norm becomes even more transparent when a speaker has to choose between two or more languages. While communicative function leads a bilingual or multilingual in choosing the language of interaction, it does not cover all the social needs fulfilled by language choice in different context. Depending on the social circumstances, language carries socio-symbolic meaning for the speaker and represents his/her evaluation of the hearer, of the speakers' own role/position in the verbal exchange, as well as of the speech situation as a whole. These evaluations often motivate a bilingual or multilingual to choose one language over the other(s), to switch strategically at specific points during the exchange, or to mix the languages less predictably when speaking to another bilingual or multilingual of the same language background. Language choice, then, becomes a symbol of one's social identity, of the individual needs to be heard, acknowledge, and positively evaluated by others. What one says is shaped by how one says it.

As a result, a bilingual or multilingual chooses his/her native language or the other ones, or mixes the two or more languages based on the (conscious or unconscious) assessment of the relationship with the

interlocutor within a context. Some important factors which come into play are ethnicity, costs/rewards in the social exchange, and assessed interlocutor's motivation/causes for a certain type of behavior, in-group vs. out-group feelings toward interlocutors, perceived social distance from the interlocutor (power closeness, intimacy, or equality).

Two mutually related social psychological models developed by Giles and his collaborators approach choice of language or style from the perspective of the speaker in evaluating the interlocutor. According to speech accommodation model, many socio-cognitive reasons motivate the speaker to accommodate, maintaining the initially chosen language/style or diverging from the addressee. The inter-group model views speech accommodation in terms of inter-group dynamics and social comparison between groups. Language is regarded an important component of in-group identification. "A certain speech style or language can often be necessary attribute for membership for a particular ethnic group, a salient cue for inter-ethnic categorization, an important dimension of ethnic identity, and an ideal medium for facilitating the intra-group cohesion" (Giles and Byrne, 1982: 17). For multilingual group member, 'we' code may represent an identity symbol in comparison to 'they' code, which marks a shift toward out-group identification and partial or complete loss of a strong in-group identity.

In a multilingual socio-cultural setting, then, attitudinal evaluation of one language as opposed to the other will depend on the perceived status of the language within and outside a group, which, in turn, reflects in the

choice of the mother tongue or other languages as an identification marker in inter-group relations.

Based on the two briefly outlined theoretical models in social psychology, this paper will discuss the ways in which the choice of multilingual speakers between a minority language (the native language) and the dominant regional language, Javanese language, which reflects the value each language has for the social identity and the in-group identity of its speaker. This study is resulted from a survey that was conducted among adult multilingual in Sepanjang-Taman, Sidoarjo. The respondents' native language (L1) is a minority language in respect to Javanese, the majority language of the society in which they live in, and also to Indonesian language, the national language. The writer was interested in observing the immigrants in Sepanjang-Taman, Sidoarjo due to the fact that there are many immigrants from various ethnic who live there, especially in the complex area near to Sepanjang traditional Market, such as immigrants from Madura, Sunda, Sulawesi, Palembang, etc. As one of commercial centers in Sidoarjo which are more strategic than other commercial centers, the circumstances there may influence their choice of a language whether to shift to the local language of in this place or to maintain speaking their native language since some other immigrants are from the same group. Interestingly, results during the observation show that most of those immigrants speak Javanese as fluent as the Javanese speakers though some still speak it with their unique accent.

1. 2. Statements of the problem

Based on the background of the study illustrated above, the writer formulates the problems as follows:

1. What social conditions promote their choice of converging to or diverging from Javanese language and culture?
2. How do they identify themselves?

1. 3. Objective of the Study

The objective of this study is to figure out the social condition which influences the choice of convergence or divergence by the non-Javanese immigrants who have resident in Sepanjang-Taman, Sidoarjo for years. Besides, it also attempts to study how they identify themselves as the minority group.

1. 4. Significance of the Study

The writer has a great expectation that this study could enrich our knowledge about language choice phenomenon that occurs among immigrants from various native language backgrounds. She hopes the results of this study would give contribution for the readers and those who are interested to make a further study in this field.

1. 5. Definition of the Key Terms

1. *Language choice* is a condition in which the speakers have to choose a certain language or variety between two (or more languages) in a certain context.

2. *Language convergence* is the common behavior that “at least one member of a speech interaction tends to adopt the speech patterns of the person to whom he is talking (Giles & Powesland, 1975: 156).
3. *Language divergence* is a strategy which leads to an accentuation of speech and non verbal differences between self and the other.
4. *Language attitude* is attitude toward the language itself, attitude toward speakers of a certain language or dialect and attitude toward language maintenance and planning efforts.
5. *Assimilation* is adaptive strategy of adopting the norms, values and behaviors associated with the dominant culture.
6. *Acculturation* is the process of developing new knowledge, values and behavior in order to function better in a new culture.
7. *Native language* (mother tongue) is a language firstly acquired and spoken by the speaker in the very early years at home domain.
8. *Regional language* is a language spoken by a medium of communication among people living within certain area who have different mother tongue.
9. *Code mixing* refers to the mixed use of two languages

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2. 1. Review of Related Theories

2. 1. 1. Kinds of Language Choice

According to Fasold, there are three major kinds of language choice: code switching, code mixing, and variation within the same language (1984: 180). It is very difficult to distinguish one from the other since this kind of choices cannot be separated from each other. As Hill and Hill (cited in Fasold, 1984) found it is almost impossible to distinguish between code switching and code mixing. However, there are some linguists conversely tried to distinguish those three kinds of choice.

Code Switching

In an actual set of conversation, it is very difficult to keep on one variety only. For most cases, speakers especially those of bilingual or multilingual community, do code switching. They switch from one dialect to another even switch from one language to another according to the circumstances. Code switching can allow a speaker to do many things, such as to assert power, declare solidarity, and maintain certain neutrality when both codes are used, express identity, and so on (Wardhaugh, 200: 109).

According to Wardhaugh (2002: 103), there are two kinds of code-switching, that is situational and metaphorical code switching. Situational code switching occurs when the languages used change according to the

situations in which the conversant find them. The switches between languages always coincide with changes from one external situation (for example, talking to members of family) to another (for example, talking to the neighbors). In other words, it is the situation that decides the language without any involvement of topic change. However, metaphorical code-switching occurs when a change of topic requires a change in the language used (Wardhaugh, 2002: 103).

Code Mixing

Code mixing is the use of two or more languages, where the elements of each language include in it. Wardhaugh (1986) distinguishes code mixing that occurs when the conversant use two languages together to the extent that they change from one language to the other one in the course of a single utterance.

Suwito (1983) points out two kinds of code mixings, namely inner code mixing and outer code mixing. Code mixing use a vernacular and variant is called inner code mixing, for example, when a speaker inserts some elements of vernacular such as using some words of Indonesian in Javanese language. Inner code mixing shows that the speaker has a strong feeling about his region. On the other hand, outer code mixing shows that the speaker who inserts foreign words in his speech may consider somewhat educated because he can understand a foreign language.

Le Page has pointed that one function of code mixing is to enable a speaker to signal his identities at once. For example, Chinese students of the University of Hong Kong often speak a mixture of English and Cantonese.

If they speak only English, they might be regarded as being disloyal to their community. If they speak only Cantonese, they might be regarded within the context of an English language university as an uneducated and unsophisticated. Speaking both languages overcomes these problems (1979: 123). Besides to show solidarity and to show prestige as the example above, there are some other factors that cause the occurrence of code mixing, namely, no exact idiom, linguistic incompetence, and change of residence.

Variation within the same language

This kind of choice often is one of the focuses of language investigation on language attitude. In this case, a speaker should choose which variant to use in a particular context in Javanese language, for instances; there are three levels of variants i.e. Ngoko Kasar, Ngoko Madyo, and Krama Inggil. A speaker of Javanese language should be very careful in selecting the variant of Javanese language he will use since those three variants have different level of politeness (Sumarsono, 2004: 203).

2. 1. 2. Some Approaches on Language Choice

Domains Analysis

In investigating language choice, Joshua Fishman (cited in Fasold, 1984: 183) proposed that there are certain institutional context in which one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another. They are known as domains of a language use. The number of domains can vary between groups and has to be generalized for each multilingual group from careful observation. Parasher (cited in Fasold, 1984: 184) proposed seven

domains to determine people's language use, those are: (1) family; (2) friendship; (3) neighborhood; (4) transaction; (5) education; (6) government; and (7) employment. Parasher's domains instead of being explicitly composed of persons, places, and topics as Greenfield's are, are simply the total of asset of similar situations.

Fishman (cited in Holmes, 1992) concluded that among the many social factors involved, the most important social factors in language choice associated with domains are topic of the interaction, participants, situation and the function. However, the components of a domain do not always fit with each other. They are not always congruent (Holmes, 1992: 29). In other words, within any domain, individual interaction may not be 'typical' in the sense in which 'typical' is used in the domain concept. In family domain, for instance, we usually use the vernacular because the setting is informal. However, since people often discuss work or school, for instance, they use the language associated with those domains rather than the language of the family domain. Therefore, Hoimes (1992) introduced social dimensions that may be relevant in accounting for the choice of a variety or language in particular situation. They are the dimension of social distance, status formality, and the function of the interaction.

Overlapping Theory

Simon Herman (cited in Fasold, 1984) in his overlapping situation theory, stated that the problem of language choice faced by a bilingual or multilingual speaker is that he finds himself in more than one psychological

situation simultaneously. There are three kinds of situations: one is concerned with the speakers' personal needs and the other two connected with social groupings. In a given situation, a speaker may feel herself pulled in different directions by her personal desire to speak the language she knows best and language expected of her by the social group. The group may be immediate one, that is, the people who are actually there at the time. More subtle is the 'background group', which Herman described as group in the wider social milieu that are not directly involved in the immediate situation but yet may influence the behavior – "the hidden committees", so to speak (cited in Fasold, 1984). In sum, the three psychological situations that influence language choice are personal needs, background situation, and immediate situation.

Since these situation overlap, and since each might incline an individual toward the choice of a different language, Herman is led to a consideration of the circumstances that cause one of the three situations to gain salience at the expense of the other two. The situation with salience is the most prominent one at a particular time and the one that speaker will respond to. Based in large measure on empirical data on language choice in Israel, Herman suggests that certain circumstances will increase the salience of one of the three situations. The circumstances and the situation that they promote are listed in the following table.

**Circumstances causing an increase in salience for one of three
psychological situations**

<i>Situation</i>	<i>Circumstances</i>
Personal needs	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Setting is private rather than public. 2. The situation provokes insecurity, high tension, or frustration. 3. The situation touches the central rather than the peripheral layers of the personality.
Background situation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The activity takes place in a public rather than in a private setting. 2. The behavior in the situation may be interpreted as providing cues to group identification. 3. The person involved in the activity wishes to identify with a particular group or be dissociated from it.
Immediate situation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The person is not concerned about group identification. 2. The behavior is task oriented. 3. Well established patterns of behavior characterize a relationship.

Source: Fasold (1984)

Accommodation Theory

Accommodation theory began in the early 1970s as a way of incorporating an understanding of style, style shifting, and code choice into

sociolinguistic understanding. It centers on the ways in which speakers orient towards the linguistic practices, real or imagined, of their interlocutors, converging or diverging strategically (Giles and Powesland, 1975). Giles and Coupland (cited in Wardhaugh, 2002: 112) explain accommodation as a multiply organized and contextually complex set of alternatives, regularly available to communicators in face-to-face talk. It can function to index and achieve solidarity with or dissociation from a conversational partner, reciprocally and dynamically.

Normally, accommodation takes the form of convergence, in which a speaker will choose a language or language variety that seems to suit the needs of the person being spoken to (Giles cited in Fasold, 1984). It has been defined as a strategy whereby individuals adapt their communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic (e.g., speech rate, accent), paralinguistic (e.g., pauses, utterance length), and non verbal features (e.g., smiling, gazing) in such a way as to become more similar to their interlocutors' behavior. Thus, we see convergence when a speaker tries to adopt the accent of a listener or that used within another social group or even in extreme cases gives up a particular accent, dialect, or language completely. As a group phenomenon this last choice may 'kill' a minority language (Wardhaugh, 2002: 112). Giles added (Giles and Coupland, 1991) that an important motive for convergence is the desire to gain approval from one another.

However, under some conditions, a speaker may fail to converge or may even diverge. In other words, a person might make no effort at all to rest

his speech for the benefit of the other person and might even deliberately make his speech maximally unlike other person's. This divergence behavior will happen when a speaker wants to emphasize his loyalty to his own group and dissociate himself from his interlocutors' group. Divergence can also be adopted in order to shape receivers' attributions and feelings. For example, French-speaking student could purposely say words in French during the conversation in order to remind her interactive partners that she does not belong to the same linguistic group. Divergence can also be an attempt to entice an interlocutor to adopt a more effective communicative stance. For example, if the student is talking loudly and very expressively, the professor may exhibit a divergent response (e.g., speaking softly with a neutral effect) in order to encourage the student to adopt a more reserved and seemingly thoughtful style.

Further it is explained (Fasold, 1984) that if the minority group sees no possibility of social change, then the only chance for social improvement in the society beyond his own native group lies in the direction of acceptance by the dominant group. Acceptance then, is to be gained by any possible expedient, including linguistic convergence. Members of minority group can be expected to converge when dealing with the dominant group, if the social change seems unlikely. In other words, the convergent strategy would be used by those members of minority group who consider it desirable and possible to make social gains in the larger society. Meanwhile, others who see no possibility or desirability in trying to 'move up' through the indulgence of the

dominant group, may well withdraw into their own in-group and making a minimal attempt at convergence although they must.

Another important conceptual distinction is whether the convergence or divergence is “upward” or “downward” in terms of its societal valence (Giles and Powesland, 1975). Upward convergence would be illustrated by an interviewee’ adoption of the prestige patterns of an upper class interviewer. Upward divergence would be indicated by the adoption of a swifter speech rate and more cultured accent with someone non-standard sounding, whereas downward divergence could be seen in the emphasis of one’s low prestige minority heritage.

The following table shows these possible degrees of accommodation in terms of a speaker’s interaction with an out-group member.

Some increasing variants of convergence and divergence

<i>Linguistic dimension</i>	<i>Increasing convergence</i>	<i>Increasing divergence</i>
1. Out-group language with native-like pronunciation	↑	↓
2. Out-group language with features of in-group pronunciation		
3. In-group language with slow speech rate		
4. In-group language with normal speech rate		

Sources: Fasold (1984: 161)

It seen from the table above that the most convergent behavior would be to use the other person's language and make every effort to pronounce it the way its native speakers do. Less convergent would be to use the other language, but with a relatively heavy accent. The next step has the speaker using his own language, but speaking in a slow rate because he aware of the fact that his interlocutors may not understand it well if he speak it in a normal or speed rate. The most divergent behavior occurs when the speaker speak his own language at a normal rate of speed, leaving the other person on her own to understand as best she can (Fasold, 1984: 161).

Social Network Theory

Social network analysis, an anthropological concept first promoted during the 1960s and 1070s, basically aimed to find out how individuals form personal groups or communities from which they can benefit in solving their everyday problems (Li & Milroy, 2003). People within a group or community are linked to each other in one way or another so that it is not surprising to find various mutual influences among those who are closely related to their network as they make contact and interact on a regular basis.

Further, Li Wei (1994) introduces three different types of social network, namely, "exchange", "interactive", and "passive" network along with a Chinese Ethic Index into his sociolinguistic study of urban Chinese immigrants in Newcastle. The first two types (i.e. exchange and interactive network) are more concerned with active ties, which measure physical conditions (e.g. regular face-to-face interaction), while the third one (i.e. the

passive network) is associated with passive ties, which measure psychological of symbolic resources from their homeland (e.g. moral support).

The exchange network refers to the network link between people with whom the probability of rewarding exchange is high (Milardo, 1988: 24). Such ties involve routine interaction and exchange of direct aid, advice, criticism, support, and interference (Milardo, 1988: 23). For instance, kin and close friends normally fall into this category. The interactive network refers to the network link between people with whom the probability of rewarding exchange is low, although such ties include frequent interaction, perhaps over prolonged periods (Li Wei, 1994: 118-9). Therefore these network ties are identified “weak ties”. Good example would be workmates and neighbors. The passive network, on the other hand, represents the link between the people whom ego does not interact on a regular basis, but whose impact on ego is strong (Li Wei, 1994: 119). Passive network represent passive ties, which indicate the degree of psychological integration into a community.

Marketplace Value

Marketplace value emphasizes the economic value of language. Firstly introduced by Bourdieu (1982), the idea of marketplace value focuses on the material or instrumental function of language. It takes societal multilingualism as the market where different community languages compete, negotiate and exchange their own languages in a particular setting. Different settings may assign value differently, for example interactions within a university setting are likely to place greater positive value on the use of the standard language

within a performance than might a factory, or a country music concert. As in other economies, the value of one's product determines and is determined by the amount one can get for it. For example, greater value might lead to a higher salary, greater social acceptance, more sales, or greater success, to name a few. Because speaker will be aware of the market within which they are operating, they may be expected to craft their performances for maximum value, to the extent that they are capable of using it. A language will continue to exist as long as there are people using it. As Li Wei states that,

“One's ability to use the appropriate language in the appropriate manner ... affects one's chances of gaining access to situations where valuable resources are produced and distributed, and once there, to participate in the processes of production and distribution, indeed to benefit from them.” (2000b: 116)

Along the same lines, De Vries (1983) regards language as 'linguistic capital' that provides economic and social status. Individuals with a low level of this capital will either be prevented from participating in the labor force or will be vulnerable and marginalized in the labor market. This will in turn affect their socioeconomic status.

2. 2. Review of Related Studies

A study on language choice (Saadiyah, 1995), which mainly focused on the pattern of language choice of the Makassarese University Students in Surabaya considering the different settings, such as the setting in campus, market, neighborhood, boarding house, and Makassarese Students Association, found that Indonesian language was the dominant language used in most settings or contexts. It is because Indonesian language is a national language so everyone must be able to speak it, at least understand it.

Then it was followed by the usage of Javanese language which was mostly used in campus and in the market. Meanwhile, Makassarese language was mostly used in Makassarese Students Association.

Similar research (Ariningsih, 1995) studied about language choice between Javanese and Indonesian language by children and their parents in middle-class Madiun families. It was found that most children preferred use Javanese Ngoko, when they spoke to their family especially those of the same age and generation because they thought that this form of variety could show more intimacy. However, they used Javanese Krama Inggil language when speaking to their parents and other older people, when asking apology, and when there was an attendance of other person or strangers. Meanwhile, most parents used Javanese Ngoko language when speaking to their children. It found as well that the five components of communication events (setting, participant, ends, act sequence and key) gave a slight influence to the language choice done by the parents. However, mostly the setting was the only factor that influenced the choice of a language done by the fathers, while the children's choice of a language was more influenced by setting and end of interaction.

Another research (Mahrita, 2005) on Chinese vendors in Pasar Atom Surabaya found that there are some more influential factors which are responsible for the choice of using a certain language i.e. the topic of conversation and the interlocutors. Those Chinese vendors preferred speaking Mandarin when they talked about trading, when they

communicated with older people or those whom they met for the first time. However the interlocutors should be those from the same ethnic group, that is, Chinese. Conversely, they often switch to Hokkian when they talk to people at the same age or younger than them although sometimes they use Mandarin more to the familiar person of the same age or younger as the medium of communication. They usually switch to Hokkian as well especially when they say about the price because it is simpler saying numeric in Hokkian rather than in Mandarin. The writer also found that the reason of choosing Mandarin is because Mandarin can create formal situation and solidarity since it is the national and the standard language which can understand by all tribes of Chinese, and also as the signal of honoring people when they meet for the first time.

Studying the results of the three researchers above, it was found that the last two researchers use the same approach in their research, that is, qualitative descriptive method. However, there is a difference in presenting the data. The second researcher applies numbers and percentage to help her describing, which language prefers to choose by the respondents. In contrast, the last researchers did participant observation, and then transcribed the conversation between the vendors and the interlocutors. Unlike those two researchers, the first researcher used a quantitative approach in doing the research.

Although there have been many researches done on language choice, there is no doubt it still an interesting topic to be discussed. Moreover, I

believe that my research will be able to cover the gap that may occur in the results of previous researches. In my study, I will try to figure out the language choice on immigrants of widely varying L1 backgrounds who live in Sepanjang-Taman, Sidoarjo because I found an interesting language phenomenon concerning their language choice which could lead them to the language maintenance and shift of their native language.

2. 3. Theoretical Framework

2. 3. 1. Language Attitude, Language Choice, and Identity

It is a well-known fact that many social stereotypes have their origin in the way a person or, for that matter, a particular social group, speaks. On a continuum of speech evaluations from very positive to very negative, language stereotyping is often identified with general stereotyping about those whose speech is being evaluated. Speech markers, such as accent, intonation, vocabulary, or syntactic structure, characterize a speaker, monolingual or bilingual/multilingual, as a member of a group whose speech is marked by the same features. As a result, attitudes toward language markers often reveal attitudes toward group as a whole.

If, as suggested by language attitude studies, the way one speaks influences the way one is looked upon, and, further, the way one wants to be looked upon serves as impetus for speaking, it is clear that language must be a critical component in one's self-actualization and "sense of one's own social worth" (Bourdieu, 1991: 82). The way one is socialized into using language and choosing one style, variety, or language rather than another

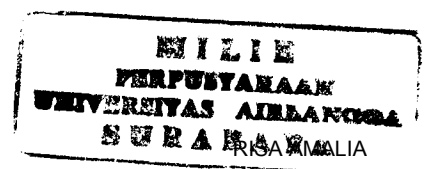
has consequences for one's social self-evaluation and the way one is perceived by others. Since language at the same time reflects group membership/s of the speaker, it "can often be necessary attribute for membership of a particular ethnic group, a salient cue for inter-ethnic categorization, an important dimension of ethnic identity..." (Giles and Byrne, 1982: 17). It seems that if the in-group language is completely different from the out-group one, the relevance of ethno-linguistic identity can be more obviously shown up. The choice of in-group or out-group language by the in-group member reveals the degree to which ethno-linguistic identification is important to the speaker and considered socially relevant the addressee.

Both speech accommodation and inter-group models stress the importance of the speaker's need for positive comparison to and the social approval by the addressee (Bell, 1984). While speech accommodation theory emphasizes the individual speakers' accommodation of their speech to the hearer, inter-group theory (Giles and Byrne, 1982) deals with language as an aspect of in-group ethno-linguistic identity in comparison to other relevant out-group. Giles's theoretical proposals have also been applied to language acquisition (Giles and Byrne, 1982).

Normally, accommodation takes the form of convergence, in which a speaker will choose a language or language variety that seems to suit the needs of the person being spoken to (Giles cited in Fasold, 1984). We see convergence when a speaker tries to adopt the accent of a listener or that used

within another social group or even in extreme cases gives up a particular accent, dialect, or language completely. As a group phenomenon this last choice may 'kill' a minority language (Wardhaugh, 2002: 112). According to Giles (Giles and Coupland, 1991), an important motive for convergence is the desire to gain approval from one another. Further it is explained (Fasold, 1984) that if the minority group sees no possibility of social change, then the only chance for social improvement in the society beyond his own native group lies in the direction of acceptance by the dominant group. Acceptance then, is to be gained by any possible expedient, including linguistic convergence. Members of minority group can be expected to converge when dealing with the dominant group, if the social change seems unlikely. In other words, the convergent strategy would be used by those members of minority group who consider it desirable and possible to make social gains in the larger society.

However under some condition, speakers of a minority groups may fail to converge or may even diverge. In other words, members of a minority group might make no effort at all to rest their speech for the benefit of the other person and might even deliberately make their speech maximally unlike other person's because they see no possibility or desirability in trying to 'move up' through the indulgence of the dominant group. As a result, they may well withdraw into their own in-group and making a minimal attempt at convergence although they must. This divergence behavior will happen when a speaker wants to emphasize his loyalty to his own group and dissociate



himself from his interlocutors' group. Divergence can also be adopted in order to shape receivers' attributions and feelings.

Another important conceptual distinction is whether the convergence or divergence is "upward" or "downward" in terms of its societal valence (Giles and Powesland, 1975). Upward convergence would be illustrated by an interviewee' adoption of the prestige patterns of an upper class interviewer. Upward divergence would be indicated by the adoption of a swifter speech rate and more cultured accent with someone non-standard sounding, whereas downward divergence could be seen in the emphasis of one's low prestige minority heritage.

Three theoretical concepts are significant in the style/language accommodation model: (a) convergence to the addressee, (b) maintenance of the speaker's style/language, and (c) divergence from the style/language of the hearer. When viewed as psychological phenomena in varying levels of bilingualism/multilingualism, the strategies of convergence and divergence "reflect the speaker's motivation to accommodate, rather than an ability to do so" (Beebe and Giles, 1984: 23). In Schumann's model high levels of motivation, both integrative and instrumental (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1991), contribute positively to second language acquisition which in turn may result convergence behavior. However, an individual's decision to speak the native language or the new dominant language/s is dependent upon the interlocutors. Additionally, the choice depends on the speaker's linguistic ability to speak the two (or more) languages, and the motivation to choose

culture gives people feeling of belonging and security. Besides, it also provides people with access to social networks which provide supports and shared values and aspiration. As Kramsch (1998: 10), stated that culture can be defined as membership in a discourse community, which shares a common social space and history, and common imaginings. Therefore, even when they have left that community, its members may retain, wherever they are, a common system of standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, and acting.

Culture is a complex entity, which holds a set of symbolic systems, including knowledge of norms, values, beliefs, language, art, and customs, as well as habits and skills learned by individuals as members of a given society. It is widely believed that there is a natural connection between the language spoken by members of a social group and that group's identity. By their accent, their vocabulary, and their discourse patterns, speakers identify themselves and are identified as members of a speech community. Kramsch (1998: 6) said that people who identify themselves as members of a social group acquire common ways of viewing the world through their interactions with other members of the same group. Therefore language is one of the most prominent factors in the competency of a culture since it is always used within a cultural environment, acts as a salient indicator of a group's identity that is transmitted from generation to generation, and serves as the main tool to internalize culture (Giles & Coupland, 1991).

According to Fishman (cited in Cantoni, 1996: 81), there are some relationships between language and culture need to be considered, that is, (1) indexical relationship; (2) expressive relationship; and (3) symbolic relationship. The indexical relationship means a language long associated with the culture is best able to express most easily, most exactly, most richly, with more appropriate over-tones, the concerns, artifacts, values, and interests of that culture. However this is not a perfect relationship, since culture always changes although the indexical relationship is the important one between language and culture.

The most important relationship between language and culture that gets to the heart of what is lost when we lose a language is that most of the culture is in the language and is expressed in the language. As Kramsch (1998) stated that common attitudes, beliefs, and values are reflected in the way members of the group use language – for example, what they choose to say or not to say and how they say it.

There is another deep relationship between language and culture, that is, the symbolic relationship. Speakers identify themselves and others through their use of language and they view their language as a symbol of their social identity. It means the language stands for that whole culture. It just stands for it and sums it up for them – the whole economy, religion, health, care system, philosophy, all of that together is represented by the language (Cantoni, 1996: 82). Nadkarni stated that language is much more than the primary medium of human communication because for every

distinctive group or community, its language is very often the symbol of its uniqueness and identity, of its most cherished traditions and cultural heritage (cited in Yap, 1978:71). Therefore, from their membership of a certain speech community, they draw personal strength and pride, as well as a sense of social importance and historical continuity from using the same language as the group they belong to. When the language is seen as an important symbol of ethnic identity and its speakers are proud of speaking it and of being members of that speech community, the language is generally maintained longer (Holmes, 1992: 69).

However, others argue that language and culture exist independently of one another and bear no intrinsic relation to each other. Edwards (cited in Giles & Coupland, 1991: 44) strongly questions the fundamental association between language and identity, at least to the extent that language loss does not inevitably lead to a lessening of identity. Moreover, Guitart (1981) proposes that the disassociation between ethnic loyalty and language loyalty is possible. He states it is not true that language shift is always a manifestation of ethnic self-rejection. In the United States there are many individuals who identify themselves as members of an ethnic group whose cultural patterns are those of that group, but who have little or no proficiency in the ethnic mother tongue. More importantly, they have little or no motivation to speak that tongue. (1981: 31). Similarly, Hoffman (1991) states that proficiency in a language does not necessarily imply knowledge of the culture of the

language, and vice versa. She sees bilingualism and biculturalism to exist in varying degrees along the continuum.

However, Baetens Beardsmore (cited in Hoffman, 1991; 31) claims that 'the further one progresses in bilingual or multilingual ability, the more important the bicultural element becomes, since higher proficiency increases expectancy rate of sensitivity towards the cultural implications of language use'.

Furthermore, Pandharipande (cited in Fase et al, 1992: 261) defines 'cultural identity' as an umbrella term that is comprised of several factors. These factors can be broadly characterized as (1) linguistic (2) regional/geographic (3) religious and (4) racial/ethnic. All identity markers of a social group together constitute the 'culture' or 'cultural identity' of the social group. The loss of one marker does not automatically entail the loss of cultural identity and secondly, the loss of one or more identity markers tends to reinforce the remaining identity markers. Hence, it is yet unclear what the defining relationship is between cultural identity and language for first generation immigrants whose lives are complicated by the need to be loyal to their home culture and the need to belong to the host culture.

CHAPTER III

METHOD OF THE STUDY

3.1. Research Approach

In doing this research, the writer uses descriptive – qualitative approach to capture the social reality of non-Javanese people who migrate and live in Sidoarjo particularly in Sepanjang-Taman. This kind of research approach involves descriptive data collection as the basis for interpretation in the attempt to describe and interpret the phenomena of language choice of immigrants of widely varying L1 backgrounds who have lived in Sepanjang-Taman, Sidoarjo for more than two years. As Taylor states (1984) that a qualitative research refers in broadest sense to research that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words of people or behavior. It means that the data are in the form of linguistic phenomenon description, not in the form of numeric description (Hasan, 1990). Thus, numerical data in this paper is presented to help analyzing the data.

3.2. Population and Sample

The population of the study is non Javanese immigrants from various L1 backgrounds who live in Sepanjang Taman, Sidoarjo. Officially Sepanjang is the name of a village in Taman sub district, while Taman sub district itself consists of some villages i.e. Sepanjang, Wonocolo, Ngelom, Kalijaten, Geluran, Taman, Krembangan, Tawang Sari, Podok Jati, etc.

However, people in Sidoarjo and the surroundings consider Sepanjang as a representative of whole areas in Taman sub district and often call areas in Taman sub district “Sepanjang” wherever the villages they are in especially the areas near to the traditional market.

Another interesting point can be viewed in this sub district is about the traditional market. In fact, the official name of this sub district’s traditional market is Pasar Taman. However, it is widely known as and always called Pasar Sepanjang. This traditional market consists of pasar baru and pasar lama which are located in one complex but in the opposite side of each other. This traditional market has a strategic position because of some reasons. First, it has its own complex which is permanently built and is located near the border of Sidoarjo and Surabaya where many factories are located. Second, in front of the traditional market, there are some bases of public transportation which can make the means of transportation in Sepanjang run swiftly. Third, Sepanjang is fully equipped by various kinds of public facilities which are not far from the complex of traditional market such as a hospital, drugstores, bookshops, schools, public health centers, banks, mini markets, etc. These factors could make Sepanjang as one of the most economically strategic area in Sidoarjo. According to department of traditional market in Pasar Taman, it is the most bustling traditional market among other sub districts’ traditional markets in Sidoarjo and is one of central economy of Sidoarjo, especially for Taman sub district, because Pasar Sepanjang generates higher income in compare to other sub district

traditional market in Sidoarjo because of the continuous economical activities all day and night. It is expected that Pasar Sepanjang will be more developed if the traffic lane of means of transportation there are broadened to swifter the current rate of transportation.

All these conditions might promote the coming of immigrants, either Javanese of other areas or non Javanese immigrants, and of course will affect their language behavior since Sepanjang is one of the commercial centers in Sidoarjo. As Fasold stated that people who live in urban, industrial or commercial center are more likely than others to shift to language of wider current, while people who live in isolated – geographical regions or who practice agriculture have a better chance of maintaining a minority language. He explained further that the improved means of transportation and communication with the center of culture associated with the incoming language also seems to promote shift, as does an influx of people from the larger group (Fasold, 1984: 214). Therefore, in this research the writer decided to view Sepanjang in a broad term as Sidoarjo people view it i.e. Sepanjang as a representative of Taman sub district rather than Sepanjang as one of village in Taman sub district and limited the sample only to non Javanese immigrants who live near the complex of traditional market in this sub district to observe their language use.

Since the population is quite large, the writer took a sample, which consists of 22 first generation non Javanese immigrants from various ethno-linguistic backgrounds. 12 respondents are Madurese, 4 are Sundanese, 1 is

Bataknese, 2 are from Gorontalo, 2 are from Palembang, and 1 is from Padang. The respondents are in age range of 17 – 63 years of age. The writer took only 22 respondents as the sample of the study because she only took the first generation of non-Javanese immigrants. Furthermore, some of those first generation immigrants who would be recruited as the participants of the study, especially those of the old generation, refused to be the participants. The writer did not do any separation based on neither age, sex, education level, nor social classes; because according to the criteria of the respondents, the writer limited the population of this research only those of first generation non Javanese immigrants regardless of their age, sex, education level, and social classes. The sort of sampling used in this research is the purposive sampling method where the choice of the representative group is based on the definite characteristics, which are considered having close relations to the previous recognized characters of population. As Hadi (1987) that purposive sampling is to take some groups, which have certain characteristics of the requirements that relate to the characteristics of the population.

The criteria or categories of the respondents are as follows:

1. The respondents should be the first generation immigrants. Therefore, they must be fluent in speaking their native language.
2. They can speak, or at least understand, Javanese language besides Indonesian language as their national language.

3. The length of stay is at least two years or more because it is expected that they have been able to learn and get knowledge about Javanese language and culture in that period of length of stay.

3.3. Technique of Data Collection

The data collection phase used in this research consists of some steps. Firstly, the writer took a questionnaire from a research report written by Aida Martinovic-Zic in 1998, and then she translated and adopted them to the condition of immigrants in Indonesia. Next, she found out the information about the ones who are potential to be the respondents by asking the native inhabitants of Sepanjang who the non Javanese immigrants are in the area. After that, the respondents were recruited on a voluntary basis through personal contacts because there are some of those immigrants who refuse to become the participant in this research especially those from the old generation. In this process, the validity of the results is maintained because the researcher and the respondents knew each other for the first time when the researcher did a personal contact to distribute the questionnaires. Therefore it is expected that there is no subjective feeling. Then, the questionnaires are distributed personally to the respondents. Since the researcher found that there are some respondents who are not well-educated, she estimated that the questionnaire would take about half until an hour to complete because it was estimated that they would ask the researcher to read them the questions in the questionnaire. These of course took a longer time; moreover there are a lot of questions in the questionnaire distributed.

Therefore, the researcher did such a structured interview based on the questions in the questionnaires after hand up the questionnaires sheets to the respondents so that they can also read the question by themselves while the researcher read them the questions

3. 4. Technique of Data Analysis

Having collected the required data for the study, the writer began to analyze the data. Firstly, the writer tabulated and compared answers to all questions across the respondents qualitatively; the questions were categorized into five socio-linguistic variables based on Schumann's acculturation model (1978) and Giles and Byrne's (1982) inter-group approach which are described below. In addition I focused on some individual questions, within and across variables, in order to analyze the effect they bear on the overall evaluation of the result. These responses are described in the Results and Discussion section.

The received responses were used to measure and evaluate the following five **descriptive socio-linguistic variables** (see Appendix 3):

1. *Language Dominance*

This set of responses was intended to evaluate the respondents' language dominance, and communicative dominance (functional/domain-based dominance).

2. *Ethno-linguistic Enclosure*

The variable was meant to measure the respondents' L1 in-group score, i.e. in-group ethno-linguistic identity and value of L1.

3. *Perceived Social Comparison to New Dominant Group*

This variable targeted inter-group factor such as congruence (socio-cultural similarity between native language and the two other languages), native group's integration strategies, and convergence to or divergence from the new language.

4. *Social Contact/Networking*

The set off responses grouped under this variable was intended to evaluate the respondents' out-group membership, i.e. the degree to which they have contacts outside of their native group/community.

5. *Attitude toward New Language and Native Language*

This was an affective variable, evaluating the respondents' feeling about native language, Indonesian and Javanese language.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

This study investigates the language choice of non-Javanese immigrants from various ethno-linguistic backgrounds who live in Sepanjang-Taman, Sidoarjo. The data are taken from questionnaire which is adopted from Martinovic-Zic's questionnaire in her research report entitled *You are what you speak: language choice in bilinguals as a strategy in power relations*. The data are classified into five socio-linguistic variables in the results of the research section.

4. 1. Results of the Research

4. 1. 1. Language dominance

In this socio-linguistic variable, respondents' responses were used to evaluate the dominant language used by non-Javanese immigrants in Sepanjang. From the questions 6 and 9 which questioning about the average % of speech and daily percent of time speaking the three languages, the results in the table are:

Table 1

A. Average % of speech in Native language				
None	4.5%			
5 - 30 %	72.7%			
30 - 75%	22.7%			
75 - 100%	0%			
B. Daily percent of time speaking:				
	<u>None</u>	<u>5 - 30%</u>	<u>30 - 75%</u>	<u>75 - 100%</u>
The number of respondents in speaking				
Native language	5.4%	72.7%	22.7%	0%
Indonesian language	5.4%	50%	36.4%	9.1%
Javanese language	5.4%	27.3%	63.6%	5.4%

From the table above, it was found that 72.7% of all the respondents said that only 5-30% of their speech is in their native language, while there are only 22.7% respondents who felt that the average amount of their native language in daily speech is rather high i.e. 30-75%. Meanwhile 56% of the respondents stated that most of their daily speech is in Javanese language, and 40% who use Indonesian as their daily language. This is the evidence that native language is no longer the dominant one these immigrants use after they migrated to this town because most of them have shift to either Javanese or Indonesian as their daily means of communication.

The results on open-ended questions number 25 and 26 about the domains of the two languages use indicate some leakages in language domains because after years living in this sub district, many of the respondents, especially those who start a family with Javanese person, no longer speak their native language at home but the dominant regional

language, in this case is Javanese. Surprisingly, most of them tend to use Javanese, and some use Indonesian, when they speak with their children even though their spouse is from the same culture. In other word, if their spouse is from the same culture, some of them still use the native language at home but only with their spouse not with the children. Meanwhile, the others completely shift to Javanese or Javanese as their home language. Besides, they also speak Javanese most of the time with their friends and neighbors and some said that they sometimes still use Javanese though they know that their friends or neighbors are from their group. Even more, some of them said that they often use Javanese language when they are at work with their Javanese co-workers. They only speak their native language when they go back to their hometown to visit their family or when they meet people of their native group who invite them to speak their native language. These findings indicate the convergence of those immigrants to Javanese language and culture.

4. 1. 2. Ethno-linguistic enclosure

This category shows that the in-group identification for the majority of respondents is moderate to low, indicating a rather weak ethno-linguistic identity. It is approved from their attitude toward maintaining their native traditions, willingness to start a family outside of their native group, and in a generally positive attitude toward bilingualism (or multilingualism) i.e. opinion that speaking both languages is better than speaking only one).

Table 2

A. People you socialize with		B. Ethnicity of best friends	
Javanese	59.1%	Javanese	81.8%
Native	0%	Native	4.5%
Mostly native	4.5%	Native-born in other area	13.6%
Mostly Javanese	36.4%	Non native-non Javanese	0%
Mostly native, and other groups	0%		

The table above shows their successful efforts in adapting or assimilating with the new dominant community they live with, i.e. Javanese community. The greatest percentage of respondents (95.5%) socialize with either Javanese people (59.1% in choice a), or mostly with Javanese and some from their native group (36.4% in choice d). Furthermore, 81.8% of all respondents said that their best friends are Javanese people.

Responses of the respondents toward questions 19 and 20 are shown in the following table,

Table 3

C. In-group socio-cultural response to dominant ways, values, and beliefs		D. L1 in-group use of language	
Preserved native culture	9.1%	Native	13.6%
Mostly adopted Javanese culture	68.2%	Native/Jav free mixing	45.5%
Completely adopted Javanese culture	4.5%	Native – base mixing	13.6%
Mostly preserved native culture	18.2%	Jav – base mixing	27.3%

The results based on the table above show that there are 15 respondents (68.2%) who said that their native group has adopted Javanese culture. In contrast, there are only 18.2% of all respondents who keep mostly

their native culture's traditions and adopted only some Javanese customs. Meanwhile, the responses on question 23 show that 45.5% of the respondents thought that it is important for them to be able to speak both or three languages and they mix them freely, while 6 respondents (27.3%) said that it should be Indonesian or Javanese as the base mixing if they want to mix their native language with Indonesian or Javanese language. These indicate that there is an out-group trend toward assimilation into Javanese community.

And according to the responses to question 24 about marriage preference, 40.9% of the respondents are already married to or would marry a Javanese person, while 31.8% (the total respondents in choice a and c) stated that they are already married to a person from the same ethnic group, or would marry someone from their own group regardless of where they are from. Interestingly, there are 6 respondents (27.3%) said that they had no preference in choosing their future spouse as shown in the following table in part E:

Table 4

E. Marriage preference		G. The important degree of native language maintenance by child	
Native group	22.7%	Extremely important	18.2%
Javanese	40.9%	Very important	31.8%
Native-born in Sda/Sby	4.5%	Important	22.7%
Non native-born in Sda/Sby	0%	Not important	18.2%
No preference	31.8%	Not important at all	9.1%
F. L1 maintenance by child			
Yes	59.1%		
No	18.2%		
Other	22.7%		

According to the responses on questions 29, 30, and 31 show their ethno-linguistic value toward the maintenance of native language by child which indicates an important aspect of their ethnic identity. In the table above (in part F), majority of the respondents (59%) insist that they want their children able to speak the native language of their parents. Meanwhile, 22.7% of all the respondents (see part G) fully hand the choice over to their children whether they want to learn speaking their parents' native language or not. Furthermore, the total of 72.7% of all respondents emphasize the importance of maintaining the native language by child (choice a, b, and c). Responses of most respondents to open-ended question (no. 31) explain that the main reason for native language maintenance is preserving their native language and traditions, so that their children know their root culture and are able to communicate with members of their native group by using the native language especially when they visit their hometown. In contrast, 6 respondents (27.3%) thought that it is not important (choice c), even some said that it is not important at all (choice d) for their children to learn their native language because they will live here.

4. 1. 3. Perceived social comparison to dominant Javanese community

This variable draws the inter-group factor such as the similarities between their root culture and Javanese culture, the integration strategies of their group, and also the convergence to or divergence from Javanese language and culture.

Table 5

A. Instrumental value of Javanese		F. Preferred lifestyle	
Everyday communication	68.2%	Javanese culture	27.3%
To speak like Javanese-speakers	4.5%	More Javanese than native-culture	40.9%
Social acceptance	18.2%	More native than Javanese-culture	13.6%
Other	9.1%	native culture	18.2%
B. Comparison of native culture to Javanese culture		G. Sometimes mix Javanese with native language	
Similar	18.2%	Yes	68.2%
Very similar	0%	No	31.8%
Moderately different	72.7%		
Not at all alike	9.1%	H. Highest % of mixing native language and Javanese language	
C. Projected length of stay in the new community		Conversation with the same generation multi-lingual	27.3%
Will go back to home-town soon	13.6%	Conversation with family	36.4%
Up to 5 years	9.1%	Conversation with elderly Native-speakers	4.5%
Up to 10 years	4.5%		
Forever	54.5%	Conversation with co-workers	9.1%
Undecided	18.2%	At L1 social-gatherings	4.1%
D. Attitude of dominant Javanese group toward minority native group		At L1 social gatherings, but only with younger generation	0%
Positive	63.6%	Other	8.2%
More positive than negative	36.4%		
More negative than positive	0%	I. Sometimes use only Javanese language with other native or Javanese bilinguals	
Negative	0%	Yes	90.1%
E. Individual feelings about dominant Javanese groups		No	9.1%
Concerned about L1 group	68.2%		
Somewhat concerned about L1 group	13.6%		
More helpful than long term native residents	18.2%		
Not at all concerned about L1 group	0%		

Questions 7, 8, and 27 elicited responses about mixing of the native language with either Indonesian or Javanese. 68.2% of all the respondents (see table above, part G) said that they sometimes mix Javanese with their

native language, mostly when speaking with friends or co-workers of the same generation from the same ethnic group. According to the responses to question 27, the highest mixing of native language with Javanese is when they speak with members of their family (36.4%), and 6 respondents (27,3%) stated that they often do code mix when speaking to the same generation bilingual (or multilingual) as it shown in part H. Furthermore, some responses to the open-ended question (7 and 8) explained in more detailed information that greater mixing occurs in informal context particularly with the interlocutors who share the same mother tongue and are from the same generation such as siblings and friends. The lowest code mixing occurs when speaking with parents, spouse (either that from the same or from different group), and children.

Due to the fact that Javanese is the language of the wider community in Sepanjang, 68.2% of the total respondents(see part A in the table above) argued that it is important for them to learn speaking Javanese language in order to communicate with other especially with Javanese community. Meanwhile, 18.2% thought that learning speaking Javanese is important for social acceptance. According to the responses on question 28, surprisingly 90.1% of the respondents said that they sometimes stay using Javanese although they know that the interlocutors they speak with are from their own group. Comparing native culture to the dominant Javanese culture, most respondents thought that they are moderately different (72.7%), and even not at all alike (9.1%). Nevertheless, 54% of all the respondents intend to live in

this town indefinitely, while there are only 13.6% who hope to go back to their hometown soon.

Furthermore, subjects seem to be divided in the way they perceive their native culture is evaluated by Javanese community. Majority of the respondents (63.6%) thought that the attitude of Javanese people toward their native group is positive, and the rest (36.4%) said that it is more positive than negative. Giving a response on how Javanese people are perceived by these immigrants and members of their group, there are 15 respondents (68.2%) said that members of Javanese community are friendly and concerned about immigrants of minorities like them, whereas some (18.2%) cautiously thought that Javanese people are more helpful now than long term their native group residents. According to some responses on question 24 about the subjects' preferred lifestyle, most respondents show a positive evaluation toward Javanese way of life (27.3% in choice a, and 40.9% in choice b). From all these results, once again it indicates an out-group trend toward assimilation into Javanese community.

4. 1. 4. Social contact/networking

The question 14, 15, and 32 elicited responses of non-Javanese immigrants about their social networking and membership. As it is shown in the following table:

Table 6

A. Social contact / networking		C. Group memberships	
Others from native groups	9.1%	In-group memberships/ organizations	4.5%
Mostly native	8.2%	Out-group memberships/ organizations	40.9%
Mostly Javanese	50%	None	54.5%
Javanese speakers	22.7%		
B. Social contact in neighborhood			
Others from native group	4.5%		
Mostly native	4.5%		
Mostly Javanese	40.9%		
Nearly all Javanese speakers	50%		

Results in respondents' group memberships suggest that most of them have a high degree of social contact with other out-groups. Half of the total respondents (50%) stated that at work they are mostly with Javanese and some other groups. Similarly, the majority of respondents (90.9%) live in a neighborhood which inhabited mostly by Javanese or even nearly all are Javanese people. Furthermore, 40% respondents said they like to follow organizations which are held and donated by the new community they live in such as PKK meeting, Karang Taruna, and religious organization like Yasin Tahlil recitation, Koran recitation, etc. Unfortunately, only 4.5% who attend in-group membership or organization because the rest (54.5%) said that they do not attend any organization because they are very busy with their work, while some said that they do not like to follow any kind of memberships or organizations.

4. 1. 5. Attitude toward Javanese language

This variable describes the attitudes and feelings of the non-Javanese immigrants toward Javanese language.

Table 7

Feel when speaking Javanese language			
A. very comfortable	31.8%	C. often embarrassed	18.2%
B. often comfortable	31.8%	D. very uncomfortable	8.2%
Attitude about Javanese language			
A. like it very much	22.7%	C. only a needed function	22.7%
B. like it better now than upon arrival	40.9%	D. very negative	0%

In most cases, respondents have positive feelings about Javanese language and are reasonably comfortable when speaking them although there is an exception in a particular context. According to the responses on question 22, it shows that 63.6% of the total respondents feel comfortable when they speak Javanese (31.8% each in choice a and choice b). They also show a positive trend toward acceptance of Javanese language since 40.9% of the respondents stated that they like Javanese language better now than they only arrive in this town. Moreover, 22.7% of them indicated that they like Javanese very much.

4. 2. Interpretation

On the whole, results on the five variables show the tendency of convergence behavior toward Javanese language and culture among non Javanese immigrants in Sepanjang. Though there are several responses which indicate a somewhat strong ethno-linguistic identity, most of the results show an indication on out-group trend toward assimilation to

Javanese community because those non Javanese immigrants give positive attitudes and response to Javanese language and culture.

Examining the results of the research, it seems that their choice of Javanese language or convergence to it is primarily functionally motivated because they are well aware that they should learn the language and culture of the large dominant community if they want to function in their new community. Motivation to learn and speak the Javanese language plays a major role in their language choice of convergence to Javanese. (Beebe & Giles, 1984). Besides motivation, attitude toward Javanese also affects these immigrants' to learn Javanese at first, then to choose whether to converge to or to diverge from it. As Schuman states in his Acculturation Model (1986) that the more positive the view of the second language learning group toward the target language, the more favorable will be the condition for the second language. In other words, if the minority groups in Sepanjang have a positive view about the dominant group, i.e., Javanese community, these minority groups will favor of learning speaking Javanese as well. In fact, the non Javanese immigrants who live in Sepanjang show positive responses and attitudes toward Javanese language and customs as we could see in the results of the research.

Their convergence to Javanese language can also be seen as a conscious acceptance of the value that 'they' code has in the relevant out-group context and 'we' code in the relevant of in-group context. They converge to Javanese language and adopt most of Javanese customs and

culture is probably due to the fact that they are eager to be fully accepted and considered as part of dominant community in Sepanjang because there is a common view that the more similar we are to our conversational partner, the more he/she likes or respects us; as a result, the more social rewards we can expect. In other words, they want to fill their desire for social approval from the dominant group in their new community (Giles & Powesland, 1975). For them, 'they' code is not just a social need, but it is a powerful social need. Besides, their choice of a language also affect their socioeconomic status since those immigrants live near the marketplace which become one of the most economic centers in Sidoarjo. As a result, those immigrants are more likely to converge to their interlocutors since they are more likely to need approval to accomplish their goal.

Another social factor of converging to Javanese may also to improve the effectiveness of communication which in turn will increase the predictability of the other and hence a lowering of uncertainty, interpersonal anxiety, and give mutual understanding. Converging speakers are generally viewed more favorable than diverging speakers and are perceived as more efficient in their communication as well as cooperative. The immigrants in Sepanjang may think that it will easier for them to communicate with Javanese people if they converge to Javanese language. They consciously accept the fact that it is generally expected that those of in a minor positions would converge to those major positions. Therefore, they decide to give up their native language and then converge to Javanese language since the

dominant community in Sepanjang is Javanese. This is what we called upward convergence (Giles & Powesland, 1975).

In relation the second research question about the way non Javanese immigrants in Sepanjang identify themselves, there is an interesting view from the immigrants' response in the questionnaire which come into conflict since there is an opposite coin between their desire and their efforts on maintaining the native language. Responses in the data show that almost all respondents want their children to maintain their native heritage language however not many efforts they do to teach their children their native heritage language. It is due to the fact that they tend to speak Javanese as their daily language even at home domain since they migrate to Sepanjang. They teach and raise their children Javanese language and culture. Therefore most of second generation immigrants in Sepanjang have Javanese as their mother tongue.

If we see this fact, we may think that they have lost their identity as a particular group. Though many sociolinguists state that language as a symbol of cultural identity since language stands for the whole culture, however other argue that language and culture exist independently and bear no intrinsic relation to each other. It is because they have an idea that cultural identity is an umbrella term that is comprised of several factors. These factors are broadly characterized as (1) linguistic, (2) regional/geographic, (3) religious, and (4) racial/ethnic. Thus, the loss of one marker, namely the ethnic language, does not automatically entail the loss of

cultural identity. Even more, the loss of one or more identity markers tend to reinforce the remaining identity markers (Pandharipande, 1992). Therefore someone may still identify themselves as a member of an ethnic group whose cultural patterns are those of that group, though they have little or even no proficiency in the ethnic mother tongue. Hoffinan (1991) states that proficiency in a language does not necessarily imply knowledge of the culture of the language, and vice versa. Further, Guitart (1981) proposes that the disassociation between ethnic loyalty and language loyalty is possible. He states it is not true that language shift is always a manifestation of ethnic self-rejection.



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study describes that first generation of non Javanese immigrants, in Sepanjang have converged to Javanese language and culture. They have chosen Javanese as their daily means of communication whoever the interlocutors are during their living in the new community. The research show that majority of the respondents ever maintain speaking in Javanese though they know that their interlocutor is from their own group. Furthermore, Javanese become their home language when they speak to their family, particularly to children and spouse of different ethnical background.

There are some social factors which are estimated to influence those non Javanese immigrants' language convergence to Javanese language. The first primarily factor is motivation and positive attitude towards Javanese language, culture and people. The second factor is a social need to be fully accepted and functioned in the new community. And the third one is to improve the effectiveness of communication between those non Javanese immigrants and their interlocutors since Javanese is the wider regional language of community in Sepanjang.

However, though they converge to Javanese language and mostly adopted Javanese culture, it was found that they still hold their root identity as a particular ethnical group. Their convergence behavior is a part of their efforts to adapt to the new community not a manifestation of ethnic self-rejection. From this fact, it

proved that first generation of non Javanese immigrants in Sepanjang have successfully assimilated to Javanese culture without fully eliminating their root culture and identity.



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Appendix 1

KUESIONER

Survey Penggunaan Bahasa

Bacalah pertanyaan di bawah ini dengan cermat dan pilihlah jawaban yang terbaik untuk menggambarkan diri anda.

Nama : _____ Umur : _____ tahun

Keterangan:

Bahasa Ibu adalah bahasa yang pertama kali dikuasai, biasanya pertama kali diajarkan dan digunakan di lingkungan keluarga. (bahasa ibu = bahasa daerah asal)

1. Apakah **bahasa ibu** yang Anda miliki?
2. Pada usia berapakah Anda tiba di kota ini?
3. Sudah berapa lama Anda tinggal di kota ini?
4. (1) Apakah kesibukan (pekerjaan) Anda? (jika Anda seorang siswa, sebutkan apakah Anda mempunyai pekerjaan sampingan, jenis pekerjaan apa itu dan berapa jam dalam satu minggu?)

(2) Bahasa apakah yang Anda pakai di tempat anda bekerja?
5. Berapa tahun pendidikan formal yang Anda tempuh di:
 - a. Di daerah asal: _____ tahun
 - b. Surabaya : _____ tahun
6. Rata – rata berapa persen Anda menggunakan bahasa ibu/bahasa daerah anda dalam percakapan sehari-hari?
 - a. tidak bisa sama sekali
 - b. 5 – 30 %
 - c. 30 – 75 %
 - d. 75 – 100
7. Apakah terkadang Anda menggunakan campuran Bahasa Jawa dengan bahasa ibu ketika berbicara dengan orang yang bisa Bahasa Jawa dan bahasa ibu anda? Siapakah mereka (hubungan mereka dengan anda, umur, pekerjaan)?

8. Seberapa sering Anda melakukan campur bahasa, dengan:
9. Berapa persen (waktu/jam) setiap harinya Anda berbicara menggunakan:
- (1) Bahasa Indonesia : _____
- (2) Bahasa Jawa : _____
- (3) Bahasa ibu/daerah asal : _____
10. Mengapa penting bagi Anda untuk bisa berbahasa Jawa?
- a. Untuk bisa berkomunikasi dengan penduduk setempat terutama orang Jawa
- b. Untuk bisa berbicara seperti orang Jawa
- c. Agar bisa diterima sebagai bagian dari penduduk setempat di kota ini
- d. Alasan lain: _____
11. Di waktu senggang (tidak sedang bekerja), Anda bersosialisasi atau bergaul dengan?
- a. Orang Jawa
- b. Orang-orang dari kelompok suku saya sendiri
- c. Kebanyakan dari kelompok suku saya sendiri, dan beberapa dari suku Jawa
- d. Kebanyakan orang Jawa, dan beberapa orang dari kelompok suku saya sendiri
- e. Kebanyakan dari kelompok saya sendiri, dan beberapa dari suku lain
12. Teman karib saya adalah orang dari suku bangsa?
- a. Jawa d. Sama seperti saya, tapi lahir di daerah lain
- b. Sama seperti saya e. Berbeda dengan saya; bukan orang Jawa
13. Bagaimana Anda membandingkan adat budaya Anda dengan adat budaya Jawa?
- a. Serupa c. Cukup berbeda
- b. Sangat serupa d. Sama sekali tidak sama
14. Di tempat kerja (atau di sekolah), Anda bersama?
- a. Orang dari kelompok suku saya
- b. Kebanyakan dari kelompok suku saya, beberapa dari orang Jawa
- c. Kebanyakan orang Jawa, beberapa dari suku lain
- d. Orang Jawa
15. Terutama orang-orang dari manakah yang tinggal di lingkungan sekitar Anda?
- a. Orang dari kelompok suku saya
- b. Kebanyakan dari kelompok suku saya, beberapa dari orang Jawa

- c. Kebanyakan orang Jawa, beberapa dari suku lain
d. Hampir semua orang Jawa
16. Berapa lama Anda berniat untuk tinggal di kota ini?
a. Saya berharap untuk kembali ke ke daerah asal saya dengan segera
b. 5 tahun lebih
c. 10 tahun lebih
d. Selamanya
17. Menurut Anda, bagaiman sikap orang Jawa terhadap orang –orang dari kelompok suku Anda?
a. Positif
b. Lebih positif daripada negatif
c. Lebih negatif daripada positif
d. Negatif
18. Manakah dari berikut ini yang paling menggambarkan perasaan Anda tentang orang Jawa?
a. Suka membantu, ramah, peduli dengan orang seperti saya
b. Agak membantu, ramah dan peduli dengan orang seperti saya
c. lebih membantu dan peduli dari pada terhadap oarng dari suku saya dulu kala
d. Sangat tidak membantu dan tidak ramah – mereka tidak peduli dengan orang seperti saya
19. Sebagai grup, bagaimana orang–orang dari kelompok suku Anda merespon nilai, keyakinan serta adat Jawa?
a. Mereka mempertahankan adat aslinya dan tidak mengambil adat Jawa
b. Mereka telah banyak mengambil adat Jawa tetapi masih mempertahankan beberapa adat aslinya
c. Mereka telah mengambil semua adat Jawa dan tidak lagi mempertahankan adat asli kami
d. Mereka mempertahankan sebagian besar adat asli kami dan telah mengambil hanya beberapa saja dari adat Jawa
20. Bagaimana orang – orang dari kelompok suku Anda menggunakan suatu bahasa?
a. Mereka pikir penting untuk mempertahankan bahasa ibu, dan mereka menggunakannya disebagian besar waktu mereka
b. Mereka pikir penting untuk bisa bicara 2 atau 3 bahasa, dan mereka sering mencampurkan bahasa dengan bebas
c. Mereka ingin mempertahankan bahasa ibu mereka; sekali – sekali mencampurnya dengan Bahasa Jawa, sehingga masih terdengar seperti bahasa ibu saya
d. Mereka pikir belajar Bahasa Jawa itu penting. Lebih banyak penggunaan kata dari Bahasa Jawa ketika mereka mencampur bahasa ibu saya dengan Bahasa Jawa.

21. Gaya hidup seperti apa yang lebih Anda sukai?
 a. Gaya hidup orang Jawa
 b. Lebih condong ke gaya hidup orang Jawa daripada ke gaya hidup kelompok suku saya
 c. Lebih condong ke gaya hidup kelompok suku saya daripada ke gaya hidup orang Jawa
 d. Gaya hidup kelompok suku saya
22. Bagaimana perasaanmu ketika berbicara dengan Bahasa Jawa?
 a. merasa sangat nyaman
 b. Seringkali merasa nyaman
 c. Seringkali merasa malu
 d. Merasa sangat tidak nyaman
23. Apakah yang Anda rasakan terhadap Bahasa Jawa?
 a. Saya sangat menyukainya
 b. Saya lebih menyukainya sekarang daripada dulu ketika pertama kali tiba di kota ini
 c. Saya tidak menyukainya, tetapi saya harus mempelajarinya untuk bisa berfungsi di kota ini
 d. Saya merasa sangat frustrasi, saya harap saya tidak harus mempelajarinya
24. Jika Anda belum menikah, apakah Anda akan menikah dengan seseorang:
 a. Dari kelompok suku Anda
 b. Lahir di kota ini, tetapi dari kelompok suku yang sama dengan saya
 c. Lahir di kota ini, dan dari kelompok suku yang berbeda dengan saya
 d. Dari suku Jawa
 e. Tidak harus dari suku tertentu, bisa siapa saja
 f. Saya telah menikah dengan _____
25. Sebutkan TIGA situasi (kapan, dimana, dengan siapa) dimana Anda selalu menggunakan Bahasa Jawa
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
26. Sebutkan TIGA situasi (kapan, dimana, dengan siapa) dimana Anda selalu menggunakan Bahasa ibu/bahasa daerah asal
 1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
27. Kapan Anda **seringkali** mencampur bahasa ibu Anda dengan Bahasa Jawa?
 a. ketika bercakap – cakap setiap harinya dengan teman atau orang yang seusia dengan saya
 b. ketika bercakap – cakap setiap harinya dengan keluarga saya
 c. ketika bercakap – cakap dengan orang yang lebih tua dan yang tidak terlalu bisa Bahasa Jawa

- d. Ketika bercakap – cakap dengan teman kerja (atau teman sekoiah)
e. di tempat peribadatan, di perkumpulan kelompok saya, di pertemuan atau ketika ketika saya berkunjung dengan teman dari suku yang sama dengan saya tanpa memandang usia
f. Sama seperti (e), tetapi hanya dengan generasi yang lebih muda
g. Alasan lain: _____
28. Apakah Anda kadang – kadang menggunakan Bahasa Jawa dengan orang yang bisa bicara dalam bahasa ibu/bahasa daerah Anda?
29. Apakah Anda ingin anak Anda mempertahankan bahasa ibu/bahasa daerah asal Anda?
30. Menurut Anda seberapa pentingkah bahasa ibu bagi anak Anda?
a. Benar-benar sangat penting
b. Sangat penting
c. Penting
d. Tidak begitu penting
e. Sama sekali tidak penting
31. Menurut Anda, mengapa anak Anda harus mempertahankan bahasa ibu?
a. _____
b. _____
c. _____
32. Sebutkan 1 -3 organisasi sosial yang Anda ikuti. Apakah Anda suka menghadiri pertemuannya? Mengapa?

APPENDIX 2

Table 1: Language Dominance

A. Average % of speech in Native language				
None	4.5%			
5 – 30 %	72.7%			
30 – 75%	22.7%			
75 – 100%	0%			
B. Daily percent of time speaking:				
	None	5 – 30%	30 – 75%	75 – 100%
The number of respondents in speaking				
Native language	5.4%	72.7%	22.7%	0%
Indonesian language	5.4%	50%	36.4%	9.1%
Javanese language	5.4%	27.3%	63.6%	5.4%

Tables 2 – 4: Ethno-linguistic Enclosure

Table 2

A. People you socialize with		B. Ethnicity of best friends	
Javanese	59.1%	Javanese	81.8%
Native	0%	Native	4.5%
Mostly native	4.5%	Native-born in other area	13.6%
Mostly Javanese	36.4%	Non native-non Javanese	0%
Mostly native, and other groups	0%		

Table 3

C. In-group socio-cultural response to dominant ways, values, and beliefs		D. L1 in-group use of language	
Preserved native culture	9.1%	Native	13.6%
Mostly adopted Javanese culture	68.2%	Native/Ind/Jav free mixing	45.5%
Completely adopted Javanese culture	4.5%	Native – base mixing	13.6%
Mostly preserved native culture	18.2%	Ind/Jav – base mixing	27.3%

Table 4

E. Marriage preference		G. The important degree of native language maintenance by child	
Native group	22.7%	Extremely important	18.2%
Javanese	40.9%	Very important	31.8%
Native-born in Sda/Sby	4.5%	Important	22.7%
Non native-born in Sda/Sby	0%	Not important	18.2%
No preference	31.8%	Not important at all	9.1%
F. L1 maintance by child			
Yes	59.1%		
No	18.2%		
Other	22%		

Table 5: Perceived Social Comparison to Javanese Group

A. Instrumental value of Javanese		F. Preferred lifestyle	
Everyday communication	68.2%	Javanese culture	27.3%
To speak like Javanese-speakers	4.5%	More Javanese than native-culture	40.9%
Social acceptance	18.2%	More native than Javanese-culture	13.6%
To cover the identity	0%	native culture	18.2%
Other	9.1%		
B. Comparison of native culture to Javanese culture		G. Sometimes mix Javanese with native language	
Similar	18.2%	Yes	68.2%
Very similar	0%	No	31.8%
Moderately different	72.7%		
Not at all alike	9.1%		
C. Projected length of stay in the new community		H. Highest % of mixing native language and Javanese language	
Will go back to home-town soon	13.6%	Conversation with the same-generation multi-lingual	27.3%
Up to 5 years	9.1%	Conversation with family	36.4%
Up to 10 years	4.5%	Conversation with elderly Native-speakers	4.5%
Forever	54.5%	Conversation with co-workers	9.1%
Undecided	18.2%	At L1 social-gatherings	4.1%
D. Attitude of dominant Javanese group toward minority native group		At L1 social gatherings, but only with younger generation	0%
Positive	63.6%	Other	8.2%
More positive than negative	36.4%		
More negative than positive	0%		
Negative	0%		

E. Individual feelings about dominant Javanese groups		I. Sometimes use only Javanese language with other native or Javanese bilinguals	
Concerned about L1 group	68.2%	Yes	90.1%
Somewhat concerned about L1 group	13.6%	No	9.1%
More helpful than long term native residents	18.2%		
Not at all concerned about L1 group	0%		

Table 7: Social Contact / Networking

A. Social contact / networking		C. Group memberships	
Others from native groups	9.1%	In-group memberships/ organizations	4.5%
Mostly native	18.2%	Out-group memberships/ organizations	40.9%
Mostly Javanese	50%	None	54.5%
Javanese speakers	22.7%		
B. Social contact in neighborhood			
Others from native group	4.5%		
Mostly native	4.5%		
Mostly Javanese	40.9%		
Nearly all Javanese speakers	50%		

Table 8: Attitude toward native language, Indonesian and Javanese language (+L= positive; -L= negative)

+L		-L	
Feel when speaking Javanese language			
A. very comfortable	31.8%	C. often embarrassed	18.2%
B. often comfortable	31.8%	D. very uncomfortable	8.2%
Attitude about Javanese language			
A. like it very much	22.7%	C. only a needed function	22.7%
B. like it better now than upon arrival	40.9%	D. very negative	0%