

LANGUAGE SHIFT BY THE JAVANESE IN *PULO LOIH VILLAGE, PIDIE*

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ABSTRACT

This research dissects the shift of Javanese into Acehnese in Pulo Loih village, Pidie. The Javanese live in the Pulo Loih village they followed the transmigration program which was not extended by the government and then moved to Pulo Loih village. This community is the focus of the researchers to conduct research that includes factors shifting Javanese into Acehnese and patterns of language shifting. Qualitative descriptive is a method applied in this study to collect data from 12 participants (eight adults and four children). After analyzing it, it was revealed that Javanese language users have disappeared among children while parents still interact with Javanese. There two factors that the researchers found in this study, namely internal factors and external factors. As for internal factors, parents do not teach Javanese and never interact in Javanese with their children. External factors include safety factors, economic factors, and social factors. These factors have proven that the Javanese language shift into the Acehnese language happened in Pulo Loih village, Pidie. There were four patterns of language shift when interacting, namely monolingual, subordinate bilingual, equal bilingual, and monolingual interaction patterns. Three patterns of language shift occurred in Javanese parents in the first generation who arrived in Pulo Loih village. The pattern is monolingual, subordinate bilingual, and equal bilingual. In the third generation, Javanese children, they have lost the fourth patterns, and the patterns of language shift directly to the fifth language shift pattern is monolingual.

Keywords: *Language shift, Javanese shifting, Acehnese.*

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INTRODUCTION

The most dominant factors influencing language shift are migration, social factors, economic factors, political factors, attitudes and value on majority language (Holmes, 2001). Pulo Loih village was one of the villages where Javanese immigrants have lived for a long time. The researchers found in the preliminary findings that some children who were natives from Javanese descent were no longer able to speak Javanese and this happened after the conflict in Aceh. A language is a form of information delivery path to understanding one another both ideas and certain symbols so that one can connect when interacting (Sapir, 1947). Mesthrie, Swann, Deumert and Leap (2009) state that language is one of the most easily understood systems to convey information, ideas, emotion and is produced purely through human articulation.

The symbols such as hearing are produced by organs that are most specifically working for the organ of speech (Sapir, 1947). Language, the most vital tool that must be mastered by all humans to convey any information to an interlocutor, certainly has a specific purpose and goal which one another can understand from the contents of the conversation to be conveyed. Communication tools become the main bridge for humans to be able to interact in daily life. Human activities can not be separated from the name of communication wherever they are. Communication and interacting through this means will connect them. Thus communication is needed by humans to convey an understanding of any information that they want to convey so that it can be understood well by an interlocutor (Bateson, 2000).

Various tribes and races of people who live in various countries have a variety of different languages. However, one of the countries has one official language that must be chosen; it can be one of the languages or more than one language. Therefore, to interact with each other automatically they must choose a language that they understand both. In the selection of different languages, they must choose the most dominant language used in the place where they live; thus, a minority language will shift to a new language that prioritizes to connect each other when communicating between them. Holmes (2001) said there are three reasons for the dominant language used when communicating by the community; the first reason is status; the second reason is prestige, and the third reason is social success. According to Hoffman (1991), the mother tongue language will disappear to the language used when the

awareness of their mother tongue maintenance has been lost on them; and then slowly their mother tongue will be lost forever. Holmes (2001) stated that the process of changing a language into a new language or what is often referred to as the majority language is called language shift in linguistics. A minority language is sacrificed by a minority group because it considers the status of a majority language higher than the language of a minority group; thus, become inferior when they cannot interact with a dominant language used at the place (Osaba & Osaba, 2014). The process of language shift also occurs in Javanese community who has lived for a long time in Pulo Loih village, Pidie, where majority of people use Acehnese as the main daily interaction tool. Therefore, the Javanese community considers the Acehnese language to have a higher status.

Pulo Loih Village is a village located not very far from Halimun Mountain. The name of Pulo Loih village is derived from the Malay language, namely Pulau (Pulo) and Halus (Loih). The word 'Loih' itself has been shifted from its original root, which is 'Halhoih'. From 'Halhoih', it was changed to 'Alhoih' and changed again to 'Lhoih', and finally changed to its current form 'Lhoih', the unique name. Various groups of people came from the island of Java to Pulo Loih village since transmigration was implemented by the government. Before the Javanese people came to the village, they first lived in another region, namely Blang Putek village, Padang Tiji, Pidie Regency. The first transmigration program in Aceh began in 1964. To succeed this program, the government prepared 100 houses in the village after a few years of running the program, therefore this program was stopped because the state was not conducive caused by the PKI (Indonesian Communism Party) movement (Suku Jawa di Aceh, 2019). A year after the incident happened, the transmigration program was dissolved by the government. However, the Javanese people who lived in Blang Putek village continued their destination to new places. Some places became their new destinations to continue their survival, namely in the area of Saree, Aceh Besar. Some of them went to West Aceh and also worked at PT Socfindo, and some of them went to Pidie. Starting from here, the Javanese people began to pioneer a new life in the village of Pulo Loih. This village was a village that was not their priority because their move to the village began gradually and was not all at once. These Javanese people lived and worked there for many years until the conflict occurred in Pulo Loih village.

Previous studies conducted by Musgrave (2014) discussed language shift and language maintenance in Indonesia. The concentration of the research was specifically on the Alang and Tulehu communities on Ambon Island. The language in the community shifted so rapidly, sharing that elementary school children had little or no knowledge beyond basic vocabulary. Moreover, Sandel, Chao, and Liang (2006) conducted a study about language change and language accommodation from various generations of families in Taiwan. This study focused on the exploration of language shift and accommodation between bilingual Mandarin and Tai-gi. There are two core points discussed in his research; first, the researchers compared a faster language shift between urban and rural areas, and second, the researchers examined the perceived process and meaning of language shift.

The previous studies above have focused more on national languages and also on several ethnic languages and so on, but the researchers have not found a specific study that discusses the language shift of Javanese into the Acehnese language. Therefore, the researchers are interested in the phenomena that occur above. The researchers want to know more information about that phenomenon. Based on the explanation above, the researchers intend to research the language shift of the Javanese into the Acehnese language in Pulo Loih Village, Pidie. Based on the phenomenon above, there are two focuses of this study. Firstly, the researchers want to explain the factors influencing the language shift of the Javanese in Pulo Loih Village, Pidie. Secondly, the researchers want to describe the patterns of language shift performed by the Javanese in Pulo Loih Village, Pidie.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Language Shift

Holmes (2001) stated that the process of changing a language into a new language or what is often referred to as the majority language is called a language shift in linguistics. Various names are often mentioned when shifting a language such as a language transfer, language assimilation and many others refer to shifting a language in a minority community. The language shift in a region is likely to occur to minority groups, where they try to be able to mingle with the majority population. Moreover, to interact socially also needs a means to connect or bridge to understand each other when interacting. Therefore, minority groups are indirectly required to be able to interact with majority languages. The

shifting of minority languages to majority languages is called language shifts and most likely it often happens to younger groups or generations.

According to Mesthrie et al. (2009), a shift in a language will not occur without bilingualism factor that influences a language before the language shift occurs between communities. Several stages must be passed before language shift occurs in various elements of society. The most common language shift is in a public area or a formal area, mostly in a formal area where various groups are present. In this situation, they have to decide one of the languages that will be used among them. They then move to a smaller area or often referred to in the area informal ones, such as in households or places that are more inclined towards minority groups.

Factors Driving Language Shift

There are many language shift factors such as migration, social factors, economic factors, political factors, attitudes and value on majority language (Holmes, 2001). What is an important element to note is that the factors of one's ability to master more than one language by mastering more than one language become an alternative key in the use of language. Meanwhile, various kinds of things are often associated with language shifts as I mentioned above, but various possibilities can occur, but the most influential among all of them is bilingualism. Language shifts in a population usually occur most quickly to those who speak two languages, the easiest way to mark it with international switching of a language (Fasold, 1984). Besides the factors of bilingualism, there are still many other factors that have been frequently mentioned by experts about the shifting of a language, but for more details, the author emphasizes that the discussion below focuses more on the following sub-topics: migration, attitudes, social factors, and value factors.

Bilingualism

Mastering two different languages and when interacting using one of the languages that are understood by each other is called bilingualism. Coulmas (2013) stated that bilingualism is a person's ability to communicate well using two different languages, but can speak both languages. This can be concluded that the ability to communicate in two languages is different so that is what is called bilingualism.

Downes (2005) stated that various factors participate in the process of shifting a language into bilingualism. What is meant by bilingualism

here is not always people can master the language with the rules of the language itself. Someone bilingual is free to use the two languages they are mastering. However, this ability usually cannot always be used for a long time. Usually, bilingual people will slowly speak like the language used by the majority group. Besides, the vernacular language is often used in speech acts, which are associated with minority language, for instance, in the family and friendship domain.

Migration

Anthony (2007) stated that the migration chain towards the spread of Indo-European was not possible in this way, but this was due to the actions of political elites who wanted to seize power by dividing the people. The potential for a shift is very likely to occur in immigrants living in rural areas where they try to adapt to use the majority language. Gradually, they start to leave their mother tongue language. For example, in large cities, many migrants who are not native residents and come from various ethnicities then unite them when interacting is a language that makes them understand each other. The language to be chosen is mostly the language used by the majority.

Economic and Social Factors

The social and economic goals of individuals are for a change towards a better life direction for the whole community so that they can enjoy a more decent life. The language will be used in a group mostly the dominant language used in the majority. According to Mesthrie et al. (2009), economic improvement is the most appropriate reason that causes a shift in one language to another, even though when it is connected some are not completely correct. Many people have caused shifting their language to another language in a minority people caused by various things such as invasion, trade, asylum seekers and labor immigration, the economy being the main key of it all. Bilingualism often occurs in developed countries for modernization, industrialization and the economy, immigration workers are required to be able to bilingualism to facilitate them in various ways.

Political Factors

Countries multilingual are forced to shift their language due to factors of the political elite. Usually, the authorities of power unite various ethnic languages that exist by choosing one of the languages which are then used as the lingua franca, but this affects reducing the use

of ethnic languages. According to Romaine (2000), who is responsible for language shifts is determined by many factors. For example, every policy is in the hands of the government regarding language and education. A job requires a person to be able to work professionally for everyone who wants to work both in government institutions and non-government institutions. Producing professional people requires an institution that has been recognized by a government agency. The institution which becomes the reference when recruiting workers and the place can only be obtained through education. Similarly, immigrants who migrate to a place where their language is different from the minority community, they will be required to be able to speak the dominant language used in that place if you want to succeed in various ways (Matras, 2009).

Demographic Factor

Demographic factors become one of the most decisive factors towards a language shift. Immigrants who migrate to an area where the language users are different from the language of the majority population are more likely to leave at least some parts of their mother tongue language to a new language. New language is adopted by immigrants in their new country. As a result, their next generations will have problems with their native language if their parents no longer pay respect to their native language, causing their native language to be lost. According to Holmes (2001), three factors are causing a language shift. The first shifting factor is urbanization. The second shift factor is the number of speaking communities. Finally, the third factor of language shift is marriage with different tribes and ethnicities. This is also reinforced by Romaine (1999), who said that marriages with different ethnic can also cause language shifts. Their mother is the caretaker of the process of quickly or slowly shifting children's language when living in an area where the majority use the dominant language.

Attitudes and Values

Attitude is one of the important factors for shifting or maintaining a language (Folmer, 1992). Self-confidence by having a positive attitude will increase their use of minority languages in their domains, and this can prevent the process of language shifting among minorities, even though there are socially indirect pressures but can still be prevented against the loss of a language while still preserving it. Much discussion discusses language shifting and how language works and this will always

be socially related to the community or certain communities. The most easily recognized aspect of social identity by the interlocutor is to use their language (Holmes, 2001).

The Patterns of Language Shift

The language shift process is believed to occur gradually in some stages. According to Fishman (1972), there are five patterns of language shift process which are monolingual, subordinate bilingual, equal bilingual, subordinate bilingual, and finally becoming monolingual. Patterns of language shift will follow the direction of the development of language users themselves, and the language shift phase occurs in these stages.

The first pattern is monolingual, which interacts using their native language. Newcomers usually use their native language when interacting with each other, but when interacting with the community they will use an introductory language that connects them (Romaine, 1999). The chosen language is the connecting language, usually the national language in a country because the national language is the united language among tribes. Newcomers will indirectly begin to learn the language that the majority of people use unconsciously. The dominant language users will influence the process of shifting their language.

The second pattern is the subordinate bilingual. It begins to adapt using a new language that is the language used by the majority group. After they get used to their new language and start to understand the new language well, at this stage, they begin to continue language shift to the second stage which is called the subordinate bilingual stage. Subordinate bilingualism is an ongoing process of shifting from one language to another. This process occurs between monolingual and equal bilingual, subordinate bilingual right in the middle between the two of them but they are more dominant using mother tongue, although they acquired second language insufficient (Koocher, Norcross & Greene, 2013).

In the third pattern, they will get used to their new language. They assume their new language is equal to bilingual. Equal bilingual is the ability to master two different languages with the same level of proficiency and there are no obstacles at all when interacting with both languages (Cook & Wei, 2016). The comfort has begun to be felt by them for the second language. They are no longer a barrier between mother tongue and second language, and this is called the third equal bilingual phase. The next phase is the same as the process that occurs in the first stage, the second stage and the third stage.

The fourth pattern is subordinate bilingual. It is called the transition process from equal bilingual to subordinate bilingual (Koocher, et al., 2013). This stage is almost the same as the stage that occurs in the second stage. The process of shifting from minority languages to majority languages usually occurs to their children in this generation. The process of transitioning a language into the language used by the majority group is also influenced by their parents who have never spoken using their mother tongue language. This is one of the main keys in the processing language shifts in the third generations. Parents determine the success or not in interacting a language, if this stage continues for a long time then the language will completely shift to the language used by the majority group.

The last pattern of language shift under the monolingual pattern is fully monolingual like the first stage as their parents come to that place before, but this stage has completely changed to the majority language (Romaine, 1999). Their children no longer consider their mother tongue language as their native language. They have begun to feel strange with their mother tongue language. Moreover, their mother tongue is completely lost to their children. In the third generation, their children will completely shift from the mother tongue language to the dominant language used in the majority of people.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Subjects and Objects of the Research

This research is conducted using a qualitative research design to describe and find out how the language shift among Javanese speakers occurs in Pulo Loih village, Pidie. The qualitative design tries to describe what is happening and what data is displayed. Qualitative research can be classified into two types – i.e. case studies and multi-case studies. This research was conducted as a case study. According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992), case studies are detailed examinations of one arrangement or one single subject, one document storage or one particular event. The subjects of this study were Javanese speakers living in Pulo Loih village, Pidie. The subjects of this study were selected utilizing random sampling with the following criteria:

1. Javanese speakers who live in Pulo Loih Village, Pidie;
2. The old generation who can speak Javanese and young people who cannot speak Javanese; and
3. Gender: male and female.

Instruments of Data Collection

The supporting instruments for data collection are question sheet. The interview guide is also one of the instruments used in this study with the respondents. The information obtained from the interview strengthens the findings of this study. The questions provided by researchers were 23 questions for adults and 21 for children. Each question asked the informants to focus on the development of language used by Javanese people in the Pulo Loih village. This question was adopted from the second National Indigenous Languages Survey (Language Activity Survey, 2014).

Data Collection and Analysis Techniques

In this research, only 12 people were selected in this study. The supporting instruments for data collection are question sheet. The interview guide is also one of the instruments used in this study with the respondents. There are two data collection techniques used by the researchers, namely observation and interviews. In analyzing data, the researchers used the Interactive Model by Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014). They outlined several steps to analyze data: (1) data condensation, (2) data display, and (3) data verification/conclusion.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

There is some interesting and unique information in shifting the Javanese language process into the Acehnese language found in this study.

The shifting of a language is familiar to everyone, but there must be a factor influencing the shifting of language itself. The factors that influence language shifts are determined by several things. According to Holmes (2001), seven factors influence a language shift, namely bilingualism, migration, economic factors, social factors, demographic factors, and institutional factors. However, in this study, the biggest influencing factors on language shift are four factors namely economic factors, social factors, demographic factors, and security factors. This finding is reinforced by Holmes' (2001) theory, but there is one unique factor namely security factor not covered by Holmes.

Economic Factor

The economic factor plays an important role in supporting the subjects' occupation. Most subjects of parents agree that the Acehnese

language is used very dominantly in their workplaces such as occasional labor, gardening, in the fields and many others. The researchers took several important points from the interview which revealed that the shift of Javanese into Aceh language greatly influenced the level of ease in finding a job. By being able to speak Acehnese, the Javanese people who live in Pulo Loih village are easier to interact when looking for work, and it also becomes easier for the locals to understand the contents of the conversation between job seekers and job providers. The statement reveals that economic factors have a considerable influence on the progress of Javanese into Acehnese. Participants also explained how difficult it was to get the trust of the local community when they could not speak the Acehnese language, and thus there was no other choice but to be able to speak Aceh to make it easier to find work and also mingle with the local community.

Social Factor

The social factor is a crucial factor that determines the shift of Javanese into Acehnese in Pulo Loih Village, Pidie. Most of the respondents agree that the Acehnese language makes it easier and more comfortable for them when they interact with their Acehnese friends. It can be seen that the Javanese adults use the Acehnese language when they contact or interact with their Javanese friends. However, they use Acehnese and Indonesian when they have contact or interact with their Javanese friends. Similarly, Javanese adult speakers use the Acehnese language when they contact or interact with their non - Javanese friends, and they rarely use Acehnese and Indonesian when they contact or interact with their non - Javanese friends. This indicates that most parents prefer the Acehnese language than the other language in their communication with Javanese friends. The subjects of parents meet and speak with their non – Javanese friends; they predominantly use the Acehnese language. The habit of the Javanese people is chatting with the people around their lives using the Acehnese language as the Javanese who live in the area are immigrants; automatically, the surrounding community does not understand Javanese. The Javanese people who live in Pulo Loih village are required to be able to speak Acehnese to make it easier for them to interact with the community or many other things.

The response not only shows that the child chooses to use Acehnese with friends but also the fact that they have not been taught to speak their heritage language since they were born. Most of the subjects use the Acehnese language in their interaction with their friends in daily life. The

researchers gained information that the children in Pulo Loih village never speak Javanese because they have never spoken Javanese since childhood, and the community in which they live also never have anyone speaking in Javanese. Moreover, their parents speak Javanese only with their husband or with grandma or when calling to their hometown in Java. The children speak Acehnese in the village of Pulo Loih, which is also greatly influenced by the neighborhood around them; in that neighborhood, all the children speak Acehnese without a single person speaking Javanese, even though their parents are not Acehnese.

Demographic Factors

Population or demography was the study of the dynamics of the human population. It includes the size, structure, distribution of population, and changes of the population over time due to birth, death, migration, and aging. There are some points of demographic factors concerned in this study. They are the frequency of language use in Pulo Loih Village, Pidie, intercultural marriage, and visiting hometown. Pulo Loih village was selected because it is one of the destinations of the Javanese people to immigrate. The research focus was on the shifting of Javanese into Acehnese from children, teenagers, and adults. The changing of language in a community is strongly influenced by various factors, one of which is gender attitudes as is the case with the Pulo Loih village. This is largely due to the family, especially the mother, because the mother is the main key to the language shift of other languages; the mother transfers vocabulary every day to the child slowly. An intercultural marriage also influences the shift of Javanese to Acehnese. This can be seen from the data that there are parents who marry with different ethnic groups, the Acehnese families. This kind of marriage causes the parents to use one language which is easily understood by each other. The use of the Acehnese language was very dominant in his family. Inter-ethnic marriage has become the most effective support in terms of the language shift of both children and parents, especially from parents of Javanese descent. The result of inter-ethnic marriages is the most dominant factor in language shifts of both children and Javanese parents. Indirectly, the habits of Javanese parents who married inter-ethnically in the village have to adjust to the environment and their wives who are from Acehnese ethnicity to facilitate them in everything.

Security Factor

Several factors make their language shift very quickly into the Acehese language, one of which is the security factor. The security factor is a little different from usual because they are forced to learn the Acehese language due to several factors. One of the main answers to the problem of language shift in Pulo Loih village based on the interview is concerned with the prolonged conflict in the village. Since the conflict occurred, the Javanese people who used Javanese have begun to shift using the Acehese language, so that over time they have become accustomed to using the Acehese language and very rarely use Javanese even though there are occasions they use Javanese when talking to their husbands. The security factor is the most important factor among other factors not listed in the theory. This factor is a discovery of the process of language shift in Pulo Loih village. Thus, the Javanese people living in the village certainly want to live safely without being haunted by fear, but some options become their choice to be able to stay in the village or choose other options by moving to a place that they think is safe.

The Pattern of Javanese Language Shift into Acehese in Pulo Loih

In this study, the researchers used a pattern of language shift popularized by Fishman. According to Fishman (1972), the patterns of language shifts in interacting occur in 5 phases namely, monolingual, subordinate bilingual, equal bilingual, subordinate bilingual and monolingual. The researchers implemented these phenomena when gathering information in Pulo Loih village. There are five patterns contained in the Fishman's (1972) theory. Based on the research results, only 4 shift patterns existed in Pulo Loih village and one pattern, pattern four, was not found in this study. This pattern of language shift occurs in the third generation of their children.

The researchers found in this study there are patterns of language shifting in interactions divided into two parts, namely patterns of language shifting in interactions among parents, and patterns of language shifting in interactions among children and parents, the first and the second generation included in the first three patterns: monolingual, subordinate bilingual, and equal bilingual. The monolingual pattern occurs in the first and second generation of Javanese people who live in the village. They are only able to interact using the Javanese language of fellow Javanese but they use Indonesian when interacting with the local population because local people are only able to understand and are a little bit difficult when using Indonesian. After a few months living in Pulo

Loih village they already understand the Acehnese language but the use of mother tongue language is still dominant. This stage is the second language shift pattern that is subordinate bilingual. In the third stage, Javanese who lives in Pulo Loih village started to comfortably use both the Acehnese and Javanese languages. This has entered into the equal bilingual pattern, but this does not occur as a whole. In the fourth stage, namely the subordinate bilingual pattern, the shifting process occurred due to the conflict in Pulo Loih village so that all Javanese people living in the village were afraid of not being able to speak Acehnese. Since then all Javanese people have spoken Acehnese with their children. The last pattern is the pattern of language shift when the interaction of parents with children. In this last pattern, all Javanese children do not speak using Javanese at all when interacting both with parents and with the local community.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Overall, this study has shown that language shift by the Javanese into the Acehnese language reveals seven factors influencing language shift by the Javanese into the Acehnese language in Pulo Loih village. The findings are presented in the following. The shift of Javanese into Acehnese in Pulo Loih village, Pidie was influenced by bilingualism, migration, economic factor, social factor, demographic factors, institutional factor, and security factor. The main roles in shifting Javanese into Acehnese are only four factors out of the seven factors that the researchers has mentioned above, namely economic factors, social factors, demographic factors, and safety factors. Regarding the pattern of language shift when interacting, only four patterns were found in this study, namely monolingual, subordinate bilingual, equal bilingual, and monolingual interaction patterns. Three patterns of language shift occurred in first generation Javanese parents who arrived in Pulo Loih village. The pattern is monolingual, subordinate bilingual, and equal bilingual. In the third generation, Javanese children have lost the first four patterns and the patterns of language shift directly to the fifth language shift pattern when interacting is monolingual. The cause of this shift occurs massively because their parents never taught their children to use Javanese language and only use Acehnese language when interacting with their children. In the fourth pattern, namely subordinate bilingual, the process has completely disappeared and immediately moved to the fifth pattern because their parents never speak Javanese at

all with their children. The Javanese language shift to the Acehese language occurs in the patterns of relationships among parents and children or children and the local community. Especially for children, parental factors are very influential in the development of children's language; without parents speaking Javanese to their children, the children will never know their mother tongue. As a result, the Javanese language is gradually lost to their children. Although many other social factors influence the shift in children's language, parents are still the main ones who maintain the child's language development.

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