

SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF THE JAVANESE LANGUAGE IN NEW CALEDONIA

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ABSTRAK

Bahasa Jawa sebagai salah satu bahasa nonterritorial di Kaledonia Baru yang digunakan oleh kelompok minoritas migran etnis Jawa dewasa ini berada dalam situasi yang membahayakan. Dominasi bahasa Prancis dan pewarisan bahasa yang tidak berjalan sebagaimana diharapkan menyebabkan bahasa tersebut termarginalkan. Penelitian ini dilaksanakan untuk mendapatkan gambaran wajah bahasa Jawa di Kaledonia Baru serta untuk mengetahui sejauh mana orang Jawa mempertahankan bahasanya dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif. Data berupa satuan lingual dikumpulkan melalui wawancara dengan sejumlah informan representatif serta komunikasi langsung dengan penutur bahasa Jawa di Nouméa dan Kone Kaledonia Baru pada bulan Februari 2013. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa linguistic hybridization mewarnai bahasa Jawa di Kaledonia Baru, sedangkan adaptasi, integrasi, peningkatan kesejahteraan serta prestise merupakan bentuk survival strategy yang diterapkan orang Jawa untuk memertahankan bahasanya.

Kata Kunci: *bahasa Jawa, bahasa Prancis, hibriditas, strategi bertahan*

ABSTRACT

The Javanese language, one of non territorial languages used by minority Javanese migrants in New Caledonia, today is categorized as an endangered language. French domination and lack of language transmission have marginalized this language. This research aims to describe the situation of Javanese language and to examine the strategies the Javanese speakers perform to maintain their language by using qualitative method. The data, in forms of linguistic units, were collected through interviews with representative informants and through direct communications with Javanese language speakers in Nouméa and Kone New Caledonia in February 2013. The analysis shows that linguistic hybridization becomes one of the characteristics of Javanese language in New Caledonia, while the adaptation, integration, increasing the wealth and prestige are the form of its survival strategies to save their language.

Keywords: French language, Javanese language, hybridity, survival strategies

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INTRODUCTION

Survival is defined as a continuous attempt to survive while *strategy* is defined as method, plan, or way to reach a goal. Regarding these two terms, this research aims to investigate how the speakers of the Javanese language (JL) in New Caledonia attempt with various ways to save their language in the midst of the French language (FL) domination.

New Caledonia (NC) or *Nouvelle Calédonie* is situated in the Pacific. The area is included in *territoire d'outres mer* "France across the sea", as it is part of France's territory which is situated outside France and is given special autonomy rights. NC is home for many migrant ethnics along with Kanak people, its indigenous tribe. The indigenous people constitute 40 percent of the entire population while the rest is constituted of migrants from Europe, Wallis, Tahiti, Vietnam, Japan, Vanuatu, and Indonesia (Maurer, 2006:183).

NC is an area of multi ethnics, each of which has its own mother tongue. The languages in this area are classified into three categories: local language, non-territorial language, and official language. The local language refers to Kanak languages which consist of 28 regional languages and have been used by the indigenous people since thousands of years. The non-territorial languages are those brought by the migrants from their home country including Javanese, Wallis, Futuna, Tahitian, Vietnamese, and Chinese. Regarding the number of their speakers, which is less than 2% each, they are considered minority languages. Furthermore, since 1863, French has become the official language of NC (Sam, 2011:1).

Such a language division reflects a diglossic situation. The word diglossic is derived from *diglossie*, a French term used to define a situation where in a society live two languages or variants, each of which has certain roles (see Edwards, 1995:84). The existence of more than one language used for communication has made NC a multilingual area. Someone or a society is called multilingual if they use more than one language in daily communication. The event when a speaker

uses interchangeably two or more languages is called bilingualism or multilingualism (Wienreich, 1968:1). A bilingual person usually has acquired his mother tongue before learning the second language.

Most of the NC people use two languages, their mother tongue and French as the official language. Most of the Javanese descendants speak French and understand Javanese. The status of French as the official language and its utility for national language as well as the communication medium in educational environment are the evidence of its domination. The strong domination of FL has put aside other languages including JL. The JL's subordination toward French is due to linguistic and non linguistic factors. The linguistic factor refers to the domination of FL as the ruler's language which has reduced the roles of JL as its subordinate. Meanwhile, the non linguistic factors, for example, refer to social and economic factors (Mardikantoro, 2007:46).

JL is a minority language in NC. The term minority refers to dominated, unprioritized, marginalized, and under developed society (Derhemi: 2002:153). The Javanese people who used to work as *kuli kontrak* "contracted labors" were not in a good position among the society. The low social status of the speakers became one of many factors causing a language abandoned by its own speakers. In regards to the Javanese speakers in NC, the number is decreasing. This condition is worsened by the youths' hesitance to use and learn the language. The youths who are expected to preserve Javanese culture, in fact, no longer know the language and have no competence to interact using it. This fact indicates that the language transmission of JL from older generation to the younger generation is hampered or even has ceased. The young Javanese generation prefer to use FL since they see it as a proper vehicle for them in social and economic domain. This situation gives evidence that JL is now categorized as an endangered language. Such a situation has awakened the Javanese community to find ways to save their language.

This study uses a qualitative method. The data, in forms of linguistic units, were collected through interviews with representative informants and through direct communications with Javanese language speakers in Nouméa and Kone New Caledonia in February 2013. This research will discover the intensity of the survival strategies applied by the Javanese community in NC in maintaining JL in NC. Therefore, there are some problems that will be investigated in this research: First, from the sociolinguistic perspective, how does the JL look like? Secondly, what are the survival strategies applied by the Javanese community in NC to save their language?

SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

Language and culture are interconnected, therefore, a study of language is likely to be connected with culture. Language is also tightly related with social phenomena. In explaining the social phenomena, Bourdieu offered 3 interconnected concepts: *habitus*, *champ*, and *capital* (see Jenkins, 2010:106). *Habitus* (Latin) is a translation of *hexis* (Greek) meaning “dynamic existence”, which are values formed through socialization process. The existence of an entity/culture is not merely coincident, instead, it begins with a long process and involves many processes of creation. This dynamic culture concept is called *habitus* (see Udasmoro, 2008:11). *Habitus* is unquestionably a product of history shaped within humans’ interaction in a certain time and space, and is not a coincidence. *Habitus* is basically formed by structures which later play the roles in structuring new structures. The existence of the Javanese community in NC has undergone a long process of history. The *habitus* of the Javanese community in NC is different from that of the Javanese community in their homeland.

In order to get opportunities in their life, the agent, in this case is the Javanese community, needs *capital*. The capital as a tool which will enable the agent to control his struggle as well as the others (Jenkins, 2010:53). The JL is a symbolic capital

possessed by the Javanese community in NC. The space where the agents fight for their interest is called *champ* or field (Jenkins, 2010:52). In short, the field is the place where the agents compete and fight for their interest. In this case, NC has been the arena for the Javanese community to fight for their language since 120 years ago.

The Javanese community in NC is a diglossic community where at least 2 languages exist with their own status: FL as the official language and JL as the informal one. The existence of FL as the official one has made it dominant. On the other hand, JL as the informal one used by the minority ethnic, has become dominated, marginalized, and been put in a dangerous situation. Therefore, some strategies are urgently needed to save it.

Regarding the survival strategies, there are theories proposed by some experts. Austin in *Survival of Language* (2006:5) categorizes languages into 4 levels: the first one is viable languages, which are used by their speakers in a wide domain with a good flow of language transmission from a generation to the next generation. The second one is endangered languages, which are used by a group which is socially and economically less fortunate under the domination of the viable one and faces obstacles in its language transmission. The third one is moribund languages, those that are no longer learned by children, and the fourth is extinct or dead languages.

The several facts above indicate that the existence of JL in NC is in the endangered level or at risk of extinction. Attempts to prevent the extinction can be done by either those inside or outside the community. Parsons (in Fitzer, 2012:408) stated that a community can maintain their existence if they can adapt to their environment, has methods to reach their goals, integrated, and are able to protect their identity. Meanwhile, Austin (2006:4) proposes 4 factors to be considered to avoid language extinction. The first one is *language transmission* from older generation to the younger one; the second one

is the percentage of the speakers; the third one is language domain and utility function; and the fourth is the positive attitudes of the speakers toward their language. Further, Austin (2006:8) adds that language preservation ought to be done also by those outside the community. For instance, they can document the language, give political and economical supports, and stand for multilingualism. Still regarding endangered languages, David Cristal (2000:28) offers 6 strategies to prevent a language from extinction i.e. encouraging its speakers to improve their prestige, welfare, legitimate power, writing competence, and IT proficiency, and to have strong presences in educational system.

Some of the Javanese descendants in NC are currently bilingual as they can speak both Javanese and French depending on the occasions. The existence of bilingualism allows the presence of *linguistic hybridity*, term used by Bakhtin (1996:358). Hybridity is a mixture of two dynamic cultures in which the manifestation can be in the form of linguistic hybridity or a mixture of two languages. This linguistic hybridity can be clearly seen in the JL in NC. As a minority language living in the midst of *francophone* society (French speakers) JL cannot avoid the influence of FL domination. The JL speakers in their attempt to maintain their language consciously or unconsciously has inserted FL linguistic entities to their language resulting in a hybrid language: a mixture of JL and FL.

JAVANESE PEOPLE IN THE NEW CALEDONIA

The existence of Javanese community in NC began when 170 migrants from Java first arrived in Nouméa on 15 February 1896 as *kuli kontrak* "contracted labors". This first group was then followed by other migrants from the same region (Muljono-Larue, 1996:35). They called themselves Javanese instead of Indonesian (in fact some of them were from different ethnics) since they left their home country long before the NKRI (the United Nation of Republic Indonesia) was established. They were from Pasundan, Batak

region adapted to Javanese culture. Therefore, it was no surprise if they spoke Javanese fluently and also preserved Javanese culture. For instance, Mr. Tambunan, a Batakese who sometimes looks more Javanese than those who were Javanese. Another example is Mr. Max Wiria, despite his Sundanese blood from his grandparents, he speaks Javanese fluently. He is one of those concerned for the preservation of Javanese tradition in NC. Since the establishment of the Consulate General of The Republic of Indonesia in Nouméa (1951), there has been a suggestion that terms in Javanese or other ethnic groups in names of organizations be replaced with Indonesian.

From the record, between 1896 and 1949 there were around 20,000 workers from Java (mostly Javanese) came to work in NC. During that period, between 1930-1935, and 1948-1955 around 14,000 people returned to Indonesia as they had finished the contract (Maurer, 2006:17-20). In the 1996 census there were 5,000 (2% of the total NC population) admitting as Indonesian decents, however, in 2009 the number decreased into 3,985 (1.62%).

Beginning as farming labors, the Javanese, well known for their determination, maintained a good life and gradually became economically prosperous. At present (2012-2013) Javanese people work almost in every sector as domestic servants, factory labors, civil servants, private employees, entrepreneurs, teachers, medical staffs, and even Major, vice Major, legislative members, and members of the National Board of Economy. The *habitus* of Javanese people NC was formed through a long process. It began with their choice to leave their ancestor's land at the end of the 19th century and worked as contracted labors in NC. Now many of them belong to middle-class French citizens. Physically, the Javanese people can be easily recognized from their light-brown skin. They are united by the JL and their customs. They feel that they have the same mother tongue and customs. They often hold traditional ceremonies such as *Brokohan* (a ceremony celebrating the birth of a baby), *Tedhak Siten* (ritual for a seven month

old baby where he/she touches the ground for the first time), Javanese marriage, and death-related ceremonies. Even though not all the Javanese descendants can speak Javanese fluently and follow the Javanese customs, they feel that they have the same blood. Those similarities encourage them to establish the *Association des Indonésiennes de Nouvelle Calédonie*, an organization to accommodate all Javanese descendants who live in NC. In addition, they also founded the Association of Indonesian Catholics, the Association of Indonesian Moslems, the Association of Funeral Organizers, or the Organization of Origins *Asal Usul*. Those facts serve as the precious symbolic capitals for the Javanese people.

JAVANESE LANGUAGE IN THE NEW CALEDONIA

JL and other languages brought to NC by migrants are categorized non-territorial languages. These languages are used in limited environment and not taught at schools. The status of these non territorial languages is lower than the official language (FL) and local language (Kanak languages). While FL is used as communication device at schools and institutions, only some of the Kanak languages are taught at certain schools.

The field to use JL is centered in the *Grande-Terre* Island, especially in the Nouméa town and area around it. This centralization is reasonable since the most of the NC population including the Javanese descendants live and work in Nouméa. In terms of age, most of the active speakers are of 30 years old and above. The language transmission from the older generation to the younger one which is expected to be the media for the language preservation does not run as expected, so that the young generation gradually leaves the JL and prefer to use FL for daily communication. The young generation's linguistic competence in JL is very low, or might be considered miserable. If we talk to them in JL, they can understand what we say, but they do not have enough competence to give response with JL.

The writer conducted an observation on several meetings conducted by the Association of Indonesian Community in February 2013 in Nouméa and in Kone New Caledonia. The opening, rundown, and speeches were all delivered in FL. The closing prayers were delivered in two languages: Arabic for the Moslems and FL for the Catholics. In non formal sessions, coffee break for instance, many of the older generation talked in Javanese while the younger people talked in FL. This situation more or less reflected the diglossic atmosphere among the Javanese descendants in NC where they used French in formal occasion and they used Javanese in informal ones. The competition and negotiation atmosphere in the field (borrowing Bourdieu's term) was seen in how the Javanese community attempted to maintain their language against the ruler's language (FL). The FL domination seemed to be unstoppable in both inside and outside the Javanese community. It was seen in the utility of FL as the main language used in the meetings and the young generation's preference to use FL.

From the perspective of *undha usuk* (degree of speech), unlike the common Javanese who has patterns of *ngoko* "low code" and *basa* "high code" (Indrayanto, 2010:11), JL in NC only recognizes one speech level that is *ngoko*. The difference between *ngoko* and *basa* are seen from the lexicons. When the lexicons are arranged in sentences, the difference will be easily recognized. Moreover, there is affix *di-ake* in *ngoko*. In the *ngoko* pattern, if an utterance is constituted of only *ngoko* words, this variant is called *ngoko lugu*. Meanwhile, if the utterance contains a *basa* word (or words), this variant is called *ngoko alus* (Indrayanto, 2010:4). The data obtained from the observation shows that JL in NC has the *ngoko* pattern. It is seen from several lexicons we found i.e. *kowe* or *kono* instead of *panjenengan*, *lunga* instead of *tindak*, and *ngombe* instead of *ngunjuk*. The utterances are mostly constituted of *ngoko* lexicons and do not contain any *basa* lexicons. Therefore, it can be concluded that JL in NC is *ngoko lugu*.

This *ngoko lugu* pattern was used by all members of the community and was not used only among close friends; even those from different social classes use the same pattern. This is what distinguishes JL in NC and JL in their place of origin, Java, Indonesia. This phenomenon is reasonable due the history of the speakers. The first speakers in NC were laborers, *wong cilik* (Javanese: commoners) who tend to use *ngoko* in their daily life. This pattern was then continued by the next generations up to the present.

Regarding the medium, a language is classified into spoken and written. This classification is based on their different structures. The use of spoken language is mostly supported with non segmental elements such as tone, intonation, and hand movements, head movement and other physical symptoms (Chaer, 2010:9). When having conversations or talks the Javanese community in NC uses JL, however, when they write they use FL. None of the informants during the observation used JL for writing mails or other documents. This phenomenon showed that JL in NC is only used for verbal communications.

As a multilingual area, the NC government tolerates the use of either local languages or non-territorial languages in addition to using FL as the official language. However, the compulsory for the citizens to master FL has reduced the functionalities of other languages including JL. FL as the ruler's as well as the dominant language has marginalized the small languages including JL. The FL domination also allows it to penetrate and influence JL which results in linguistic hybridity. Nevertheless, the willingness to maintain JL was seen through the utility of the language either in family scope or informal meetings. Since some of the speakers no longer completely master the *ngoko* JL, they often switched to FL or mixed it with FL lexicons.

Linguistic hybridity was clearly seen in code mixing phenomenon which was different from JL code mixing in other areas. A study on code mixing would be incomplete without first studying code switching even though the later is not directly

related with hybrid phenomenon. Code in code switching and code mixing is a subordinate term of lingual communication device which one of the forms is language. Kridalaksana (1982:102) defined code as: (1) language system; (2) certain variant of language

In a multilingual society a speaker often uses various codes to communicate with his interlocutors and the utility of the codes depends on the situation and many aspects. In a conversation using JL, a speaker due to certain reasons continues his utterance with FL lexicons. The switch from one code to another code is called code switching. Code switching is a phenomenon when a speaker switches from one code to another code at syntax level in one line of conversation. From the obtained data, the code switching was caused by prestige factor, the changes of speech situation, and difficulties in finding the proper words. Code switching due to prestige factor occurred when the speaker in the middle of his utterance switched to another language he considered higher. The following data presents the transcript of a conversation between the writer and a Javanese diaspora in Nouméa.

(1) S1: *Bonjour Pak Toro. Comment allez-vous?*. (FL)

Aku pak Toukiman, iki bojoku (bJ). Njenengan neng kene voyage? (JL-FL)

“Good morning, Mr. Toro. How are you? I’m Toukiman, this is my wife. Are you *voyage* (on a vacation), here?”

S2: *Yo iso disebut vayage, aku diundang Pak Kon. Jen. dikon ngisi sarasehan.* (JF-FL)

“You can call it *voyage*, I am invited by Mr. Consulate General to speak at a seminar”.

S1: *C’est pour ça que vous venez? Pour combine de jour vous êtes là?* (FL)

“You came here for that? How long will you stay here?”

The conversation began with a French greeting *bonjour* “good morning”. Greetings are commonly used to start a conversation in both FL and JL.

However, the Javanese community in NC did not greet with the phrase of *sugeng enjang* (Javanese: good morning) even though the conversation was in JL. Greetings like *bonjour* “good morning”, *bonsoir* “good evening”, *au revoir* “bye/see you”, *félicitation* “congratulations” are French words that have integrated with or become parts of JL. After the greeting the conversation continued with utterances in JL mixed with a French lexicon *voyage* “vacation”. The code mixing phenomenon occurred when the word *voyage* was inserted into the utterance *Njenengan neng kene voyage?* “Are you here for vacation?”. The word *voyage* was used because the speaker did not recognize the equal word for *voyage* in JL. Actually, there is *plesir* or *dolan* which can be used to replace *voyage*, but those words are often used by economically settled groups. Meanwhile, when leaving their home land, the speaker’s ancestors belonged to low economic class and, thus, perhaps they were not familiar with the word *plesir* or *dolan*. The code mixing continued by code switching when S1, who was using *ngoko* Javanese, switched into FL to improve the prestige as he was afraid being considered impolite by his interlocutor.

The code switching also occurred when there was a change of speech situation or the presence of third person as seen in data (2) which presents a conversation between two bilingual speakers (Javanese and French), and a speaker who did not speak Javanese.

(2) S1: *Wis lungo Solo? Ayo neng Medan wae. Medan telung ndina.* (JL)

“Have you been to Solo? Let’s go to Medan instead. Stay there for three days.”

S2: *Ben, yo aku gelem*

Thiery viens! Comme tu connais Medan.

On m’a dit que l’aéroport de Medan est beau, c’est vrai? (FL)

“Ben, I want to go there. Thiery, come here! You have been to Medan. People said that the Medan’s airport is good, is it true?”

S3: *Oui, il est très beau, c’est plus modern, plus beau que le nôtre.* (FL)

“Yes, very much so. It is more modern and far better than ours.”

The conversation between the two Javanese speakers occurred when the Diaspora Group from NC was in Jakarta. S1 and S2 were talking about their plan after attending the Diaspora Congress. The communication occurred in *ngoko* Javanese. In the middle of the conversation, S2 invited S3, a Javanese Diaspora named Thiery who did not speak Javanese by saying, *Thiery viens!* “Thiery, come here!”. He then switched the conversation into FL so that S2 could join the conversation.

Vocabulary factor might also be the cause of code switching as seen in data (3) which is a conversation between the researcher (S1) and a 65-year old Javanese-blooded housewife (S2).

(3) S1: *Bu Kastavi, aku pingin ngerti. Apa keluargane ibu isih nganggo jeneng Jawa?*

“Mrs Kastavi, I would like to know; is your family still using Javanese names?”

S2: *Yo isih. Mamakku, bojoku, adiku, anaku. Kabeh nganggo jeneng Jawa. Ana sing kepekso ganti jeneng.*

“Yes, it is. My mother, my husband, my sister, my children all use Javanese names. However, some had to change their names.”

S1: *Piye ceritane?*

“How did it happen?”

S2: *Biyen wong Jawa ora iso ngomong français. Bapakku jenenge SIMIN. Biyen neng bureau d’immigration ditakoni londo jenenge. Bapakku njawab SIMIN. Londone nulise SIMAN ora SIMIN. Kancane bapakku ngomong jenenge SAINEM, londone nulise SINEM, AI devient I cara anglais. Ana meneh jenenge Marto DINOMO londone nulis Marteau DINAMO. Digawe gampang karo londone. Sampeyan ngerti marteau?*

“The Javanese people here once could not speak French. My father’s name was SIMIN. When he was at the Immigration Office, a *londo* (Javanese: Dutch people; commonly used by Indonesians to address foreigners esp.

European/American/Australian) asked his name and my father answered: SIMIN, but the *londo* (immigration officer) wrote it SIMAN instead of SIMIN. My father's friend whose name was SAINEM but the *londo* wrote it as SINEM; he thought the AI was the sound of I in English. There was also Marto DINOMO who was written *Marteau* DINAMO. The *londo* made it easy for him to write this name.

Do you know what does *marteau* mean?"

S1: *Kuwi basa Jawane pukul.*

"In Javanese means hammer."

S2: *Parcequ' ils ont peur de refuser, ils n'ont rien dit. Maintenant sur le passport c'est marqué SIMAN au lieu de SIMIN et SINEM au lieu de SAINEM, Marteau DINAMO dudu Marto DINOMO.*

"Therefore, they were afraid to refuse this alteration, they did not say anything. Now the names in their passports are SIMAN instead of SIMIN, SINEM instead of SAINEM, and Marteau DINAMO instead of Marto DINOMO.

At the beginning of the conversation, S2 still could produce the utterance full in JL. It was probably because it was a part of daily conversations. However, approaching the middle of the conversation, S2 seemed to be difficult in finding certain words spontaneously. This situation gave S2 no choice but to insert FL lexicons that she knew better and often used in communication resulting in a code mixing. In data (3) line 8 S2 used the word *français* to say France and *anglais* (line 11) to say English, and *bureau d'immigration* to say immigration office. When S2 continued her explanation, she could not easily find the proper words and found it difficult to arrange the sentences in JL. In this situation S2 preferred to use FL in the middle of the conversation (see line 22) where S2 used FL to answer the S1's question.

There are differences between code switching and code mixing: code switching occurs at syntax level while code mixing occurs at lexicon level (see Supardo, 2000:4 and Chaer, 2010:12). Code mixing

happens when in the utterance a speaker inserts a word or term from other languages and code mixing usually involves two or more languages. The main language used by the speaker, in this case was JL, was called the *main code* while the other language was called *additional code*. The additional code is usually language(s) that previously recognized by the speaker. The following data shows an example of speech phenomenon involving one main code and three additional codes.

(4) *Yen arep slametan ana kaum. Kaum pas seulement pour la prière (FL). Pak Faid, kaume, lui maintenant (FL), même (FL) nyembelih pitik. Kaume diundang, mengko sore arep eneng nyatus apa nyewu. Pak kaum diparani nggo nyembelih pitik, jago siji, pitik siji. Après (FL) yen eneng doa (Indonesian) diparani. Sering (Indonesian) neng kana tahlil (Arabic) karo Yasin (Arabic) mengko kanggo maca doa (Indonesian). Biasane ana sajene.*

"When there is about a *slametan*, a gathering to give thanks, a *kaum*, a religious leader is invited. The *kaum* does not only recite prayers. Mr. Faid, the *kaum*, he even also slaughter chickens for the ceremony. The *kaum* is invited later this evening to attend a *slametan* for the commemoration of 100th or 1000th day of someone's death. The *kaum* is invited to slaughter a cock and a hen. And he might be asked to lead a prayer recital afterward. Usually offerings are provided in the ceremony."

The uniqueness of this conversation is the code mixing which involves four languages: FL, JL, Indonesian, and Arabic. The S1's social background influenced his language proficiency. He is a Sundanese who was raised in a Javanese society. He was born in Nouméa and lived with a family who speak Indonesian. His interaction with Javanese people has made him "a Javanese". Therefore, he spoke *ngoko* Javanese fluently and followed Javanese customs. The theme of the conversation was related to Islamic teaching; thus, some Arabic words were used. Meanwhile, the use of French lexicons was due to the speaker's

closeness to the language.

The position of additional code depends on the speaker's willingness as seen in the following example.

(5) S1: *Cah saiki, parler javanais comprend thok.*

Aku ngomong Jawa anaku

Nyauri français. Aku duwe anak telu. Sing mbarep rong puluh lima, namanya Senin, parce que lahire dino senin. Saiki dodol kembang orchidée. Nomer loro dix-huit, lanang sekolah di lycée agricole. Sing troisième treize ans.

"Younger generation today can only understand Javanese. I ask a question to my son in JL, he answers it in FL. I have 3 children. The oldest is 25 years old. I gave him name Senin (Javanese: Monday) since he was born on Monday. Now he sells orchids. The second one is 18 years old, now studying at Agriculture Vocational School. The third one is 13 years old."

S2: *Yen wong-wong Jawa neng kene agamane apa?*

"The Javanese here, what religion do they belong to?"

S1: *Ya werna-werna. Biyen padha Islam, saiki wis dho mengkok, soit Katolik, soit Islam. Bocah-bocah padha takon agama karo bapakne, mais ora iso njawab, puis takon wong liyo sing agamane beda, puis ganti agama.*

"They belong to a number of different ones. In the past the Javanese were all Moslems, but now some have turned to others. Some are Moslems, some are Catholics. Initially, children asked questions about religion to their father, but he could give the answers. They, then, asked someone else from different religion, and they converted to new religion."

S3: *Neng kene Nouméa ana mosquée. Isa ajar agama neng mosquée, mais ustade ora iso ngomong Jawa. C'est pour ça wong kene ngundang kaum seko Jawa.*

"Here in Nouméa there is a mosque. People can learn about religion there but the *ustad* (preacher) do not speak Javanese. For this reason, Javanese people here invite *kaum* from Java".

The data above shows that the additional code was placed either at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end the utterance. At the beginning there is a conjunction *c'est pour ça* "therefore". The use of this conjunction is grammatically incorrect because it cannot be used to connect two clauses. However, such uses are usually tolerated as it was spoken language. Besides, the conjunction *c'est pour ça* in French is also informal. The additional code placed in the middle in the conversation above is the use of the verbs *parler* "speak", *comprendre* "understand", conjunction *parce que* "because", *mais* "but", *puis* "then", *soit* "can be". Grammatically the placement of these words is already correct. The additional code at the beginning in the conversation is the use of the words *orchidée* "orchid", *lycée agricole* "Agriculture Vocational School", *mosque* "mosque", and numerical words such as *troisième* "third", *dix-huit* "eighteen". However, when saying *rong puluh lima* (unacceptable Javanese: twenty five) to pronounce 25, she was interfered by FL. In JL, 25 is pronounced *selawe* (Javanese: twenty five) instead of *rong puluh lima*. On the other hand, in FL 25 is pronounced *vingt cinq* which is a combination of *vingt* (twenty) and *cinq* (five).

The different culture between Javanese and NC has allowed the JL linguistic entities to experience shifts of meaning. The following data shows the shift of meaning of a word.

(6) *Kaume masrahke sajen, iki nggo apa, iki nggo apa...et après (BP) maca surah Yasin (B. Arab) karo Tahlil (B Arab). Ana sing wedok, lanang, bocah, kabeh maca Yasin.. Rampung Yasin ayo melu genduren, slametan.*

"The *kaum* explains the purpose of each offering. After that people, men, women, and children recite *Yasin* and *Tahlil*. After that, let us join the *genduren, slametan*."

Slametan (ceremony asking safety form God) is

a Javanese traditional ceremony which is held by inviting neighbors or relatives to sit around a *tumpeng* (yellow-colored rice in the shape of cone) and its *uba rampe* (additional dishes such as shredded eggs and chicken). This ceremony is held for different purposes: birth of a baby, wedding, circumcision, death, etc. The Javanese people who migrated to NC brought along their Javanese tradition including this ceremony. However, in its development, in NC the word *slametan* is not as broad as its original purpose. In NC this ceremony is only conducted for death-related events. This word has experienced *restriction of meaning*. On the other hand, ceremony to celebrate joy events in NC is called *lafetan*. The word *lafetan* comes from the French word *la fête* which means religious celebration, holy day, the birthday of pious people, or party (Arifin, 1991:433). However, the Javanese people do not take it for granted. In their attempt to maintain their language (JL), that French word is given suffix *-an* which in JL functions to form nouns like what happens to the adjective *slamet* (safe) becoming *slametan* (safety). Such hybrid form is unique as it is a combination of a free FL morpheme and a bound JL morpheme. Therefore, the word *la fête* in *lafetan* has been integrated and become the part of this new JL vocabulary. Such a word is called hybrid loan word. Other examples of hybrid loanwords are *gagnerné* (his income) and *salairé* (his salary). The words *gagnerné* and *salairé* are formed by a free FL *morfem gagner* (win, earn) or *salairé* (salary) followed by Javanese suffix *-e*. The use of those hybrid loanwords can be seen in the following data.

(7) S1: *Yen supit biyen ana bong seko nJawa. Saiki kudu neng hôpital. Yo nganggo lafetan. Kebeh diundang, ana sing ngenahi envelope kanggo bocahe.*

“When we are going to circumcise our child, there used to be bong (a physician specialized in circumcision) from Java, but now we have to go to hospital. We also hold a *lafetan*. All neighbors are invited, some give some money in the envelope to the child.”

S2: *Ketoke wong Jawa padha seneng urip neng*

NC yo?

“It seems that the Javanese enjoys living in NC, doesn’t it?”

S1: *Yo, parce que enak neng NC, ana sing gagnerné gedhe. Guru neng kene salairé dhuwur.*

“That’s right. It’s because living here is good. Some of us earn high. Teachers here are well paid.”

The existence of hybrid loanword emphasizes that linguistic hybridity is a form of survival strategy. To maintain their language, the Javanese people in NC do not merely borrow the French words, but also combine them with JL suffixes to make them more *njawani* (Javanese: possess quality, taste, and characteristics of Javanese). This phenomenon is the evidence that the hybrid forms are not coincident; instead, they seem to be done in purpose or even planned.

SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF THE JAVANESE COMMUNITY

Based on the field study conducted by the researcher, it will be revealed how far the Javanese community in NC, as migrant and minorities, attempt to maintain their language in the midst of the domination of the ruler’s language (FL). The survival strategies include adaptation, integration, and improvement of the speakers’ welfare and prestige.

The willingness to adjust the differences while interacting with the environment is called *adaptation*. The Javanese descendants in NC have adapted their lifestyle with the local culture for quite long. The adaptation to preserve their JL can be seen through their names and how they write them down. The Javanese people’s name usually uses single pattern and contains Javanese characteristic. The Javanese people who migrated to NC at the end of the 19th century still used single name, such as Sabar, Tukiman, Wakidjo, and Sainem. However, living in the middle of NC culture, using single word for names can be a problem for the Javanese people especially when dealing with administration.

Such condition is reasonable because NC which is a part of France uses two words for their people's name consisting of *prénom* (given name) and *nom* (family name). To deal with this problem, the Javanese people changed their single-word name into two-word name by using their Javanese name as the *nom* (family name) and add a French name as their *prénom* (given name). For example, someone whose name was Sabar added René to his name becoming René SABAR. In writing the names, they also have to follow the FL system where the family name is written in capital letters. In addition, the spelling of the names also uses FL orthography. For example, Tukiman becomes Philippe TOUKIMAN, Wakidjo becomes André VAQUIJOT, Pawiro becomes Jean PAOUIREAU, etc. Women who want to keep using their family name (if married) can combine their family name with their husband's family name. For example, if a woman named Soetina Kartosoedarmo marries Jintar Tambunan, she can write her full name Soetina KARTOSOEDARMO épouse TAMBUNAN.

The second *survival strategy* is integration. This integration phenomenon happens when a loanword has fully adapted with the linguistic system of the borrowing word, so that the new word is naturally accepted. Haugen (1972:477) defined integration as the use of linguistic entities of other languages by certain language and is repeatedly used by the speaker. The speakers eventually get used to the loanwords as they have used them in a quite long period. The integration may also happen due to the lack of equal words in the speakers' language to replace the loanword. The existence of JL in the midst of French culture might be the cause of this gap. To fill the gap, the speakers let the other language influence and integrate with JL. See the following conversation as an example.

- (8) S1: *Mengko iso teko dinner neng omahku?*
"Would you come to my house tonight for dinner?"
S2: *Iso. Mengko aku nggowo aperitif.*
"Okay. I will bring the *aperitif*."

JL has *sarapan* which is equal to breakfast, but it does not have equal words for lunch or dinner.

Unlike FL which has three different terms for having meal: *petit déjeuner* "breakfast", *déjeuner* "lunch", and *dinner* "dinner", there are only two words in JL referring to *eat* i.e. *sarapan* "breakfast" and *mangan/nedha/dahar* (eat). The last three words might refer to either lunch or dinner. This lack is then fulfilled by those French words. The use of those words has run for a long period, so that the speakers no longer realize that the words are not JL.

The third strategy is by improving the JL speakers' welfare. At the beginning the Javanese people came to NC as contracted labors. As time went by, they developed their social status, they did not only worked as the farm labors, but also they purchased land and became the farm owners or farmers. Nowadays, most of the Javanese descendants (72.8 %) belong to the middle class and earn 100-400 FCFP or 11-44 million per month (see Maurer, 2006:230). With this welfare improvement, more or less they can do some attempts to save JL, such as inviting *kaum* (a Moslem who is considered more knowledgeable in Islam than Moslems in general) from Java, Javanese dance teachers, establishing the Association of Indonesian Community, inviting their relatives in Java to stay in NC, or visiting Java to document the Javanese cultures. One of the two *kaums* invited to NC is a graduate of Islamic State University of Sunan Kalijaga who is given tasks to teach Quran reading, lead funeral ceremony, and lead the prayers in other special ceremonies especially the ones related to Javanese traditions. In addition, the *kaum* also functions to lead a *siri* marriage (religiously approved but not officially recorded). With the existence of the *kaum*, at least the JL lexicons related to his activity can be maintained.

The fourth strategy is by improving the prestige. Prestige will come once people look at the speaker. Language can produce a prestige in the speakers when they feel more appreciated when using the language. In order to make JL prestigious, the language has to be used by Javanese elite groups, used in either printed or electronic media, and used as the medium in local or national cultural events.

The following information presents some activities held by the Javanese descendants to improve the Javanese prestige. As far as the researcher observed, the attempts were still limited on preserving the arts, traditions, ceremonies, and traditional culinary. The art preservation includes providing courses on *karawitan* (traditional Javanese music performance), *pesindenan* (female Javanese singers), and traditional dances. The courses were conducted in Wisma Indonesia KJRI Nouméa and Robinson Plenary Hall belonging to the Association of Indonesian Community in NC. The dance and *gamelan* (traditional Javanese instruments) instructors were one of staff in the Indonesian Consulate and a female dancer who once learned about traditional dances in Java. Meanwhile, the vocal is taught by an instructor, a female singer from Solo who has stayed in Nouméa for 25 years. Traditional ceremonies such as *mitoni* (seventh month of pregnancy), *khitanan* (circumcision), *tedhak siten* (baby's first step on the earth) were also held in NC. Even the ceremonies were more often held by Javanese descendants in NC than by those in Java, seen from the percentage of the Javanese people. I was once invited to a *tedhak siten* ceremony in the suburban of Nouméa. The ceremony was held by a Javanese-blooded mother for her son after marrying a French man. The ceremony was attended by around 30 guests who mostly did not speak Javanese. Therefore, all the activities in the ceremony were delivered in French. This phenomenon was an indicator that the domain of JL has narrowed. The ceremony's equipment such as 7 color *jadah* (a kind of cake made from sticky rice), sugarcane-made ladder, many kinds of toys and food were completely provided except a bamboo-made chicken cage which is usually used in Java. The ceremony ran step by step following the *pakem* (Javanese: pattern) as it usually happens in Java. The food offered also had the Javanese atmosphere such as *rengginan*, *emping*, nut *peyek*, *wajik*, *jadah*, *lemper*, white rice, shrimp cracker, *bami* (NC noodle) potato

bregedel, *gudangan*, and *satai*. There was also Western (French) culinary such as deer barbeque, salad, and alcoholic beverages, either with low or high alcohol level. From the perspective of prestige improvement, what happened in the example above was indeed not directly relevant. Nevertheless, it could help improve the JL image in the eyes of both Javanese and non-Javanese people. This might then encouraged them to (learn) speak JL.

CONCLUSION

The explanation above shows that JL in NC has its own colors, one of which is the *linguistic hybridity*. This is evident in the occurring code switching and code mixing. The influence of FL on JL also becomes a unique characteristic as well as emphasizes that JL in NC is a new variant of JL which is necessary to be researched whether it has different dialect or other variants.

As an endangered language, JL urgently needs to be saved. Javanese people's efforts in maintaining JL that include adaptation, integration, and improvement of the speakers' welfare and prestige should be appreciated. Their attempt through the various survival strategies to keep it alive in NC is a form of the Javanese community's negotiation with the ruler. Unfortunately, among the entire survival strategies, there was one thing which I think very vital but had not yet seriously done by the Javanese community in NC: *language transmission* from the older generation to the younger one. This language transmission becomes essential since the fate of the JL in the future rests in the young generation's hands.

So far the survival strategies were done only by those in the community while contribution from those outside seems to be infinitesimal. In fact, their contribution would be very essential. After this long discussion, the writer invites anyone interested to research further the Javanese language in NC to solve the problems especially in relation with its socio-cultural aspects.

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