

ADAPTATION STRATEGIES FOR JAVANESE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

STRATEGI ADAPTASI UNTUK PEMERTAHANAN BAHASA JAWA

Sulistyowati^a; Daru Winarti^b; Imam Prakoso^c

Universitas Gadjah Mada

Bulaksumur, Caturtunggal, Depok, Sleman, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

^a lies_sulistyowati@ugm.ac.id; ^b daru.w@ugm.ac.id; ^c imamprakoso@ugm.ac.id

(Naskah diterima tanggal 12 Maret 2024, terakhir diperbaiki tanggal 17 Oktober 2025,
disetujui tanggal 25 November 2025)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.26499/wdprw.v53i1.1683>

Abstract

The use of the Javanese language, especially among millennials and Gen Z, faces a paradox: despite having many speakers, its daily use is declining. This study examines language maintenance and shift due to social changes, focusing on the marginalization of high level Javanese (*krama*) while also recognizing its survival through modern platforms like song lyrics, advertisements, and memes. Using a sociolinguistic approach, the research analyzes Javanese adaptation through field observations, social media analysis, and literature studies. It explores how Javanese remains relevant among multilingual speakers through code-mixing and linguistic interference at various levels. Findings indicate the emergence of Javanese language hybridity as a strategy to sustain its relevance, showcasing speakers' creativity in oral and written communication. The study underscores Javanese's resilience in the global era through innovation and adaptability, further influenced by the widespread use of social media in shaping modern Javanese linguistic practices.

Keywords: Javanese; language maintenance; adaptation; code-mixing, interference

Abstrak

Penggunaan bahasa Jawa, terutama di kalangan milenial dan Gen Z, menghadapi paradoks: meskipun memiliki banyak penutur, penggunaannya dalam kehidupan sehari-hari semakin menurun. Penelitian ini mengkaji pemertahanan dan pergeseran bahasa akibat perubahan sosial, dengan menyoroti marginalisasi bahasa Jawa tingkat tinggi (*krama*) sekaligus mengakui keberlangsungannya melalui platform modern seperti lirik lagu, iklan, dan meme. Dengan pendekatan sosiolinguistik, penelitian ini menganalisis adaptasi bahasa Jawa melalui observasi lapangan, analisis media sosial, dan studi literatur. Studi ini mengeksplorasi bagaimana bahasa Jawa tetap relevan di antara penutur multibahasa melalui campur kode dan interferensi linguistik pada berbagai tingkat. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan munculnya hibriditas bahasa Jawa sebagai strategi mempertahankan relevansinya, yang mencerminkan kreativitas penutur dalam komunikasi lisan maupun tulisan. Studi ini menegaskan ketahanan bahasa Jawa di era global melalui inovasi dan adaptasi, yang semakin dipengaruhi oleh meluasnya penggunaan media sosial dalam membentuk praktik linguistik masyarakat Jawa modern.

Kata-Kata Kunci: bahasa Jawa; pemertahanan bahasa; adaptasi; campuran kode, interferensi

1. Introduction

It cannot be denied that, to this day, there is still a perception that the Javanese language is quite difficult to use. This perception is shared not only by non-Javanese speakers but also by native Javanese speakers, who constitute the largest language group among Indonesia's 718 regional languages (Sukamto and Qalyubi 2022). Javanese ranks second in Indonesian speakers and 11th globally.¹ While its complex politeness levels (*krama*) are challenging for many, *krama* is still used in ceremonies to show respect and linguistic beauty. The preservation of Javanese, including its *ngoko* and *krama* levels, is evident in the naming of historical museum objects and even in Quran translations in Islamic boarding schools. Similarly, the preservation of the Javanese language has garnered attention in the field of education, leading to its incorporation into formal education curricula (Murtiningsih and Puspawati 2020).

In daily conversation, *Javanese ngoko* is predominantly used, especially among the youth. The dwindling use of Javanese, compounded by parents not teaching the language to their children, raises concerns about the language's future existence. In response to these changing dynamics, the Javanese language is evolving, adapting its forms to fit the evolving context of its usage. In today's predominantly digital era, the influence of social media as a communication tool prompts speakers to innovate, using verbal and nonverbal forms of language to convey their thoughts. Conversations extend beyond mere words, incorporating expressive emoticons and stickers, as illustrated in Figure 1.

¹https://travel.tribunnews.com/2018/02/19/ma-kin-mendunia-berbanggalah-jadi-orang-jawa-ini-7-fakta-unik-bahasa-jawa?page=all&_ga=2.159702141.191010300.1652766159-1498808952.1652766158



Figure 1. Javanese stickers
(<https://store.line.me/stickershop/product/1175192/en?from=sticker>)

The word "*Monggo*" meaning 'please' in Javanese, illustrates another example of linguistic adaptation. According to Javanese orthographic rules, it should be written as *mangga*. However, millennials, postmillennials, and non-Javanese speakers learning the language often associate '*mangga*' with the English word 'mango.' Their understanding of Javanese primarily comes from spoken language rather than written forms. Similarly, the word "*rosa*" [ros ɔ], intended to convey 'mightiness' in a product advertisement, is pronounced [r ɔ s ɔ], meaning 'feel,' leading to a lexical discrepancy. Despite this, such differences are overlooked as speakers focus on the word's persuasive communicative function.

Despite the various opinions it generates, the dynamic evolution of the Javanese language among its speakers is undeniable. This vibrancy is evident in its presence across various pop culture genres, including *campursari*, dangdut, hip-hop, and metal music. Such diversity showcases the linguistic elements embraced by the broader community, reflecting their understanding and knowledge of the language.

As previously mentioned, the changes or shifts in Javanese language use signify its dynamism and its continuous search for

relevance. A testament to this is the recent trend among millennials who enthusiastically embrace Javanese lyrics in songs, such as *Korban Janji*.

Korban Janji
(Nella Kharisma)

Tanpa welas kowe lunga biyen kae
‘Without mercy, you left back then’
Ra ana mesakne aku sithik wae
‘Not even a little pity for me’
Ngaboti tresna anyarmu lalu kautinggalkan aku
‘Chasing after your new love, you abandoned me’
Tersakiti sendiri di malam itu
‘Left hurt and alone that night’
Kowe lunga pas aku sayang-sayange
‘You left just when I loved you the most’
Tanpa pamit kowe ngadoh ngono wae
‘Without saying goodbye, you just walked away’
Aku ra ngerti salahku dan kaucampakkan diriku
‘I don’t understand my mistake, yet you discarded me’
Bersanding dengan kekasih barumu
‘To be with your new lover’
Abot taktrima kanthi ikhlas legawa
‘It’s hard, but I accept it sincerely’
Sing takkarep kowe ra disiya-siya
‘All I hope is that you won’t be treated the same way’
Ben cukup mung aku korban janji manismu
‘Let me be the only one who falls victim to your sweet promises’
Udan bledheg kang dadi saksi
‘The rain and thunder bear witness to my pain’

The language forms discussed above are particularly recognizable to the millennial and postmillennial generations in Javanese. To explore the dynamics of change in the Javanese language and strategies for its maintenance, the following questions can be posed: (1) Does the Javanese language adapt in the form of linguistic units? (2) In which domains does the Javanese language continue to thrive? The answers to these questions will

highlight how the Javanese language differentiates itself from its standard form, showcasing its adaptability and resilience.

Based on the research problem outlined above, this study adopts a sociolinguistic perspective with a focus on language maintenance. As described by Holmes and Wilson (2022), language maintenance is influenced by various societal factors, including social, economic, cultural, political, and educational aspects. Pauwels (2016) further identifies several key factors affecting language maintenance: (1) the duration of continued use since the initial language contact, (2) the extent to which a language becomes exclusive within a specific context, and (3) the range of contexts in which the original language is used, either alongside another language or exclusively.

Previous studies on language maintenance reveal a dynamic interplay between the national language and regional languages in Indonesia. As Farisiyah and Zamzani (2018) suggest, regional languages are not truly endangered; rather, their use tends to be confined to domestic spheres such as family and neighborhood interactions. Musgrave (2014) discusses the shifting conditions in Javanese language use, particularly concerning speech levels. Notably, Javanese youth increasingly prefer *ngoko* (informal Javanese) to foster solidarity, rather than *krama* (high-level Javanese), which creates social distance. Similarly, Udasmoro et al. (2023) describe a decline in the use of *krama* Javanese in Yogyakarta society and emphasize the need for policies focused on the preservation of this language variety, particularly in elementary and junior high school environments. Andriyanti (2019) describes a decline in Javanese usage due to the strengthening transmission of Indonesian as the first language among Javanese communities. This phenomenon is likely influenced by efforts to maintain Indonesian

as the national language, despite the potential of regional languages to enrich Indonesian vocabulary (Wijana 2018). For instance, Javanese interference is used in Central Java local newspapers to convey specific cultural expressions, complementing the use of Indonesian in mass media (Nirmala 2015).

Saputri and Nurhayati (2019) Saputri and Nurhayati (2019) identify two key strategies for preserving Javanese through literature: widespread dissemination and writers' commitment to using the language. Literary works like novels, *geguritan*, and *cerkak* are regularly published in various media, supporting language resilience. Authors who consistently use Javanese expressions help maintain its presence, as seen in Tohari's *Bekisar Merah*, reflecting his belief that the language must be preserved, used, and protected to endure.

The studies above serve as references in this research, especially to reveal lingual power to show how language changes and shifts as a form of language metamorphosis that can be used as an effort to maintain language.

2. Method

This research employs a qualitative approach, requiring in-depth descriptions to explain the linguistic phenomena under investigation. Specifically, a descriptive-qualitative method is implemented. The research methodology comprised three stages: data collection, data analysis, and the presentation of findings (Sudaryanto, 2015).

Data collection was conducted through a literature review and observation. Subsequently, the collected data were categorized using both the equivalent and distributional methods. According to Sudaryanto (2015), the equivalent method analyzes external factors influencing language, irrespective of the language's

internal structure. This method groups data based on both linguistic and non-linguistic features that characterize linguistic forms, proving particularly useful for analyzing phenomena such as code-mixing and interference. Conversely, the distributional method examines how language functions within its own system (Sudaryanto 2015), facilitating the identification of linguistic units that have undergone adaptation across various linguistic levels.

After data collection, analysis is conducted using both intrinsic (distributional) and extrinsic (matching) methods. The intrinsic approach examines the language's structural features, while the extrinsic method explores social factors influencing language use. These complementary methods are applied through a sociolinguistic lens to analyze grammatical patterns and societal influences. (Sudaryanto 2015).

The final stage of this research method is presenting the results of the data analysis. The presentation of analysis results is done both informally and formally. Informal presentation involves an in-depth explanation of each analyzed data based on its classification, while formal presentation presents the results of data analysis using symbols related to linguistic rules (Sudaryanto 2015).

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Code-Mixing Strategy

In everyday language use, whether formal or informal, code-mixing in both spoken and written forms is inevitable. The need to convey specific content and the capability of multilingual speakers to navigate multiple language codes lead to the interchange or adaptation of one language's elements into another, reflecting the inherent flexibility of language. Although there are important aspects that must be considered, such as the cultural context embedded in language use

within multilingual communities (Kidwell and Triyoko 2021).

In Javanese code-mixing, the strategies include: (1) creating “baster” (hybrid words or phrases) by attaching second-language elements to Javanese affixes at the morphological level or by combining phrase elements from two languages; (2) alternating use of fragments from other languages within Javanese. Thus, the Javanese *ngoko* (N) language code may incorporate elements from *krama* (K), Indonesian (I), or foreign languages (FL), exemplifying the phenomenon of code mixing.

3.1.1 Baster of Word

The term “baster” primarily refers to hybrid words that often include affixed elements. Javanese affixes such as *N-*, *N-ake/aken*, *di-ake/aken*, *-e*, and *-an* are notably productive in creating these hybrids with elements from Indonesian or foreign languages. The following examples illustrate words in Indonesia created through the combination of Indonesian or foreign words with Javanese affixes.



Figure 2. Corona prevention advertisement
(Source: orifameid.com)

As seen in Figure 2, there is the use of a baster of word in the recommendation regarding the prevention of coronavirus transmission. The baster in question appears in the word *nyegah*, which consists of the

Javanese prefix *N-* combined with the Indonesian root word *cegah* ‘prevent’. This demonstrates an effort to maintain the use of the Javanese language while intersecting with Indonesian. Naturally, this blending of words aims to facilitate the message's comprehension, particularly for readers in Javanese-speaking communities.

3.1.2 Baster of Phrase

A baster of phrase is created through the combination of Javanese language codes and codes from other languages (Indonesian or foreign languages), or the reverse. The following are examples of baster phrases found in one manifestation of Javanese language maintenance for the purposes of commercial and public service advertisements.



Figure 3. Fresh drink advertisement
(Source: <https://brainly.co.id>)

“...digawe saking buah-buahan asli”
N K I
‘made with real fruits’

“...mboten ngangge pemanis buatan”
K K I
‘using sweetener’

“...kekebalan awak”
I N
‘immunity’

As we can see from the examples above, 'baster of phrase' occurs in a commercial advertisement for a beverage product. The use of Indonesian in the advertisement's lyrics serves to bridge the understanding of certain terms, such as in the noun phrases "*buah-buahan asli*" 'real fruits' and "*pemanis buatan*" 'sweetener'. These two examples suggest that these terms may not be widely known in Javanese with precise equivalents. Another example of the use of 'baster of phrase' with the same contributing factor is found in the following COVID-19 prevention poster.



Figure 4. Corona prevention advertisement
(Courtesy: Sulistiyowati, 2020)

Fragments of other languages, whether as words or phrases, are widely used in Javanese, thereby enriching its expressiveness. This blending of codes proves especially beneficial for highlighting specific messages or addressing the lexical gaps in Javanese in the face of new realities, such as the coronavirus or COVID-19. For example, the English term 'social distancing' in Figure 4 amplifies the Javanese directive "*Jaga jarak karo wong liya!!!!*" 'Keep your distance from other people!!!!'. Strategi kebahasaan seperti ini juga pernah menjadi metode yang populer di masyarakat Jawa Tengah yang dilakukan oleh the Ex-Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo, during the COVID-19 pandemic while monitoring public order in various public

places. He communicated with residents in Javanese, which made his messages more relatable and tended to elicit positive responses from the community (Farichah, Rakhmawati, and Wardani 2021).

The utilization of Javanese in advertising is remarkably effective, with certain platforms dedicated to creating advertisements in Javanese, which also offer insights and knowledge about the advertising process, as noted in speech (2). The foundational speech code is Javanese *ngoko*, enriched by the integration of the Javanese *krama* code, illustrated by terms such as *ingkang* 'that', and the affix *-aken* in *nginformasikaken* 'to inform' and *ditawaraken* 'offered', along with *krama madya* example like *teng* meaning 'in'. Furthermore, Indonesian language is woven in for advertising and marketing-specific terms, including *iklan* 'advertisement', *upaya promosi* 'promotion effort', *barang/jasa* 'goods/services', *tertarik* 'interested', *produk/jasa* 'products/services', as well as *media massa* 'mass media', *majalah* 'magazines', *tv* 'television'. Additional pertinent terms such as *kata* 'words', *logis* 'logical', *menarik* 'interesting', *singkat* 'brief', *tepat* 'precise', *sugesti* 'suggestions', *sasaran pasar* 'market target', *syarat-syarat* 'terms', *bahasa* 'language', and *objektif* 'objective') are also employed. This blend of speech codes makes the Javanese language uniquely suited for formal and informative advertising content.

Iklan

Iklan (pariwara) yaiku *upaya promosi* utawa ngawehi ngerti babagan *barang/jasa* kang nduweni maksud supaya *tertarik* marang *produk/jasa* kang *ditawaraken*. Biasane *iklan* dipasang teng papan panggonan kang bisa dideleng wong akeh utawa dipasang teng *media massa* kayata radio, majalah, tv, lan sapiturute.

Ciri-cirine Iklan (pariwara)

1. Ng[g]unakake *kata ingkang logis, menarik, singkat, tepat, lan uga sopan*.

2. Isine *nginformasikaken produk barang/jasa kang ditawaraken*.
3. Ngemot *kata* kang nduweni *sugesti* kanggo wong umum.
4. N[gl]gunakake *kata* kang *nunjukaken sasaran pasar*.

Syarat-syarate Iklan (pariwara)

- N[gl]gunakake *bahasa* sing gampang dipahami lan uga gamb[p]ang dimangerti.
- Jujur lan *obyektif*.
- *Menarik perhatian* wong akeh.
- Mboten ngemot *kata* kang *nyinggung* wong li[y]a utawa *pihak-pihak* li[y]a.

‘Advertisement

Advertising is a promotional effort or notification of goods/services with the intention of being interested in the products/services offered. Usually, advertisements are posted in places where it can be seen by many people or posted in mass media such as radio, magazines, tv, and so on.

Advertising Features

1. Use words that are logical, interesting, concise, precise, and also polite.
2. The contents inform the goods/services that are offered.
3. Contains words that have suggestions for the general public.
4. Using words that indicate the target market.

Advertising Terms

- Use language that is easy to understand and easy to understand.
- Be honest and objective.
- Attracts the attention of many people.
- Does not contain words that offend other people or other parties.’

On the other hand, in Javanese news broadcasts, as seen in Figure 5 below, the primary code employed is Javanese krama, which is often mixed with Indonesian.



on Semarang 1 TV

(Source:

<https://youtu.be/p9QFUwmSYGY?si=MD8b0I1fSH98nXhQ>)

“Sugeng enjang para pamiarsa, giyaran Sugeng Enjang dinten Senen Paing, pitulas April kalih ewu pitulas saged Panjenengan pirsani malih. **Laporan-laporan** ingkang **akurat** turwin ngrakyat sampun sumadya katur Panjenengan, antawisipun, treteg antawis **provinsi ambrol akses perekonomian** warga kagangu. Sareng kaliyan kula Fifilia, menika pawartos jangkepipun. Deresing ilining lepen Bengawan Solo rikala jawoh ndamel satunggaling treteg ing margi Kabupaten Blora longsor. **Jalur alternatif** saking Kabupaten Blora pinuju Jawa Timur pedhot lan njalari **akses perekonomian** warga **lumpuh**. Warga kepeksa muter ngantos puluhan kilometer lumantar **jalur alternatif** sanes.”

‘Good morning, dear viewers. You are once again watching the *Sugeng Enjang* broadcast on Monday *Paing*, April 17, 2017. We have prepared accurate and relevant reports for you, including the collapse of an interprovincial bridge that has disrupted the local economy. Together with me, Fifilia, here is the complete report. The heavy flow of the Bengawan Solo River recently caused a section of a bridge in Blora Regency to collapse. The alternative route from Blora Regency to East Java has been cut off, paralyzing the local economy. Residents are now forced to take a detour of several tens of kilometers through alternative routes.’

In electronic media, particularly news broadcasts, there is a prevalent adoption of Indonesian terms, phrases, and sentence

structures within the Javanese language. Words such as *laporan* 'report', *akurat* 'accurate', along with phrases like *akses perekonomian* 'economic access', *jalur alternatif* 'alternative route' are borrowed directly from Indonesian. Furthermore, Indonesian language structures contribute to the creation of hybrid words or *baster*, such as *ngrakyat* 'populist', *antawis province* 'between provinces', *jalur alternatif sanes* 'another alternative route'. Contextual use of Javanese words also persists, exemplified by *kaganggu* 'disturbed by', *lumantar* 'via or through means or media'. A similar example is the modification that has developed in the Javanese language through the following prayer expression to ward off the coronavirus.

"Allahummaghfir, virus corona ndang podo minggir, amiin
Bumi kawak, tolak balak
Kol kuthuk, kadal kesit, ayo nglumpuk ndang podo wirid
Allahumma kipa-kipu, virus corona ndang podo mlayu
Wak tek gone, wak ndang gono, iwak pitek digowo rene, iwak pindang digowo rono, amin
Allahumma Abu Bakar, virus corona ndang podo buyar
Allahumma fikra-fikri, akeh sawah akeh sapi, iso umroh iso kaji
Dungo iki paringane Gusti
Wa salamun alal mursalin, Alhamdulillahirobbil alamin..."

'Allahummaghfir, the corona virus should step aside immediately, amen
Old earth, reject reinforcements
Chicks, rice snails, nimble lizards, let's get together immediately to be wirid
Allahumma kipa-kipu, corona virus run away immediately (disappear)
Wak tek gone, wak ndang gono, chicken meat brought here, pindang fish brought there, amen
Allahumma Abu Bakr, the corona virus will disperse immediately
Allahumma fikra-fikri, there are lots of rice fields with lots of cows, you can do Hajj

This prayer is a gift from God

Wa salamun alal mursalin, Alhamdulillahirobbil alamin...'

(Source:

<https://alif.id/read/aham/pertemuan-tradisi-islam-dan-jawa-dalam-sebuah-doa-penangkal-wabah-corona-b227546p/>)

In the speech above, code-mixing is not merely accomplished by inserting fragments of other languages into Javanese; it also serves the aesthetic purpose of sound/rhyme (*guru lagu*) in prayer discourse. The stylistic devices of assonance (repetition of vowel sounds) and alliteration (repetition of consonant sounds) are employed to integrate other languages into Javanese seamlessly. The assonance of the vowel *a* can be seen in the words *allahumma* (Arabic) and *corona* (Indonesian), the vowel *i* recurs in words like *fikri* (Arabic), *virus*, *sapi* 'cow', *kaji* 'hajj', *isa* 'can', *iki* 'this', *dungo* 'pray', as well as *Gusti* 'God'. Additionally, *allahumma* and *kipa-kipu* alongside *virus* and *mlayu* showcase vowel assonance. Consonantal alliteration is observed with and <r> in *Abu Bakar* and *disperse*, and <f/v> in *allahummaghfir* and *viruses*.

3.2 Interference: Systemic Salah Kaprah

The inability of bilingual speakers to use both languages equally proficiently can lead to the influence of one language over another, a phenomenon known as interference. One common form of interference occurs in phonology, which is particularly prevalent in the Javanese language. Phonological interference can be categorized into four types: substitution interference, over-differentiation interference, under-differentiation interference, and reinterpretation interference.

The phonological interference that occurs in spoken speech is the pronunciation of [d] for the sound [d], [t] is pronounced [t]. This is very much influenced

by the Indonesian sound system. In the lyrics of Guyon Waton's song *Korban Janji*, the phonological interference is found in the word *kanthi* [kanti] pronounced [kanti].

Javanese morphosyntax interference is heavily influenced by the structure of the Indonesian language. This tendency is due to the dominance of the use of Indonesian in Javanese speakers. Even foreigners who use Javanese have also transferred the structure of the Indonesian language to Javanese. In the utterance (3), there is morphological interference that forms the language of Javanese and Indonesian, such as *ngrakyat* 'populist', *nginformasikake* 'inform'. Syntactic interference, such as *antawis provinsi* 'interprovincial', *jalur alternative sanes* 'other alternative', The phrase *sadereng lan seuwise* 'before and after' interferes with the Indonesian language structure. In a Londokampung youtube account with 3.7M subscribers, the speaker is a foreigner who is fluent in Javanese, when communicating with Japanese people who can also speak Javanese using a speech *Trus awakmu ngajar neng Mojokerto pira suwe?*² "Then how long did you teach in Mojokerto?" In the speech there is an interference in the structure of the Indonesian phrase *pira suwe* "how long", the structure in Javanese is *pira suwene*.

3.3 Adaptation in Javanese

The very diverse Javanese speakers, not only the Javanese, influence the form of Javanese use. Even speakers of Javanese who are bilingual or multilingual often experience language interference from the language of the language that is more dominant, for example the sounds of Indonesian. Despite this, Javanese is still present and survives even with its flexibility to adapt to other languages. Adaptation occurs due to lexical transfer.

²<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CHgDdgk8JT0>

Fuster and Neuser (2020) explain that transfer in oral production is conceptualized as interference that undergoes an unconscious automatic process. On the other hand, written production is less affected by time constraints which affect the level of awareness and transfer strategies both formally and semantically. Formal transfer includes loans transferred with or without adaptation, while semantic transfer includes lexeme matching.

Shinohara (2015) states that language contact gives rise to phonological adaptations. In the early period, more variety is also found in adapted forms. Thus, it is assumed that the adaptation of patterns in initial language contact is controlled, among others by: (1) allophonic and dialect variations of the source, (2) variable channel input transmission (aural, visual) and adaptation strategies (sound or spelling based), (3) adaptation dialect variations. Interference of sound or structure strengthens the existence of the Javanese language in adapting and transforming in various domains of language use, formal or colloquial.

Language develops with the dynamic movements of its users. The emergence of "Sobat Ambyar", Javanese musicians who have a distinctive style, such as Cak Nan with an East Javanese accent, and Guyon Maton whose songs were popularized by YouTubers boosted Javanese language users to penetrate the millennial and gen-Z group. The group that speaks Javanese or not is the agent of language change. In this context, the change in the Javanese language is primarily due to sociocultural factors, as the language serves as a means of daily communication and is readily comprehensible to its speakers. In contemporary times, teenagers use modern Javanese folk songs to understand themselves and to gather Javanese vocabulary. Sundari (2020) described this phenomenon, explaining that Javanese language preservation occurs when teenagers in junior high schools

embrace Javanese songs, thus creating a new way to learn Javanese in society.

Adaptations in Javanese can be intrasystemic or extrasystemic. Intrasystemic adaptation is an adaptation process that occurs in the Javanese language itself, namely phonological adaptation, both in spoken and written products. As a form of adaptation to the Javanese language in everyday use, simplification of sounds is carried out in both

spoken and written forms. Verbally, the sound that often shifts is the sound apical dental [d] becomes palatal apical [ɖ], sound [t] becomes [tʰ], and sound [a] becomes [ɔ], sound [ɪ] becomes [i]. In writing, the sound [dʰ] which is denoted by dh is adapted to be [d] or orthographically denoted by d.

Table 1 Sound changes in spoken communication

Standard form	Form of oral adaptation	Gloss
<i>ditinggal</i> [dʰitingal]	[ɖʰitingal]	'left'
<i>rada</i> [r ɔ dʰ ɔ]	[r ɔ d ɔ]	'rather'
<i>waskitha</i> [waskitʰ ɔ]	[waskit ɔ]	'watch out'
<i>wacanen</i> [wacanən]	[w ɔ c ɔ nən]	'read it'

Table 2 Phoneme changes in written communication

Standard form	Form of written adaptation	Gloss
<i>mendhem</i> [məndʰəm]	<i>mendem</i>	'save'
<i>kowe</i>	<i>koe</i>	'you'
<i>kuwi</i>	<i>kui</i>	'that'
<i>liya</i>	<i>lia</i>	'the other'
<i>wis</i>	<i>wes</i>	'already'
<i>dhadha</i>	<i>dodo</i>	'chest'
<i>sega</i>	<i>sego</i>	'rice'
<i>lara</i>	<i>loro</i>	'sick'
<i>kanthi</i>	<i>kanti</i>	'with'
<i>kuwat</i>	<i>kuat</i>	'strong'
<i>sesuk</i>	<i>sesok</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>sengguh</i>	<i>senggo</i>	'suppose'
<i>bledheg</i>	<i>bledek</i>	'lighting'
<i>saged</i>	<i>saget</i>	'capable'
<i>pengin</i>	<i>pengen</i>	'wants'
<i>mandeng</i>	<i>mandheng</i>	'look at'
<i>pitik</i>	<i>phitik</i>	'chicken'
<i>Ya mbok aja ngono ta!</i>	<i>Yo mbok ojo ngono to!</i>	'Do not like that!'

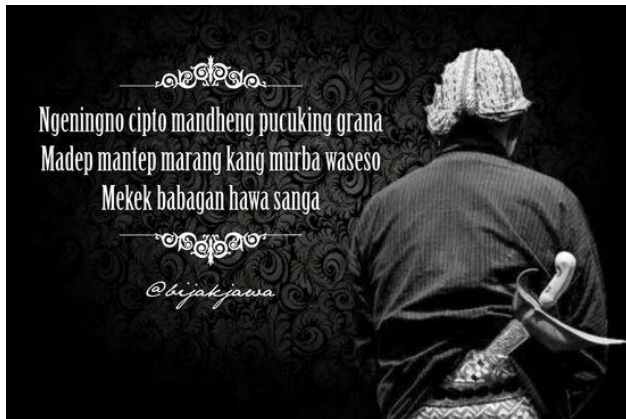


Figure 6. Javanese usage on social media

(Source:

<https://id.pinterest.com/pin/577375614700864187/>)

The example above shows the use of Javanese language on social media which is very crisp and flexible. The vowel /a/, which is pronounced [ɔ], is written as a and o, as well as /d/ and /ḍ/ which are interchanged. For example, *mandeng* is written as *mandheng*, while *madhep* is written as *madep*.

“Ngeningna cipta mandeng pucuking grana
Madhep mantep marang kang murba wisesa
Mekek babagan hawa sanga”

‘Focus your mind on the highest wisdom
Be steadfast towards the Almighty
Restrain the nine desires’

The speaker’s knowledge of the Javanese language system that differentiates dh - ḍ, th - t often leads to an exchange of usage between both of them. One finds writing on the restaurant’s banner, *Iwak phitik* ‘fried chicken’. The inexplicable form of using Javanese spoken or written gives rise to variations in Javanese. From the perspective of language teaching, this phenomenon is considered a language error, but socially contextually it is a form of adaptation for Javanese speakers. The productivity of Javanese language creation is also stretching, for example songs, films, novels, advertisements, and social media.

3.4 Adaptation of Javanese Language Politeness in the Entertainment Industry

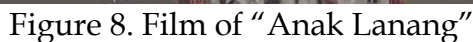
As mentioned earlier, the Javanese language also undergoes adaptation in terms of politeness. In general, the Javanese language has a speech level system consisting of three levels from highest to lowest, namely *krama*, *madya*, and *ngoko*. Regarding the use for communication, Javanese politeness is generally formulated in several forms such as *semanak* ‘kindly’, *sabar* ‘patience’, *tepa selira* ‘emphaty’, *urmat* ‘respect’, *empan papan* ‘contextual’, *nuju prana* ‘aiming for life’, and *subasita* ‘politeness’ (Poedjosoedarmo 2017).

On the other hand, politeness in language can be achieved when both the speaker and their interlocutor adhere to various pragmatic aspects, including the maxims of politeness. These consist of the tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy maxims (Leech 2014). Moreover, politeness arises not merely from the choice of language but from the appropriateness of the context concerning every individual involved in an interaction.

However, the evolution of the Javanese language in modern society is marked by its own dynamics, such as a trend towards efficiency and egalitarianism in its use. This shift is also linked to the proliferation of social media platforms, notably YouTube, where Javanese language videos are prevalent. Video creators seem to recognize that the digital-era audience demands a version of the Javanese language that is lighter, entertaining, and not bound by traditional rules of politeness. This contemporary use of Javanese is evident in short films, wayang kulit performances, and content produced by influencers.



https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GAYvgz8_zV8)



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nlokYnDtG8&t=31s>)

The incorporation of Javanese in entertainment often capitalizes on the distinctive dialects of specific regions, such as those from East Java. This region is renowned for its version of the Javanese language, which is considered more egalitarian compared to the dialects of Central Java and Yogyakarta. Despite all being forms of Javanese, the East Javanese dialects typically forgo the elaborate speech levels traditionally used to convey politeness, unlike their Central Java and Yogyakarta counterparts. This distinctive feature of East Javanese dialects has become a unique selling point for influencers creating a variety of content for YouTube videos.



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hG9ISwMFuvk>)

ISSN 0215-9171 (*print*), ISSN 2528-1089 (*online*)

and movie reviews, smartphone product evaluations, and discussions of current issues that resonate with youth. Despite the modern presentation of the videos, the consistent use of the *Arekan* dialect underscores the channel's role in preserving the local values of East Java. This also seems to represent how language among the youth in East Java has become a source of pride, as described by Hoogervorst (2014) regarding the widespread use of Javanese slang in the region.

Dave Jepchott, known as “Cak Dave,” exemplifies how language adapts and connects cultures. After moving from Australia to Surabaya as a child, he became fluent in the local Javanese dialect and launched the YouTube channel “Londokampung,” now followed by over four million subscribers. His videos, often humorous and relatable, feature him using *ngoko* Javanese, showcasing the language’s evolution in the digital age. Despite the decline of traditional speech levels, such content keeps Javanese relevant and vibrant. vibrancy.



Figure 10. Youtube channel of “Londokampung”
(Source:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oTj1fkGkHbk>)



Figure 11. Wayang kulit show in channel “Dalang Seno”

(Source:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MuxWz5bmE7I>)

The Javanese language also plays a vital role in traditional entertainment, as seen in Ki Seno Nugroho’s modernized shadow puppetry. Until his passing in 2020, he revitalized the art by blending tradition with humor, especially through the character Bagong. Using *ngoko* Javanese, Bagong’s witty and direct dialogues with higher-status figures added entertainment while subtly questioning social norms and encouraging reflections on civil society. (Prakoso 2023).

4. Conclusion

The Javanese language, which boasts the largest number of speakers among Indonesia's regional languages, faces a threat to its everyday usage, especially in its more formal registers, *alus* or *krama*. Despite this, social and electronic media have played a pivotal role in revitalizing Javanese by incorporating it into various communication forms. These include public service announcements, commercial advertisements, news, memes, advice, and song lyrics.

The language's adaptability is further showcased through mixed codes, interference, and borrowing, highlighting the diversity of Javanese in the global era. Such linguistic

adaptations, spurred by the multilingual capabilities of Javanese speakers, allow the language to flexibly adjust in phonology, morphology, and syntax. Code mixing and interference in Javanese are strategic adaptations that help preserve its relevance.

Moreover, the adaptation of Javanese extends to the influence of YouTube, where traditional levels of politeness are redefined. In this digital context, the use of Javanese shifts away from strict adherence to speech levels, embracing a more functional approach to meet the needs of its users. This transformation is also driven by the language's role in entertainment, as evidenced by creative content and shadow puppetry on YouTube, marking a significant shift in the perception and application of politeness within the Javanese language.

However, from all the existing phenomena, it seems that careful planning in the form of national policies is also needed to accommodate both the preservation of regional languages and the protection of the national language. This is particularly relevant in the case of the Javanese language as part of the cultural diversity present in Indonesia, which requires deeper attention to ensure that its position is not marginalized.

References

- Andriyanti, Erna. 2019. "Language Shift among Javanese Youth and Their Perception of Local and National Identities." *GEMA Online® Journal of Language Studies* 19(3):109–25.
<http://doi.org/10.17576/gema-2019-1903-07>
- Farichah, Umi, Ani Rakhmawati, and Nugraheni Eko Wardani. 2021. "Preservation of Javanese Language on Ganjar Pranowo's Conversation in Pandemic of COVID-19." *Humaniora* 12(1):7–12.
<https://doi.org/10.21512/humaniora.v12i1.6708>
- Farisiyah, Umi, and Zamzani Zamzani. 2018. "Language Shift and Language Maintenance of Local Languages toward Indonesian." in *Proceedings of the International Conference of Communication Science Research (ICCSR 2018)*. Paris, France: Atlantis Press.
<https://doi.org/10.2991/iccsr-18.2018.50>
- Fuster, Carles, and Hannah Neuser. 2020. "Exploring Intentionality in Lexical Transfer." *International Journal of Multilingualism* 17(4):516–34.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2018.1559845>
- Holmes, Janet, and Nick Wilson. 2022. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics, Sixth Edition*.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780367821852>
- Hoogervorst, Tom G. 2014. "Youth Culture and Urban Pride The Sociolinguistics of East Javanese Slang." *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia* 15(1):104.
<https://doi.org/10.17510/wjhi.v15i1.107>
- Kidwell, Tabitha, and Hanung Triyoko. 2021. "Language Awareness as a Resource for Multilingual Individuals'

- Learning about Culture: A Case Study in the Javanese Context.” *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 45(4):839–51.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2021.1922421>
- Leech, Geoffrey. 2014. *The Pragmatics of Politeness*. edited by N. Coupland and A. Jaworski. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Murtiningsih, Sri Rejeki, and Indah Puspawati. 2020. “Language Preservation Through Curricular Activities: A Case Study of Javanese Language in Indonesia.” Pp. 3521–31 in *Handbook of the Changing World Language Map*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-02438-3_63
- Musgrave, Simon. 2014. “Language Shift and Language Maintenance in Indonesia.” Pp. 87–105 in *Language, Education and Nation-building*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137455536_5
- Nirmala, Deli. 2015. “Javanese Cultural Words in Local Newspapers in Central Java as a Language Maintenance Model.” *Humaniora* 27(3):293–304.
<https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.v27i3.10589>
- Pauwels, Anne. 2016. *Language Maintenance and Shift*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Poedjosoedarmo, Soepomo. 2017. “Language Propriety in Javanese.” *Journal of Language and Literature* 17(1):1–9.
<https://doi.org/10.24071/joll.v17i1.579>
- Prakoso, Imam. 2023. “Tokoh Panakawan Sebagai Sarana Pembangun Wacana Kritik Sosial Pada Pertunjukan Wayang Kulit Di Media Youtube.” *Widyaparwa* 51(2):307–36.
<https://doi.org/10.26499/wdprw.v51i2.1179>
- Saputri, Ines Ika, and Endang Nurhayati. 2019. “Javanese Language Maintenance in Ahmad Tohari’s *Bekisar Merah*: A Sociolinguistics Analysis.” *Jurnal Humaniora* 31(3):253–62.
<https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.33987>
- Shinohara, Shigeko. 2015. “Loanword-Specific Grammar in Japanese Adaptations of Korean Words and Phrases.” *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 24(2):149–91.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10831-014-9129-3>
- Sudaryanto. 2015. *Metode Dan Aneka Teknik Analisis Bahasa: Pengantar Penelitian Wahana Kebudayaan Secara Linguistik*. Yogyakarta: Sanata Dharma University Press.
- Sukamto, Katharina, and Imam Qalyubi. 2022. *Pedoman Revitalisasi Bahasa*

Daerah: Model B. Jakarta: Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa.

- Sundari, Wiwiek. 2020. "Javanese Language Maintenance Through Javanese Traditional and Modern (Folk) Songs." *Culturalistics: Journal of Cultural, Literary, and Linguistic Studies* 4(1):11–16.
<https://doi.org/10.14710/culturalistics.v4i1.8143>
- Udasmoro, Wening, J. Susetyo Edy Yuwono, Sulistyowati Sulistyowati, Aprillia Firmonasari, Wulan Tri Astuti, and B. R. Suryo Baskoro. 2023. "The Preservation of the Javanese Language in the Special Region of Yogyakarta." *Indonesian Journal of Geography* 55(1):59–68.
<https://doi.org/10.22146/ijg.68183>
- Wijana, Dewa Putu. 2018. "Pemertahanan Dan Pengembangan Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian Language Maintenance And Development)." *Widyaparwa* 46(1):91–98.
<https://doi.org/10.26499/wdprw.v46i1.166>