

“I love our language, but I prefer not to speak it.”: The case of Javanese in Indonesia

Yoshimi Miyake
Akita University

Abstract

During their struggle for independence, Indonesian nationalists designated Malay as their national language, calling it Bahasa Indonesia. As Bahasa Indonesia developed as the national language, Javanese, the language of Indonesia’s largest ethnic group, became one of the local languages of the country. This happened even though most of the leaders of the independence movement were Javanese—these Javanese had no interest in making their own language the dominant language of the new nation. This attitude has continued to the present day—this paper argues that although Javanese is a prestigious language, younger generations prefer speaking Bahasa Indonesia even among their family, because of dilemmas internal to Javanese society associated with the traditional class and value system. Based on surveys and interviews conducted in 2019, it is argued that Javanese, especially young people, are afraid of making mistakes in speaking their own language, particularly in managing the speech levels.

Introduction

The Republic of Indonesia, commonly known as Indonesia, is a very large country located along the equator at a similar longitude as Japan. It has a population of 270 million people (600 ethnicities), speaking 707 languages (Zein 2020), and with 17,504 islands. The Netherlands set up the VOC (Dutch East India Company) as early as the beginning of the 17th century, and started colonizing it at the end of the 19th century, after competing with Britain. This huge country has only one national language, called Bahasa Indonesia. Other 700 languages are called *bahasa lokal*, “lit. ‘local languages’”. The national language *Bahasa Indonesia*, Indonesian language, is a version of the Malay language, which was adopted to be used as Indonesia’s national language. The variety of Malay which was adapted as Indonesia’s national language was spoken in the southern area of the Malay Peninsula around the Riau Island. However, as Malay had been used as language for international trading in the Strait of Malacca and coastal port areas along the archipelago, Malay had never been foreign for coastal Indonesians, let alone native Malay speakers in Sumatra and Borneo. On the other hand, Javanese is a language spoken in the central and eastern regions of the island of Java. The term Javanese is a term for an ethnicity who speaks the Javanese language. Javanese is the largest ethnicity of Indonesia, having one of the highest population densities in the world. Accordingly, the Javanese have a bilingual life, using Javanese as their own language but also Bahasa Indonesia. This paper will describe how current Javanese are coping with this bilingual situation.



Figure 1. Map of Indonesia (Google Map)

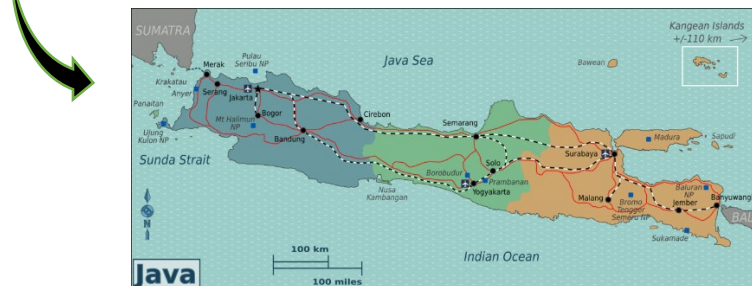


Figure 2. The Island of Java (Google map)

It should be noted that choosing Indonesian, a nationalist term for Malay as Indonesia's national language might beg the question of why the language of the largest ethnic group, Javanese, was not chosen. Choosing Indonesian as Indonesia's national language raises the question of why the language of the largest ethnic group, Javanese, was not considered to be a candidate for the newly independent country's national language. This paper discusses the status and perception of Javanese.

As a result of designating Indonesian as Indonesia's national language, Indonesia has had great success in terms of unifying the huge nation. It should be added that some descendants of the Arabs, Chinese, Eurasians, Indians, Japanese, still speak their ancestral languages (Zein 2020).

1. Malay as the national language of Indonesia

Is Indonesia's language policy typologically unusual? Indonesia's largest ethnic group, Javanese, put their own language Javanese in the background and instead gave exclusive official status to a different language, Bahasa Indonesia (Pabottingi 1990). It might be said that Bahasa Indonesia had been the most successful national language (Calvet 1999), having spread all over the vast country.

During VOC period, the Dutch preferred to be indifferent of the indigenous people's language and culture. The Dutch attitude toward their own language was "our European noble

language should not be used by ‘savages’ (Pabottingi 1990).” Differently from British colonization, Dutch colonizers did not try to make the indigenous people communicate in Dutch. From the beginning of the 20th century Dutch started to open high education schools for Dutch themselves as well as indigenous people (Nagazumi 1980).

On the other hand, Malay had been a lingua franca between indigenous kingdoms, as well as including Indian, Arab, Chinese, and European traders. Other Malays such as Ambon Malay, Banjar, Manado Malay, Musi, and Ngaju, also have served as languages of wider communication, connecting various ethnicities at the regional level.

Malay is an ‘egalitarian’ language, which lacks sociolect, so it is a reasonable language for the newly independent, democratic country. A version spoken around the south of Malaysian Peninsula to Riau Island was the basic to be the *Bahasa Baku* ‘official language’.

2. Mystified elegant Javanese and its power

Then why not Javanese, the largest ethnicity’s language? The current three largest ethnic groups of Indonesia are: Javanese (95.22 million), Sundanese in West Java (36.7 million) and Malay (8.76 million). Considering the population, it is natural to think that Javanese could be Indonesia’s national language, but nationalist movement activists were supporting Malay as their future national language, as seen in Sumpa Pemuda in 1920 (Nagazami 1980).

Post-colonial studies claim that Javanese has been highly mystified (Pabottingi 1990). Dutch colonizers enjoyed the refined and mystified Javanese literatures, philosophy, and arts as their highly sophisticated cultures which they have colonized and possessed (Miyake 2010).

From a linguistic classificational point of view, Javanese is one of the western Indonesia languages. More significantly, Javanese is considered to have one of the most complex honorific systems, which has been nurtured in the Javanese kingdoms. As this language having been considered to represent the royal aesthetics, manners and behaviors, and Javanese language have been elaborated and complicated so that speaking ‘correct Javanese’ has been a significant necessity for being ‘Javanese’. Accordingly, Javanese has complicated speech levels, which should be correctly managed. Although some say Javanese language has as many as eight speech levels, in current Javanese discourse, Javanese is considered to have three speech levels, which Javanese school children should be able to acquire and manage.

From a cultural point of view, Javanese people have been described as having a pair of contrasting key metaphor: *alus*, being refined, elegant, soft, calm, and well-controlled, and *kasar*, being rough, harsh, loud, being out of control. When describing behaviour, manner, speech, as well as people and language, Javanese often use this contrasting metaphor, i.e. *alus* and *kasar* (Geertz 1976, Hardjowirogo 1992). This contrasting key metaphor manifests itself in their attitude toward the management of speech levels, which can be categorized into the minimum three levels. Javanese say that Krama speech levels are *alus*, while Ngoko is *kasar*. In this way, ‘prestigious

Javanese language and culture' had been idiosyncratic artifacts retained within the refined aristocracies and the surrounding communities. Nationally as well as internationally speaking, Javanese has been romanticized, idealized, and therefore, mystified (Errington 1998, Miyake 2002, Pabottingi 1990, Smith-Hefner 2009).

From the time of the independence movement, Indonesia has seen politically central figures from Java. Among all the presidents since the independence, all but one have been Javanese as shown below:

1. Sukarno (1945-67)
2. Suharto (1967-98)
3. **Habibie (1998-99)**
4. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) (1999-2001)
5. Megawati Sukarnoputri (2001-04)
6. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004-2009-14)
7. Joko Widodo (2014-2019-24)
8. Prabowo (2024-)

Habibie, a Bugis, has been assigned to take over from his mentor, Suharto, after his long dictatorship before when the turmoil of 1998 got finally calmed down. After the stepdown of Habibie, again, all Javanese presidents have continued.

During the long Suharto regime, governor of province has been assigned from the capital Jakarta, which meant that Javanese centered Jakarta unproportionally assigned Javanese to all over the nation. It should also be added that national corporate executives located in different areas have several Javanese names. The popular novelist/writer Andrea Hirata from Belitung Island writes that the national tin mining corporate PT Timah's executives have Javanese names, which sounded 'exotic' to him, one of Malay indigenous children on the island (Andrea 2005).

Javanese language is one of the local languages of Indonesia. Javanese language, however, has never expanded nation-wide, although Javanese elementary school teachers teach Javanese language an hour per week. Textbook used in the classroom has complicated vocabulary list of speech levels, culturally specific folk taxonomy, shadow puppet stories and characters, proverbs and other linguistic arts. The section 1.2. below explains the content of Javanese language textbook which elementary school children use.

3. Features of Javanese language

Page numbers of Javanese language textbook represent on which aspect of the language the Javanese language education focuses. The first 20 pages show lists of words on each speech levels.

The text language is Javanese Ngoko as shown on the cover page, which says: *Buku pinter basa Jawa* ‘smart book of Javanese language’.



Figure 3. An elementary school textbook for Javanese: *Buku Pinter Basa Jawa* ‘lit. smart book for Javanese’

Nouns, adjectives, kinship terms, terms for fauna and animals, onomatopoeia, speech levels, proverbs, verbal arts, are described in Javanese Ngoko in the textbook.

It is noteworthy that among body terms listed on the textbook *Buku Pinter Basa Jawa* only two terms from body terms listed on Basa Jawa textbook have the same lexicon in Krama Madya (High-Middle, henceforth, KM) and Krama Inggil (High-High, henceforth, KI), i.e., a term for blood, *getih* in Ngoko, *rah* in KM and KI. On the other hand, four terms have all three different lexicons, that is, a term denoting ‘body’ is *awak* in Ngoko, *badan* in KM, and *salira* in KI. Heart is *ati* in Ngoko, *manah* in KM, and *galih* or *penggalih* in KI. Eye is *mata* in Ngoko, *mripat* in KM, and *paninggal* or *soca* in KI. Finally, foot is *sikil* in Ngoko, *suku* in KM, and *ampeyan* in KI. Table 1. below shows body terms on each of the three levels. Among 39 listed body terms in the table, we see a certain pattern in terms of the relationship among Ngoko, KM, and KI in lexicons, that is, the majority of Ngoko and KM terms are the same. Table 1 below shows examples of lexicons on each of the three speech levels.

Table 1. Body terms on speech levels (from G. Setya Nugraha and M.Abi Tofani 2006)

	Gloss	Ngoko	KM (Krama Madya)	KI (Krama Inggil)
1	eyebrow	<i>alis</i>	<i>Alis</i>	<i>imba</i>
2	bone	<i>balung</i>	<i>Balung</i>	<i>tosan</i>
3	waist	<i>bangkekan</i>	<i>Bangkekan</i>	<i>pamekan</i>
4	cough	<i>bathuk</i>	<i>Bathuk</i>	<i>palarapan</i>
5	bottom	<i>bokong</i>	<i>Bokong</i>	<i>bocong</i>
6	moustache	<i>bregos</i>	<i>Bregos</i>	<i>gumbala, rawis</i>
7	mouth	<i>cangkem</i>	<i>Cangkem</i>	<i>tutuk</i>
8	nape of the neck	<i>cengel</i>	<i>Cengel</i>	<i>griwa</i>
9	chest	<i>dhadha</i>	<i>Dhadha</i>	<i>jaja</i>
10	elbow	<i>dhengkul</i>	<i>Dhengkul</i>	<i>jengku</i>
11	sole	<i>dlamakan</i>	<i>Dlamakan</i>	<i>samparan</i>
12	finger	<i>driji</i>	<i>Driji</i>	<i>racikan</i>
13	fontanel, crown of the head	<i>embun-embunan</i>	<i>embun-embunan</i>	<i>pasundhulan</i>
14	palm of the hand	<i>epek-epek</i>	<i>epek-epek</i>	<i>mustaka</i>
15	upper back	<i>geger</i>	<i>Geger</i>	<i>tapak asta</i>
16	traditional woman's hairstyle	<i>gelung</i>	<i>Gelung</i>	<i>ukel</i>
17	nape of the neck	<i>githok</i>	<i>Githok</i>	<i>julukan</i>
18	neck	<i>gulu</i>	<i>Gulu</i>	<i>janggi</i>
19	eyelash	<i>idep</i>	<i>Idep</i>	<i>Ibing</i>
20	rib	<i>iga</i>	<i>Iga</i>	<i>unusan</i>

21	saliva	<i>Idu</i>	<i>Idu</i>	<i>kecoh</i>
22	tongue	<i>ilat</i>	<i>Ilat</i>	<i>lidah</i>
23	nose	<i>irung</i>	<i>Irung</i>	<i>grana</i>
24	jaw	<i>janggut</i>	<i>Janggut</i>	<i>kethekan, sadhegan</i>
25	chin	<i>jenggot</i>	<i>Jenggot</i>	<i>gumbala</i>
26	calf of leg	<i>kempol</i>	<i>Kempol</i>	<i>wengkelan</i>
27	sweat	<i>keringat</i>	<i>Keringat</i>	<i>riwe</i>
28	nail	<i>kuku</i>	<i>Kuku</i>	<i>Kenaka</i>
29	ear	<i>kuping</i>	<i>Kuping</i>	<i>talingan</i>
30	lip	<i>lambe</i>	<i>lambe hengkul</i>	<i>waspa</i>
31	tear	<i>luh</i>	<i>Luh</i>	<i>samparan</i>
32	cheek	<i>pipi</i>	<i>Pipi</i>	<i>pangarasan</i>
33	face	<i>rai</i>	<i>rai</i>	<i>pasuryan</i>
34	hair	<i>rambut</i>	<i>Rambut</i>	<i>rema, rikma</i>
35	throat	<i>riyat</i>	<i>Riyat</i>	<i>jlagra</i>
36	breast	<i>susu</i>	<i>Susu</i>	<i>prembayun</i>
37	hand	<i>tangan</i>	<i>Tangan</i>	<i>asta</i>
38	mucous	<i>umbel</i>	<i>Umbel</i>	<i>gadhing</i>
39	teeth	<i>untu</i>	<i>Idep</i>	<i>ibing</i>

We notice that body terms of which the Ngoko and KM are the same consist 88 percent of all the body terms. On the other hand, there is no term of which Ngoko and KI are the same. Body terms of which KM and KI are the same consist 4 percent as shown below:

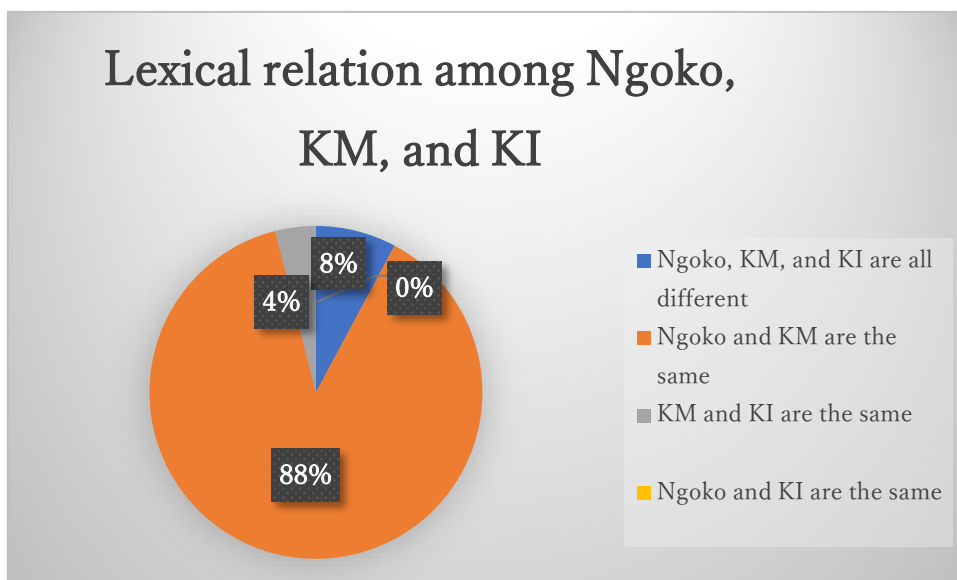


Figure 4. Composition of speech level vocabulary: Relation among Ngoko, KM (Krama Madya: High-Middle), and KI (Krama Inggil: High-High) on Javanese body terms

4. Javanese people's proximity to the speech levels

Javanese language speakers are conscious of which speech levels they are speaking, although many of them are not confident about the management. In September 2018, we asked Yogyakarta respondents to translate a Ngoko sentence (1) into a KI sentence. Prescriptively the sentence No.2 is a 'correct' KI sentence.

- | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|---------------------|
| (1) Ngoko (PLAIN) | Aku | menehi | dhuwit | iki | menyang | kowe. |
| (2) Krama Inggil | Kula | nyaosi | arta | menika | kagem | panjenengan. |
| (3) Bahasa Indonesia | Saya | kasih | uang | ini | kepada | anda |
| (4) English gloss | 1pp | give | money | this | to | 2pp |
| (5) | 'I give this money to you.' | | | | | |

Although the number of respondents were few, that is 26 people, we see that the respondents fill in various vocabulary for a certain word. Overall, although only two people wrote all the correct lexicons, the majority of the respondents' answers show proximity to the High Javaneese.

1. First person pronoun has only two variations, that is, for 1st person pronoun *aku* in Ngoko was translated into two different words, i.e. *kula* (KI) and *ingsun* (Royal speech). Fourteen respondents wrote *kula* '1pp, KI' while one person wrote '*ingsun*'.

2. For the term money, 5 people wrote *arto*, two people wrote *arta*, a phonological variant. One person wrote *yatra*, while one person wrote *dono*, and another person wrote *redono*, a court register.
3. A demonstrative *iki* ‘this’ in Ngoko was translated to either of *munika* or *muniko*, a phonological variant, a nasalized form of *punika*. Only two people wrote another speech register *niki* and *niku* each, which belongs to Madya speech level, a register mainly used in markets.
4. The verb ‘to give’ varied. Half of the respondents wrote ‘*paringi*’ or a nasalized variant *maringi*, KI correct verb is *nyaosi*, which was written by two people.
5. The preposition ‘to’ varied, too, but still except *kalian* which denotes ‘with’, proximate terms for ‘to’, i.e. *dhateng*, *dateng*, *dumateng*, in KI were answered.
6. The 2nd person ‘you’ had three variations, i.e. *panjenengan*, and its shortened form *njenengan*. One person wrote *sliramu*, a court register, while another person wrote a Ngoko second person pronoun singular, *kowe*.

Both of the two respondents who wrote complete KI sentences were those of their sixties, who live in the vicinity of Yogyakarta court. Rather than being proud of having answered correctly, they simply consider that it is natural for them to generate the correct sentence. On the other hand, from other answers, we can see a certain uncertainty on their high Javanese, especially about a verb, although they show a certain proximity to KI.

The following section discusses how Javanese think of their language, Javanese language.

4.1. Questionnaire and interview to Javanese people about their language attitude: What is Javanese language for you?

To an open question, ‘What is Javanese for you?’, three Javanese men living near the court wrote:

- (1) *Javanese adalah bahasa sastra yang indah, bahasa cinta, bahasa persahabatan, kelembutan dan sopan santun.* ‘Beautiful literature language, language of love, language of friendship, softness, and politeness.’ (J, 66 years old, civil servant, aristocratic with the title Raden Mas)
- (2) *Bahasa Jawa itu bahasa yang halus, enak diucapkan dan enak didengar.* ‘Javanese is a *halus* ‘fine’ language, nice to speak, and nice to hear.’ (G, 40 years old school teacher)
- (3) *‘Saya mencitai Bahasa Jawa ‘I love Javanese.’* Knowing how to manage Krama (Madya) and Krama Inggil is to be a *halus* ‘fine, refine and elegant’ speaker. It is important to keep Javanese language because Javanese expresses *kehormatan* ‘respect’ among interlocutors. (A,

56 years old Yogyakarta TV reporter) To a question which language A would use if he has to choose Javanese or Indonesian, he answered without hesitation that he would choose Javanese.

A female respondent also wrote:

(4) ‘Bahasa Java is a soft, fine, and polite language.’ (I, 25 years old woman)

As shown above, we see such a positive attitude toward Javanese among Javanese. However, when asking about the use of Javanese language, their answers are somewhat different. 4.2. discusses their attitude toward Javanese.

4.2. Asking about the use of Javanese language

From the interview and questionnaire above, we came to understand that Javanese people feel more comfortable hearing and reading Javanese but they are not sure whether they would use it all the time. Section 4.2.1 describes this situation.

4.2.1. Young parents

The sentence (5) was heard several times while interviewing Javanese:

(5) We speak Indonesian at home (a Javanese family living in Yogyakarta).

Those who are in the vicinity of palace and court have a different attitude. A Yogyakarta woman in her late thirties says that as she and her husband, both Yogyanese, do not speak Javanese in front of their children:

(6) At home we speak only Indonesian in front of children so that our children will acquire Indonesian before starting to go to the elementary school (P. Female, 38 years old).

An on-line taxi driver with B.A. in his thirties living in Yogyakarta also said that he and his wife speak Indonesian at home, not Javanese, for a different reason:

(7) Me and my wife speak Indonesian, first because my wife is from East Java. Javanese in East Javanese is not *halus* ‘refined’. Speaking *kasar* Javanese in front of my parents is not good, so we speak only Indonesian (A male Grab taxi driver).

A family who has the title of Raden Ajeng and Raden Mas, which are given down to the 5th generation from their king/sultan, seem to be in dilemma. A second cousin to the current Sultan Hamengkubuwana 10th stated:

(8) Krama is like Indonesian (for us), we can be *akrab* ‘intimate, in a good term’, we can express both positive and negative feelings in Krama. We make lots of jokes in Krama. Well, we don’t make many jokes with the Sultan, but with his brothers such as Prabu (One of Sultan’s younger brothers), we make jokes in Krama all the time (Raden Adjeng H).

However, she did not speak Javanese to their children. Even those aristocratic Javanese do not speak Javanese to their small children, because learning Krama Inggil is too difficult for children, while acquiring and speaking Ngoko for those ‘noble’ is too *kasar* ‘rough, rude’. She also said:

- (9) Before, I really wanted my children speak Javanese, but things changed. The important thing for me at that time (when my children were small) was just my child would be able to communicate. So I spoke Indonesian to my children (Raden Ajeng H).

In her case, first of all, as her husband was transferred to Jakarta then to Medan in Sumatra as a nation-wide bank employee, she could not set up a situation in which all the family speak Krama Madya as well as Krama Inggil constantly. Furthermore, she said, as her first son was born with Down Syndrome, she came to hope that her first son would be able to communicate, nothing more. Therefore, she decided to focus on Indonesian language acquisition.

Raden Mas J (H’s brother), said, smiling:

- (10) I remember when I was a child, one day my father’s guests came to our home, and we talked with them. After they left, my father told me that I made two mistakes on Krama vocabulary. Now when I speak Javanese (Krama) to my children, they say, ‘Speak Indonesian!’.

This Mas J’s statement can be interpreted that his parents committed themselves to maintain the ‘correct Javanese’, while his and his sister H’s generation is on the transition situation. Or they feel that they must accept the fact that ‘correct Javanese’ is facing a different situation, because of the spread of Bahasa Indonesia as the national language, democratization, and cross-ethnic situation. Javanese parents in their late thirties to late forties say that they raise their children in Indonesian so that by learning Indonesian at an early stage their children will have an easier time learning Indonesian when they enroll at elementary school. They also claim that in any case their children will acquire Javanese while playing and communicating with their neighbors and grandparents.

A Yogyakarta university student also said that her university professor parents spoke only Indonesian at home, so she does not or cannot speak Javanese, according to her. Her parents did not expect their children speak Javanese. They still do not expect that their children respond to their parents and elderlies in Krama, either.

More than half of Javanese aged 25-35 speak a hybrid version called Ngoko-Krama, that is, Ngoko basilect with Krama lexicons, to their parents, but several of married couples speak Bahasa Indonesia with each other especially in front of their small children. Those young parents expect their children acquire Bahasa Indonesia first even before starting their elementary school, expecting that their children will be already familiar with Bahasa Indonesia, the language of teaching and learning at school. With this situation, it is very likely that their children grow up in Indonesian and consider Indonesian is their first language.

5. Summary

This paper has discussed the dilemma which Javanese have regarding their language Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia. In order to understand the choices which the Javanese have made in establishing Indonesian language policy, it is necessary to focus not only on relations between Javanese and other ethnic groups but also on internal tensions within Javanese society. Because one of the usages of Javanese sociolects has been to show differential power between interlocutors (cf. Brown and Gilman 1968), they have come to be associated with feudalism and non-egalitarian values (cf. Pramoedya 2006), and this has led Javanese people, particularly the urban middle class, to increasingly opt out of the awkward situations which this system creates by using Indonesian rather than Javanese. Although Javanese believe that their language represents their culture, which they consider to be *alus* 'polite, elegant, refined', they are afraid of making mistakes in managing the language.

Two factors should be considered in describing the status of Javanese in current Indonesia, i.e., the relationship between Bahasa Indonesia, High Javanese speech level, Low Javanese speech level, and also the relationship between Javanese in the vicinity of the palace and court and Javanese outside of the palace and court. The former are supposed to know High Javanese, (Krama), but the younger generations as well as younger parents prefer speaking Bahasa Indonesia to their children, thinking of their children's future from an educational point of view. In other words, they consider Bahasa Indonesia to be a door for their children's future which will go beyond their community. So their attitude towards Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia can be described as follows:

For speakers familiar with the Krama paradigm, traditional Yogyakarta people who live in the vicinity of the palace, by speaking Bahasa Indonesia, they do not have to look 'different' from others. They can avoid emphasizing their socially high position or excessive formality. Also, by speaking Bahasa Indonesia, they can have a social world beyond the Javanese context in the national sphere.

In contrast, for speakers who are not bound to the Javanese traditional speech styles, Bahasa Indonesia gives them a way to sound polite, modern, and educated. If they speak Ngoko, they might offend other people; if they speak Krama, they might make mistakes.

Javanese is not an endangered language. Rather, Javanese people are negotiating the relationship between Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia. High Javanese is becoming increasingly peripheral and restricted to ritual talks and artistic genres, while low Javanese (with a sprinkling of high Javanese vocabulary) is the most popular and accepted style of speech among Javanese themselves. These speakers also use Bahasa Indonesia with a number of borrowings from Javanese (Errington 1998, Connors and Van der Klock 2016). However, because many young parents are not encouraging their children to speak Javanese, the future of the language is not clear.

References

- Andrea, H. 2005. *Laskar Pelangi*. Bentang Pustaka.
- Brown R. and A. Gilman. 1968. The pronouns of power and solidarity. In Fishman J.(ed.) *Rreadings in the sociology of language*.pp.252-275. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Connors, T. and J. Van der Klok. 2016. On Language documentation of colloquial Javanese varieties. *Proceedings of 2016 Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistics Association (CLA-ACL)*.
- Calvet, J. 1999. *Pour une écologie des langues*. Plon.
- Errington, J. 1998. *Shifting languages: Interaction and identity in Javanese Indonesia*. Cambridge University Press.
- Geertz, C. 1976. *The Religion of Java*. University of Chicago Press.
- G. Setyo Nugraha and M. Abi Tofani. 2006. *Buku pinter basa Jawa*. Penerbit Kartika.
- Hardjowirogo, M. 1992. *Jawa-jin no shikou-youshiki*. Mekong.
- Miyake, Y. 2002. Language policy in Indonesia. *Educational Studies* 44: 263-272.
- Nagazumi, A. 1980. *Indonesia minzoku-shugi no keisei*. University of Tokyo Press.
- Pabottingi, M.1990. How language determined Indonesian nationalism. *Prisma* 50:7-24.
- Pramoedya Ananta Toer. 2006. *Exile: Pramoedya Ananta Toer in conversation with Andre Vltchek and Rossie Indira*. Haymarket Books.
- Smith-Hefner, N. 1988. Women and politeness: The Javanese example. *Language in Society* 17:535-554.
- Zein, S. 2020. *Language policy in superdiverse Indonesia*. Routledge.