

Exploring Javanese as a first language in children's social groups in Blitar

Eksplorasi bahasa Jawa sebagai bahasa pertama dalam kelompok sosial anak di Blitar

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to explore the use of Javanese language in the domain of children's social groups in the Mataraman Area of the Blitar border. Qualitative method is utilized in this study to provide a comprehensive conception of the linguistic phenomenon accurately without any treatment given to the subject matter. As a sociolinguistic study, it aims to observe the language attitude observed in the domain of children's social groups in the border areas. In an effort to prevent the COVID-19 pandemic, the data was collected by a field team consisting of local residents to expedite the process while still adhering to the established health protocols. It is expected that this study can facilitate policy makers in fostering and maintaining Javanese language as the mother tongue of communities located in cultural border areas. Additionally, the current study can also be utilized as input for preserving and protecting Javanese language as children's mother tongue as the next generation of native speakers of a certain community in an effort to maintain the identity of their local culture. The results show that there is indeed a shift in language use, i.e., the use of mixed languages—a combination of Javanese Ngoko and Indonesian or a unique mix of Javanese Ngoko, Indonesian, and Malay—as observed in a conversation among siblings when they played together. There are also three major factors that are seen to influence this shift, i.e., parental, technological, and social environmental factors, where these three contribute to children's interactions.

KATA KUNCI

wujud bahasa, kelompok anak-anak, bahasa Jawa, Mataraman perbatasan, sosiolinguistik,

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui deskripsi wujud bahasa Jawa pada ranah pergaulan anak-anak di wilayah Mataraman tapal batas budaya di Blitar. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah kualitatif yakni memberikan gambaran umum atas suatu keadaan se jelas mungkin tanpa ada perlakuan terhadap obyek yang diteliti. Penelitian ini merupakan kajian sosiolinguistik yang berdasarkan fenomena bahasa yang terjadi pada ranah pergaulan anak-anak di wilayah tapal batas budaya. Sebagai upaya pencegahan COVID-19, maka pengambilan data penelitian dilakukan oleh tim di lapangan yang merupakan warga setempat sehingga hal ini memudahkan dalam pengambilan data namun dengan tetap menaati protokol kesehatan. Target dari penelitian ini bisa menjadi ancangan kebijakan dalam pembinaan sekaligus pentingnya pemertahanan bahasa Jawa sebagai bahasa ibu di masyarakat wilayah tapal batas budaya. Selain itu, penelitian ini dapat digunakan sebagai bahan masukan untuk melindungi dan melestarikan bahasa ibu pada anak-anak sebagai penutur asli masyarakat dalam upaya pemertahanan identitas kearifan lokal masyarakat. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya pergeseran bahasa, terutama pada penggunaan bahasa campuran yang digunakan dalam bahasa pergaulan anak-anak seperti dari bahasa Jawa ngoko ke bahasa Indonesia, kemudian bahasa Jawa Ngoko dicampur dengan bahasa Indonesia juga Melayu yang terlihat pada situasi bermain pada konteks ketika menjaga adik sambil bermain. Selain itu terdapat tiga faktor yang mempengaruhi pergeseran yaitu, faktor orang tua, faktor teknologi, dan faktor lingkungan sosial pergaulan anak.

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Introduction

Language changes are often influenced by the social and cultural attitudes of the speakers. Devanty (2017) states that language is a defining trait of humankind that differentiates humans from other species. In the current millennium, the role of language in society is increasingly influenced by the rapid development of technology. This issue highlights society's reliance on communication device, such as gadgets. Due to their diverse communicative functions, these devices have become essential components of daily life, used not just by adults, but also children. The emergence of new media and technology significantly affects children's linguistic behavior, particularly in the use of their native language (Atmawati, 2020). Subsequently, this unconsciously forms a new behavior and culture inside society, especially within children's social groups.

The use of mother tongue can be perceived as the basis for a person's way of thinking (Fitriani & Nabila, 2019), as it typically involves the regional language. Javanese, for example, is a local language and a mother tongue spoken by people in Central and East Java. This is reflected in almost all aspects of life—from birth until adulthood—where people have always used Javanese as their means of communication. Therefore, Javanese, as a regional language, also influences the language behavior of its speakers.

One intriguing topic about the use of Javanese in society is the role of Javanese as both the mother tongue and primary means of communication for children, despite its growing marginalization in daily life (Setiawan, 2012). This phenomenon is largely due to the influence of technology and information, which has exposed Javanese speakers to a broader range of languages (Wahyuningsih, 2019). The impact is certainly able to affect the way a child thinks, feels, behaves, acts, and perceives the environment surrounding them when they have a conversation (Tika, 2021). The Javanese language, as an aspect of identity (Mulyono & Triyana, 2013), is indeed undergoing a significant shift. This change is increasingly evident not only in urban areas but also in rural communities (Vander Klok, 2019).

While the use of the Javanese language in conversations should coexist with other languages, especially Indonesian, a shift in language use can indirectly become a threat. This is because the role of Javanese as both a mother tongue and an identity marker for Javanese children is gradually diminishing. Therefore, it is essential to preserve the use of local languages, particularly within children's social groups. This aligns with Holmes' assertion that contact with different languages can become a threat to the survival of the minority language (Holmes, 2001: 52). Consequently, language shift becomes inevitable, characterized by the transition of the minority group's language to that of the majority group.

Accordingly, it is imperative for researchers to observe the forms of Javanese language that exist in society, especially in the domain of children's social groups. This research focuses exclusively on the use of Javanese in children's activities and social interactions, given that children represent the generation with the potential to preserve the Javanese language. This study is conducted in the border area of the eastern part of Blitar—which is directly adjacent to Malang—as this specific area is part of the cultural border in which the community speaks the Mataraman Javanese dialect. The

research is conducted in Ampelgading village, which is under the administration of Selorejo, Blitar. This specific location is chosen because the researchers want to examine to what extent Javanese, as a native mother tongue, is used in children's everyday activities, especially during a pandemic and how technology will impact children's repertoire.

The study aims to address two research objectives: (1) to identify the forms of Javanese language used as a native mother tongue used among children's social groups in the Mataraman border area of Blitar, and (2) to examine the factors causing a shift in the use of Javanese as a native mother tongue in the interactions of children's social groups. Therefore, group interaction among children is a crucial factor in the acquisition and development of Javanese in particular.

Ampelgading village is administratively located in the hills of Selorejo, Blitar, East Java, specifically on the western slopes of Mount Kawi and amidst a pine forest area managed by the Indonesian state-owned forestry company, PERHUTANI. This village is recognized to be the most remote village in the east of Malang, and is bordered by Mount Kawi to the north, Sidomulyo village of Selorejo to the south, and Kalimanis village of Kesamben, which is part of Blitar, to the west.

Based on interview results with the local community, from a cultural aspect, this village still upholds the Mataraman culture. Therefore, the people identify as indigenous Javanese (citizen interview, 2020). People in Ampelgading often rely on the plantation industry, commerce, handicrafts, and various forms of unskilled labour. The population predominantly communicates in Javanese, specifically the Mataraman dialect, despite its location on the border of Blitar and Malang.

This research focuses on children aged 6-8 years, during which children are particularly receptive to language acquisition, as it is a crucial developmental stage to language learning. Kridalaksana (in Mahsun, 2001) argues that the first language acquired by human beings in the beginning of their life through social interactions is obtained intuitively. Subyakto (1988) asserts that normally a child will acquire their first language within a relatively short time (approximately from the age of two to six years), although the language doesn't come to them in a true grammatical order or the appropriate sentence structures and vocabulary. Consequently, acquiring the local culture also takes place intuitively and simultaneously as they gradually learn their mother tongue. A child gradually develops their viewpoints and community values through well-established expressive lines, grammatical structures, and a variety of lexicons available in the mother tongue (Mahsun, 2001).

The process of language development in children can also illustrate the use of two distinct language varieties, each employed separately according to its function and context (diglossia). The conditions in which each variation is spoken are often referred to as domains. Fishman (1972) argues that domain relates to the condition in which an individual is required to choose a particular language and topic of conversation in accordance with the socio-cultural norms and values of the specific speech community. For instance, when a father talks to his child at the dinner table, the atmosphere of the conversation is more relaxed and casual than usual—which reflect a familial relationship between a parent and a child. However, when both actors happen to interact at school—the father being the teacher and the child is his student—then they use another

language variety that is regarded as the standard variety by their community. The relationship between the two actors also shift following the setting of the interaction, where they have to different roles as teacher and student respectively at school.

Studies on the use of regional or local languages as mother tongues have already been prevalent in the academia. A study conducted by Sosiawan et al. (2021) focuses on the use of Balinese in the domain of young families in Singaraja, Bali, which observes the differences in language use between parents and children. Their observations indicate that parents dominate the conversation and use various linguistic forms, from word choices to sentence structures; whereas their children only speak limited numbers of words and short sentences. Balinese as a mother tongue also experiences a shift that leads to its decline as more conversations are now dominated by and replaced with Indonesian. Additionally, Sari and Sururi (2020) examine language shift in the use of Javanese among children in Sidoharjo village, Banyuasin. In their report, Javanese is often replaced with Indonesian as observed in children's interactions in a fairly high percentage of more than 50% in total.

On the other hand, research by Khasanah et al. (2020) that focuses on the maintenance of Javanese Krama in the border area of Blitar and Malang, specifically in Ampelgading village of Selorejo, Blitar, shows that the Javanese Krama as one of Javanese registers is still primarily used in by the majority of the community. Javanese Krama is observed in several social domains, i.e., family, shops or markets, local festivities or communal feast (*selamatan*), communal Qur'an reading, social gathering of Women of Family Welfare Program (*arisan PKK*), and neighborhood meeting. To preserve a positive reputation among the people, the employment of Javanese Krama as the medium for communication in such social domains is seen to carry a value of civility.

Lastly, a study conducted by Khasanah et al. (2021) examining the maintenance of the Malangan dialect spoken in the border of Malang and Blitar shows Javanese in Malangan dialect is still primarily spoken by sellers and buyers in the domain of trade transaction. Interestingly, the fact that sellers and buyers originally come from different dialect areas does not affect the speech acts of native speakers of the Malangan dialect. The factors contributing to the preservation of language in this case include the speaker's habits, sense of self-identity, geographical location, and the perception of distinction linked to having and using various dialects.

Following the four previous studies, the current study also focuses on the use of local languages. However, what distinguishes it from the aforementioned studies are the main focus and the domain in which the language is spoken—that is, the use of Javanese as the mother tongue as spoken by children in their social groups. Additionally, the current study is the continuation of two previous studies (see Khasanah et al., 2020; 2021) in which the data is collected in the border area of Blitar and Malang. To sum up, the focus of the current study observes the forms of Javanese language as a mother tongue spoken in the social interactions of children in the Mataraman area of Blitar.

Method

This study uses a qualitative method to provide a comprehensive description of a phenomenon without treating the object under study. According to Sugiyono (2018:

213), qualitative methods are based on philosophy and are used to research the conditions of scientific objects (experiments) where the researcher acts as an instrument. The data collection and analysis techniques are more qualitative in nature, with a greater emphasis on meaning. Qualitative methods aim to analyze and describe phenomena that occur through social activities, attitudes, and perceptions of individuals and society in general. Therefore, this research employs qualitative methods with a descriptive approach to present, analyze, and interpret the collected data. The focus of this research is the use of the Javanese language among children in Ampelgading village, Blitar, East Java, specifically in the border area of Malang and Blitar.

Data were collected through a series of observation and note-taking techniques. According to Sudaryanto (2012), when observing objects in language research, the observation technique is frequently used. In this study, the researcher collected data by simply listening to conversations conducted by speakers without directly participating in those conversations. During data collection, the data were observed and recorded based on what the children said, and then transcribed. The research data were obtained from children aged 6-8 years throughout the Ampelgading village. Data collection took place while the children were playing with their peers (playgroups). The study involved 22 children distributed across various hamlets within Ampelgading village. Additionally, during data collection, the researcher was assisted by local residents who had been given instructions on the data collection procedures, including observation, listening, note-taking, and recording the children's language activities.

The goal of this study is to systematically and factually address the formulated problems based on the collected data, specifically recordings of children's interactions in the Mataraman area on the Blitar border. Once the data is gathered, it is presented, analyzed, and interpreted using various techniques. Presentation is conducted informally, while analysis involves grouping and coding the data. The data consist of fragments of conversations among children in their social groups, reflecting their natural language repertoire from everyday interactions. The source of the data is the research subjects (Subana, 2001), namely conversations recorded within children's social groups that illustrate the use of the Javanese language.

Results and Discussions

Forms of Javanese language as a mother tongue used in children's social groups

This subchapter specifically presents the recorded and collected data which have been coded and grouped thematically by its situations and conditions. It has to be noted that the data was collected from three different hamlets of Ampelgading village of Mataraman Area, Selorejo, Blitar. The variety of language forms of Javanese as a mother tongue observed simultaneously represent the difference in social context and/or setting when the forms are spoken. Unique language forms spoken by children emerge when they play with their teammates, engage in casual conversations, as well as do simple chores to help their parents. As many as 11 children from different social groups and contexts had their interactions observed and recorded. Their interactions within their social groups are presented and interpreted in the following section:

Data 1 Situation: Playing Together

Context: Playing bicycles in a front yard (June 18, 2022)

The following is a dialogue spoken by three children playing bicycles in someone's front yard (Aisyah, 10 years old; Dewi, 10 years old; Yuli, 8 years old).

- Aisyah “*Ayo dolanan? aku tak njupuk sepeda neng pawon.*”
Mari bermain? Saya akan mengambil sepeda di dapur. (Let's play, I will take my bike in the kitchen first)
- Dewi “*Ndek ingi neng ndi Is?*”
Kemarin ke mana Is? (Where were you yesterday, Is?)
- Aisyah “*Aku diajak Ibu ke Mbertekek.*”
Saya diajak Ibu ke Mbertekek (My mother took me to Mbertekek)
- Dewi “*Tapi kowe yang nggonceng ya?*”
Tapi kamu yang memboceng ya? (But you'll be the one riding, okay?)
- Yuli “*Mbak Is, aku melu?*”
Mbak Is, saya ikut? (Sister Is, let me join)
- Aisyah “*Engko gantian numpak ae lo!*”
Nanti bergantian naiknya ya! (We'll take turn, okay!)
- Dewi “*Iyo, sik, awakmu ngejar aku ambe Ais yo?*”
Iya, tunggu, kamu kejar saya sama Ais ya? (Yes, wait, you're chasing us [me and Ais], okay?)
- Yuli “*Iyo wes, tapi sik yo!*”
Iya sudah, tapi tunggu ya! (Fine, but wait for me!)
- Dewi “*Ki mau ko ndi Yul?*”
Ini tadi kamu dari mana Yul? (Where were you from, Yul?)
- Yuli “*Ko omah.*”
Dari rumah. (Home.)
- Aisyah “*Ayo numpako! Ngadek mburi gocekan pundakku!*”
Ayo kamu naik! Berdiri di belakang pegang pundak saya! (Go up the bike! Piggyback me and hold my shoulders tight!)
- Yuli “*Ati-ati Mbak Is!*”
Hati-hati Mbak Is! (Be careful, Sister Is!)
- Aisyah “*Sik, iki obah-obah setire.*”
Tunggu, gerak-gerak setir sepedanya. (Wait, the handlebar is unstable.)
- Dewi “*Iyo.*”
Iya. (Okay.)

Based on the data, the conversation was carried out within the context of three children playing bicycles together, and the forms of language emerging from their conversation is the use of Javanese Ngoko throughout.

Following the context, the speech act that takes place only focuses on one discussion, which is taking turns in playing the bicycle. As for the language forms, all children—Aisyah, Yuli, and Dewi—do use Javanese Ngoko most of the time. They greet each other using Javanese Ngoko, ask and answer questions in Javanese Ngoko, as well as give warning at one point. The use of Javanese Ngoko by children is very common in Javanese community, however, if referring to the proper use of three Javanese registers—Javanese Ngoko, Javanese Madya, and Javanese Krama—Yuli as the youngest one of the three should at least speak in Javanese Madya to Aisyah and Dewi because they are older than her. However, as the three children are neighbors and teammates, it is understandable that Yuli only uses Javanese Ngoko to the older kids.

Registers or styles in Javanese is quite unique as their use is closely tied to the interlocutors and can only be spoken in certain social contexts. Javanese Ngoko, or the

most informal register, is generally used within the context of friendship or peers, and this applies to both children and adults. On the other hand, Javanese Madya and Krama are strictly used to address older people when one converses with them, i.e., with one's parents, people of higher status, or even strangers. Hence, Yuli speaking in Javanese Ngoko to the older kids is commonly understandable in Javanese society, as how Aisyah and Dewi converse with each other. In this case, the three children used the appropriate Javanese language register without any language barriers that their playmates or peers could not understand.

Data 2 Situation: Casual Conversation

Context: Taking care of a sibling in a front yard (June 25, 2022)

The following is a dialogue spoken by three children conversing casually with each other while taking care of one's sibling (Nisa, 8 years old; Lia, 6 years old; Lia, 1.5 years old).

- Nisa *"dek, diem ya, Ibu masih Yasinan"*
Dik, diam ya, Ibu masih pengajian. (Sis, be quiet, please, Mom's still in the communal Qur'an reading)
- Lia *"Cup-cup, kilo tak kasih?"*
Ini saya beri? (There, there, here, let me give you this)
- Nisa *"Kamu wingi liat Ipin-Upin?"*
Kamu kemarin nonton Ipin-Upin? (Did you watch Ipin-Upin yesterday?)
- Lia *"Iya, mmhh itu Ipin ngejar Rambo?"*
Iya, mmhh itu Ipin mengejar Rambo? (Yeah, mmh, when Ipin chased Rambo?)
- Nisa *"ahahaha, lucu ya"*
Hahaha, lucu sekali ya. (Hahaha, that was so funny.)
- Lia *"Cup-cup dek"*
Diem dik (There, there, sis)
- Nisa *"Iya dek, diem ae lo. Itu ada Rambo di sane?"*
Iya dik, diam kok. Itu ada Rambo di sana? (Be quiet, Sis. Look, isn't that Rambo there?)
- Lia *"Iye, nanti kau dimakan Rambo hayoo?"*
Iya, nanti kamu dimakan Rambo bagaimana? (That's right, what if you're eaten by Rambo?)
- Nisa *"Ibu masih lame, kamu kalo nangis nanti tak kasih Rambo!"*
Ibu masih lama, kamu kalau menangis terus saya kasih ke Rambo! (Mom's still away, if you don't calm down, I will give you to Rambo!)
- Lia *"hahahaha"*
Hahahaha.
- Nisa *"Hpmu ora kamu bawa?"*
Gawaimu apa tidak kamu bawa? (Don't you have your phone with you?)
- Lia *"nggak oleh"*
Tidak boleh. (I'm not allowed.)
- Nisa *"Nonton Ipin-Upin nek Youtube enek lo. Adik meneng lek liat Ipin-Upin. Terus ngguyu-ngguyu. Lucu hahahaha."*
Nonton Ipin-Upin di Youtube ada kok. Adik diam kalau melihat Ipin dan Upin. Lalu tertawa. Lucu sekali. (You can watch Ipin-Upin on YouTube. Your sister will definitely calm down if she watches Ipin and Upin, then she'll laugh. It's so funny.)

- Lia "Iya, jare pulsane abis e. Sesok nonton neng tipi ae pas isuk ngono."
Iya katanya pulsa (hp) habis. Besok nonton di televisi saja saat pagi begitu. (Yeah, we're running out of phone credit. We'll watch it on TV tomorrow.)
- Nisa "Nonton neng omahmu ya. Tak ape-tak ape. Hahahaha."
(Nonton di rumahmu ya. Tidak apa-tidak apa) (Let's just watch at your house. It'll be no problem, hahaha.)
- Nisa & Lia "Hahahaha" (Hahaha)

Based on the data, the conversation was carried out within the context of two children who were conversing while taking care of their sibling in a front yard, and the forms of language emerging from their conversation is a mix of Javanese Ngoko with a few Malay phrases and informal Indonesian.

Following the context, the speech act that takes place only focuses on one discussion, which is taking care of a sibling who wouldn't calm down while discussing about a cartoon entitled Ipin-Upin at the same time. A mix of three languages emerges from their conversation. For instance, Nisa uses the words *wingi..* (yesterday), *..ae..* (only), *..ora..* (no/not), *..nek..* (on), *..enek..* (there is/are), *..lek..* (if), *..ngguyu-ngguyu..* (laugh/laughing), *..neng omahmu..* (at your house). Lia, on the other hand, uses the words *kilo..* (here is/let me give), *..nggak oleh* (cannot), *..jare..* (said), *..sesok..* (tomorrow), *..neng..* (in/at), *..tipi..* (television), *..ae..* (only), *..pas isuk ngono..* (tomorrow).

Other than the Javanese words, both girls also use several Indonesian words and sentences; Nisa uses the words "*dek, diem ya, Ibu masih Yasinan,*" (Sis, be quiet, please, Mom's still in the communal Qur'an reading), "*Kamu...liat..*" (Did you see), "*..Lucu ya,*" (It's so funny), "*Ibu masih..., kamu kalo nangis nanti tak kasih Rambo!*" (Mom's still..., if you don't calm down I will give you to Rambo), "*..kamu bawa*" (...with you), "*Nonton..Adik..liat Ipin-Upin. Terus.. Lucu..*" (Watch... Sis... watch Ipin-Upin, then... funny...), and "*Nonton..*" (Watch...). As for Lia, she particularly uses "*..kasih?*" (give), "*Iya, mmhh itu Ipin ngejar Rambo?*" (Yeah, mmh, when Ipin chased Rambo), "*...nanti kau dimakan Rambo.*" (what if you're eaten by Rambo), and "*..nonton..*" (...watch...). Because both Lia and Nisa discuss Ipin-Upin, a popular Malay cartoon among kids, it also seems natural that they insert a few Malay phrases at random in their conversation, such as "*..lame..*" (...still away...) and "*...Tak ape-tak ape*" (no problem), and "*iyee..*" (yes).

Based on the aforementioned evidence, the two children admirably mix three languages simultaneously when conversing with each other. However simple the incorporation of Indonesian and Malay is alongside Javanese as their mother tongue, both of them are able to successfully use the mix to communicate without any gap markers that are not understood, especially since they converse with their own in this case.

Data 3 Situation: Playing together (June 26, 2022)

Context: Playing with leaves in a front yard

The following is a dialogue spoken by a pair of children playing fallen leaves together (Dika, 5 years old; Intan, 4 years old).

- Dika "Iki lo, ojo ngono."
Ini kok, jangan seperti itu. (This is the one, don't be like that.)
- Intan "Daune siji-siji."
Daunnya satu-satu. (The leaves, one by one.)
- Dika "Tariken ben pedot. Ngene lo!"
Tarik saja agar putus. Seperti ini! (Just tear it off, like this!)

- Intan *"Iki tak seleh kene"*
Ini saya letakkan di sini. (I'll lay it here.)
- Dika *"Yo terus dikenekne. Ben ngene"*
Ya lalu dibuat seperti ini. Agar menjadi seperti ini. (Yeah, then make it like this, to make something like that.)
- Intan *"Yo ora no."*
Tidak seperti itu. (I disagree, though.)
- Dika *"Lek duwekku tak ngene. Tak seleh sji-sji."*
Kalau punya saya seperti ini. Saya letakkan satu-satu. (Mine is like this. I lay them one by one.)
- Intan *"Aku tak suwek-suwek."*
Kepunyaan saya, saya sobek-sobek. (I tear mine into pieces.)
- Dika *"Jupuk neh ae."*
Ambil saja lagi. (Just take some off, then.)
- Intan *"hehehe."* (Hehehe.)

Following the context of the dialogue, the speech act that takes place only focuses on one discussion, which is a pair of children playing fallen leaves together. As for the language forms that emerge from the conversation, both children use Javanese Ngoko to converse with each other, as evidenced in the way Dika instructs Intan to pick up some leaves, which are responded by Intan in Javanese Ngoko as well. Thus, the language used is effectively understood by friends of the same age well.

The explanation of why it is common for children to use Javanese Ngoko when conversing with each other is similar with the previous Data 1. Registers or styles in Javanese is quite unique as their use is closely tied to the interlocutors and can only be spoken in certain social contexts. Javanese Ngoko, or the most informal register, is generally used within the context of friendship or peers, and this applies to both children and adults. On the other hand, Javanese Madya and Krama are strictly used to address older people when one converses with them, i.e., with one's parents, people of higher status, or even strangers.

Data 4 Situation: Casual Conversation

Context: Casually conversing while looking for firewood in the forest (July 2, 2022)

The following is a dialogue spoken by a pair of children playing and conversing with each other while looking for firewood in the forest (Heri, 12 years old; Eni, 11 years old).

- Eni *"Iki bapakmu wes ngusung kayu. Awakmu engko opo ora balik neh?"*
Ini apa ayahmu sudah mengangkut kayu. Kamu nanti apa tidak kembali lagi? (Have your dad carried all the woods? Or will you come back again?)
- Heri *"Sik kesel. Kae wong nggledheng sampe jam piro yo?"*
Masih capek. Itu orang angkut kayu sampai pukul berapa ya? (He's tired. Those people, can you guess when will they finish chopping the woods?)
- Eni *"Yo emboh to. Takokono dewe rono?"*
Kurang tahu. Coba kamu saja ke sana sendiri tanya? (How should I know? Ask them yourself.)
- Heri *"Hehehe. Alah awakmu kok ora ngewangi ae lo"*
Hehehe. Kamu kok tidak membantunya saja. (Hehehe. Why don't you go help them?)
- Eni *"Opo yo iso. Ngawur ae awakmu wi!"*
Apa saya bisa. Kamu mengada-ada saja! (How can I? Stop talking nonsense!)

- Heri *“Sesok iki lek kayune entek kabeh lek alase gundul yo.”*
Nanti jika kayunya habis berarti hutanya jadi gundul. (Later when the woods are gone, the forest will be empty, right?)
- Eni *“Maleh padang. Ki Pakmu jan sregep golek kayu.”*
Jadi terang. Ini bapak kamu rajin sekali mencari kayu. (Yeah, it'll be so bright. By the way, your dad is so diligent when it comes to firewood.)
“Kuwi rincikane pak e kabeh. Mau aku yo ewang-ewang tapi kesel awakku. Sesok bar sekolah rene yo golek kayu bareng?”
- Heri Itu kayu bakar hasil dari bapak semua. Tadi saya juga bantu-bantu tapi terasa capek semua badan ini. Besok setelah sekolah kita mencari kayu bersama ya? (They're all the results of my dad's hard-work. I did help him once, but I got tired, my body's sore all over. Let's look for more tomorrow after school.)
- Eni *“Iyo. Tapi cah-cah lek dijak gelem po ra yo? Ben rame.”*
Iya. Tetapi teman-teman misal diajak pakah mau tidak ya? Biar ramai. (Let's, but will our friends come with us, too? It'll be bustling.)
“Ajaken to. Kowe wingi ae tak jak metu ngono neng Pelgading. We golek opo karo makmu?”
- Heri Kamu ajak saja. Kamu kemarin saja saya ajak keluar (mencari kayu bakar) kamu malah ke Pelgading. Kamu sama ibumu cari apa? (Ask them out. Yesterday you're the one who asked me [look for firweood], but you left me and went to [Am]pelgading. What were you looking for with your mom?)
- Eni *“Kon mbature mak blanja. Jare arep enek arisan.”*
Saya disuruh menemani Ibu belanja. Katanya di rumah mau ada acara arisan. (She wanted me to accompany her shopping. She said there'll be gathering soon in our house.)
- Heri *“La yak. Eh cah Nggarjo kae ora tau dolan neng omahmu neh?”*
Makanya. Kalau anak Nggarjo itu apa tidak pernah bermain ke rumahmu lagi? (That's why. By the way, did that kid from Nggarjo never play at your house again?)
- Eni *“Sing ndi to?”*
Yang mana ya? (Which kid?)
- Heri *“Eleh cah wedok kae lo. Sopo sing dulurmu?”*
Itu yang anak perempuan. Siapa itu yang saudaramu? (That girl. Who was she, your relative?)
- Eni *“Ning to. Yo kae tok.”*
Ning ya. Ya waktu itu saja. (Oh, Ning? She only came that time.)
- Heri *“Nyapo neng mahmu?”*
Memangnya mengapa datang ke rumahmu? (Why did she come, though?)
“Nganu ngomongi mak lek kon rewang sok mben. Jare mbak e arepe rabi oleh wong Tempur.”
- Eni Itu menyampaikan undangan ke Bapak agar bantu-bantu acara nikahan. Katanya kakaknya (kakak Ning) akan menikah dengan orang dari Tempur. (She delivered an invitation to Dad, asking him to help for a marriage event. She said her sibling would be married to someone from Tempur.)

Following the context of the dialogue, the speech act that takes place only focuses on one discussion, which is a pair of children looking for firewood in a forest. As for the language forms that emerge from the conversation, both children use Javanese Ngoko to interact with each other. For instances, Heri asks Eni about firewood in Ngoko Javanese, and Eni responds in the same form of Javanese, as both consider themselves peers.

The explanation of why it is common for children to use Javanese Ngoko when talking to each other is similar with the previous Data 1 and 2. Registers or styles in Javanese is quite unique as their use is closely tied to the interlocutors and can only be spoken in certain social contexts. Javanese Ngoko, or the most informal register, is generally used within the context of friendship or peers, and this applies to both children and adults. On the other hand, Javanese Madya and Krama are strictly used to address older people when one converses with them, i.e., with one's parents, people of higher status, or even strangers.

Data 5 Situation: Playing Inside a House

Context: A Pair of Twins Playing Together *Anak Kembar sedang Bermain Berdua* (July 9, 2022)

The following is a dialogue spoken by a pair of twins playing and conversing with each other inside a house (Yuna, 3 years old; Yura, 3 years old).

- Yuna *"Ini punyaku, ndak boleh!"*
 Ini milik saya, tidak boleh. (This is mine, you can't take it!)
- Yura *"ndak mau, ini punyaku!"*
 Tidak mau, ini milik saya. (No, it's mine!)
- Yuna *"Ini mainan pegang duyu?"*
 Ini mainanya kamu pegang dulu. (Hold it first.)
- Yura *"ndak mau, Yuna mau ini."*
 Tidak mau, Yuna mau yang ini. (Don't wanna, Yuna wants this one.)
- Yuna *"Tuh ambil"*
 Itu kamu ambil. (Fine, just take it.)
- Yura *"Nanti ayah aja ambil"*
 Nanti ayah saja yang ambilkan. (Let's ask Dad to pick it up.)
- Yuna *"ini di sini. Ini untuk ini. Tu bolanya lari."*
 Ini ada di sini. Ini untuk yang ini. Itu bolanya menggelinding. (It's here. It's for this one. Look, the ball's gliding.)
- Yura *"Sik aku mau ambil Yu."*
 Sebentar saya mau ambil (bolanya) Yu (Wait, I'll take the ball, Yu.)
- Yuna *"Ni ndak boleh. Aku pingin main ini."*
 Ini tidak boleh. Saya ingin bermain (pakai) yang ini. (You can't. I want to play with this one.)
- Yura *(menangis)* (crying)

Following the context of the dialogue, the speech act that takes place only focuses on one discussion, which is a pair of twins playing together inside a house. As for the language forms that emerge from the conversation, the twins uniformly use Indonesian, as evidenced by how their conversation is dominated by Indonesian sentences and phrases. However, Yura is observed to use one Javanese expression "sik" which is equivalent to "sebentar" in Indonesian and "wait" in English. The rest of the conversation between the twins, however, is carried out majorly in Indonesian.

From the recorded data, it can be implied that the twin has undoubtedly adopted Indonesian as part of their repertoire aside from Javanese. While it is only implied, there is high possibility that Indonesian language becomes the twin's mother tongue, as they can effortlessly communicate using a variety of simple Indonesian words with a few Javanese expressions thrown out within their conversations. According to the parents, the twins acquired the Indonesian language because they were consistently spoken to in Indonesian. As a result, the twins became accustomed to using the language from an early age.

Data 6 Situation: Playing in a Front Yard

Context: Playing together making pretend ice-cream (July 16, 2022)

The following is a dialogue spoken by a pair of twins and their neighbor playing and conversing with each other in someone's front yard (Yuna, 3 years old; Yura, 3 years old; Aisyah, 10 years old).

- Yuna "*Mbak Is. Sini aku buat es krim?*"
 Kakak Is. Kamu ke sini, saya membuat es krim? (Sister Is. Come here. I'm making ice cream.)
- Aisyah "*Bagusnya. Itu buat Mbak?*"
 Bagusnya. Itu apakah buat Kakak? (How nice. Is that for me?)
- Yura "*aku juga*"
 Saya juga. (Me too.)
- Yuna "*Nggak. Buat Yuna.*"
 Tidak. Buat Yuna. (No, for Yuna.)
- Aisyah "*Mbak Ais mana? Minta boleh?*"
 Kakak Ais yang mana? Minta boleh? (Which one is mine then? Can I have some?)
- Yura "*Boleh. Ini untuk Mbak Is.*"
 Boleh. Ini untuk Kakak Is. (You can. This one's for you.)
- Yuna "*Ini punya Yuna. Enggak boleh. Mau bawa main.*"
 Ini punya Yuna. Tidak boleh. Mau saya bawa pergi bermain. (This is Yuna's. You can't. I'm taking it with me to go play.)
- Aisyah "*Yuna mau main ke mana? Mbak Ais boleh ikut?*"
 Yuna mau bermain ke mana? Kakak Is boleh ikut? (Yuna, where will you go? Can I come?)
- Yuna "*Gak Boleh. Aku main ma ayah ja.*"
 Tidak boleh. Saya bermain dengan ayah saja. (You can't. I'm playing with Dad only.)
- Aisyah "*Mbak main sama Yura aja.*"
 Kakak Is (bermain) dengan Yura saja. (Sis Is [will play] with Yura, then.)
- Yura "*Ini es krimnya buat Mbak.*"
 Ini es krimnya untuk kakak. (This ice cream is for you, Sis.)
- Yuna "*Ini buat Mbak Is juja. Tapi mam ya?*"
 Ini untuk Kak Is juga. Tapi (kakak) makan ya? (This is for Sis Is, too. But you eat it, okay?)
- Aisyah "*hahahaha*"
 (hahahaha)

Following the context of the dialogue, the speech act that takes place only focuses on one discussion, which is three children playing and interacting together in a front yard. As for the language forms that emerge from the conversation, all children uniformly use Indonesian, as evidenced by how their conversation is dominated by Indonesian sentences and phrases. It is also observed that this data is similar to the previous Data 5.

From the recorded data, it can be implied that all children have undoubtedly adopted Indonesian as part of their repertoire aside from Javanese. While it is only implied, there is high possibility that Indonesian language becomes the twin's mother tongue, as they can effortlessly communicate using a variety of simple Indonesian words and deliver intended meanings successfully.

Data 7 Situation: Playing Catch Together

Context: Children playing catch in front of someone's yard (July 23, 2002)

The following is a dialogue spoken by three children playing chase together inside a house (Aji, 9 years old; Evan, 10 years old; Farid, 10 years old; Ilham, 7 years old).

- Aji *"iki kamu sing kalah Rid, meremo sik"*
Ini kamu yang kalah Rid, tutup mata kamu dulu. (You lose, Rid, close your eyes first.)
- Evan *"Kamu tidak boleh lihat. Sik tak ngadoh dulu."*
Kamu tidak boleh mengintip. Tunggu saya menjauh (darimu) dulu. (You can't peep. Wait for us to stay away [from you] first.)
- Aji *"itungen satu sampek sepuluh no"*
Kamu hitung satu sampai dengan sepuluh ya. (Count to ten, okay.)
- Farid *"Satu, dua, tiga, empat, lima, enam, tujuh, delapan, sembilan sepuluh. Wes durung?"*
Satu, dua, tiga, empat, lima, enam, tujuh, delapan, sembilan sepuluh. Sudah apa belum? (One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten. Done?)
- Aji *"Cul"*
Sudah! (Done!)
(Berlari mengejar dan menyentuh Aji) (chasing and catching up to Aji)
- Farid *"Kenek we" (lalu berlari lagi mengejar Evan)*
Kena kamu (You're it!) (Then running towards Evan)
- Evan *"ye ye ye ra kena, ora kena"*
Tidak kena, tidak kena. (You can't get me!)
- Aji *"Aja mlayu ke jalan kono"*
Jangan keluar ke jalan (raya) sana. (Don't go near the road.)
- Farid *"Kesel aku."*
Capek saya. (I'm tired.)
- Aji *"Ayo uberen aku Rid"*
Ayo kejar saya Rid. (Chase me, Rid.)

Following the context, the speech act that takes place only focuses on one discussion, which is a group of children of different ages playing around with each other. As for the language forms, all children do use Javanese Ngoko most of the time. For instances, they give instructions, respond to, and tease each other using Javanese Ngoko.

The explanation of why it is common for children to use Javanese Ngoko when talking to each other is similar with the previous Data 1, 2, and 4, where different Javanese register will serve different purposes in a certain social context. However, there are incorporations of a few Indonesian words within the conversation, i.e., "...satu... sepuluh." (one..., ten...), "jalan" (road), "Kamu tidak boleh lihat.dulu" (You can't peep... yet) "...kena, ...kena" (you're it, ... you're it...), and lastly, "Satu, dua, tiga, empat, lima, enam, tujuh, delapan, sembilan sepuluh...." (one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten...).

Based on the use of vocabulary in speech events from the dialog data above, the three boys who were playing tag during the dialogue used Javanese Ngoko but mixed it with Indonesian vocabulary. Registers or styles in Javanese is quite unique as their use is closely tied to the interlocutors and can only be spoken in certain social contexts. Javanese Ngoko, or the most informal register, is generally used within the context of friendship or peers, and this applies to both children and adults. On the other hand, Javanese Madya and Krama are strictly used to address older people when one converses with them, i.e., with one's parents, people of higher status, or even strangers. In this case, while there are a few Indonesian words spoken within their conversation, the three children use the proper Javanese register without any gap markers that are not understood, especially to close playmates or peers.

Factors causing the shift in Javanese as a mother tongue

The following are the descriptions of the factors that cause a language shift in the use of mother tongue within children's social groups in the Mataraman area of the Blitar border.

Parents

Parental factor can become one of the major influences that leads to the shifting of Javanese as a child's mother tongue. In Ampelgading village, the role of parents as first educators to pass on Javanese language as the next generation's mother tongue is not optimally encouraged, as parents are markedly indifferent about what mother tongue their children acquire as they grow up, despite them being Javanese themselves. This can be clearly observed when children converse with each other in other languages aside from Javanese, as parents do not pay attention and leave their children without guidance. Additionally, many parents have acknowledged adopting Indonesian as their primary language for communicating with their children.

Technology

Technology has also contributed greatly to the language shift happening within children's social groups. For instances, children can get easy access to social networks i.e., YouTube, or when they watch television programs. These activities, however simple on the surface, can have a big impact on children's language acquiring process, which force them to not adopt Javanese as their mother tongue. This is illustrated in Data 2 where children are influenced by the words spoken in the cartoons that they regularly see. This is supported by the fact that certain words are identical to those used in the television cartoon series.

Surrounding environment (Social groups and interactions)

Undoubtedly, social environment can also contribute to cause a shift in language use, particularly local languages. According to recorded data, children are more engaged when they interact with each other using languages other than Javanese. This situation encourages them to frequently use and practice languages other than their mother language while playing with friends. It is illustrated in Data 7 where using Indonesian is normalized as it is socially understandable and acceptable. Children often imitate the language used by their peers; thus, when only a few words in Indonesian are spoken within a social group, other children are quick to replicate them in order to avoid being excluded. Consequently, the child's language patterns are shaped by the linguistic habits prevalent in their social environment or their personal experiences.

Conclusions

This study has shown that there is indeed a shift of the mother tongue within children's social groups in the Mataraman area of the Blitar border. While children are observed to still use Javanese occasionally, they progressively also adopt other languages aside of their mother tongue. As a result, the language forms within their social interactions are mainly of a mix of different Javanese registers and other languages, such as a mix of Javanese Ngoko and Indonesian, or a mix of Javanese Ngoko, Indonesian, and Malay, as illustrated in a certain context when a certain child was guarding their sister.

It is also found that there are three major factors that influence the language shift. First, parents' attitudes towards their children's language use can definitely affect their perception of Javanese, as they are not strictly guided or instructed to use Javanese when playing with their teammates. The ideal roles would be that parents care about the nurture of Javanese language as their children's mother tongue by guiding, fostering, and correcting their use of language in social activities, which is not optimally carried out generally in Ampelgading village. The second factor is the easy access of technology, such as YouTube, television programs, and other social networks which are regularly consumed by children. Undoubtedly, access to gadgets and social networks can affect their language use in society, where children also have to understand the language used in the social media network in order to consume the media. The third factor is the social environment. Inside their social groups, children need to understand each other, and therefore when a child listens to their friend speaking in a language other than their mother tongue, they are forced to understand and interact using that specific language other than Javanese, which then progressively becomes the customary language in their own social interactions.

As the current focus of this study is observing the shift in mother tongue within children's social groups in the Mataraman area of the Blitar border, it is expected that future research will take on research within similar ground, that is on how mother tongue starts to shift in this modern era, such as areas that use Sundanese as their mother tongue or Madurese, or other local and regional languages in Indonesia. Additionally, it is also encouraged to examine the use of language in other social domains.

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