
Sundanese Language Maintenance Based on the Heterogeneity of the Speakers

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ABSTRACT

The issue of maintaining the Sundanese Brebes language in the Sundanese community in Brebes Regency was raised because the existence of the Sundanese Brebes language is potentially threatened economically, socially, and politically by Javanese, Indonesian, and foreign languages. Previous studies suggest that monolingual communities are vulnerable to switch to languages with higher political power, whereas established multilingual communities tend to survive. However, this is different from the Sundanese Brebes language. The purpose of this paper is to examine the pattern of Sundanese Brebes maintenance based on heterogeneity. The number of respondents in this study was 400. The results of the analysis showed that monolingual communities type 1 and 2 maintain Sundanese Brebes language more active than multilingual communities type 3 and 4. In the monolingual community, the presence of Javanese and Indonesian languages with dominant economic and political power did not influence significantly language maintenance. In contrast, the maintenance of Sundanese Brebes in the multilingual community is more passive. The maintenance of Sundanese Brebes still occurs because of the strong identity of Sundanese Brebes. This study is expected to contribute to the study of language maintenance patterns in several community characteristics.

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1. Introduction

The main measuring tool for language maintenance is the choice of language (Sevinc, 2016; Ghazali, Jaafar, & Radzi, 2019; Cowell, 2016). When an individual or a community still uses a certain language, then the maintenance of that language still exists. Parents and families have an important role in language maintenance (Lin, 2016; Mejia, 2016; Kang, 2015). Besides with the community, especially the younger generation (Verdon & McLeod, 2015), the government plays a role in language maintenance efforts (Romaine, 2017).

This study aims to explore the pattern of keeping Sundanese in Sundanese Brebes community. Sundanese Brebes is Sundanese language used by the Sundanese community lived in Brebes Regency (Sasangka, 1997). Sundanese Brebes as a vernacular language gets a low position. The language is not learned in school. The Sundanese Brebes language has several differences from the standard of Sundanese language (the Sundanese Priangan language). The difference is seen at the level of phrases, sentences, and lexicons (Junawaroh, 2016). Sundanese Brebes language is much influenced by Javanese language, especially at the lexicon. The Sundanese Brebes community feels that the lexicon is part of the Sundanese Brebes language because absorption has taken place a long time ago. That is due to the social and geographical location of the Sundanese community which is very close to the Javanese community. The Javanese lexicon absorbed in the Sundanese Brebes occurs in its entirety and with change (Junawaroh & Hidayat, 2013; Sasangka, 2006).

The existence of Sundanese in Brebes is not new. According to Suganda (2006) the existence of Sundanese language in certain area in Central Java, including in Brebes Regency, is estimated not because of

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migration. However, the Sundanese enclaves have been formed since ancient times. Correspondingly, a good relationship has been established between Sundanese Brebes and Javanese. This good relationship gives rise to multilinguality. In 1925 there was a change in the administrative area of the provincial government. Parts of West Java in the eastern shifted to the Central Java Province. The boundary of Central Java Province changed from the Cipamali River and Donan River, shifting to the western of the Cisanggarung River and the Citanduy River so that Sundanese speakers are in the Central Java Province. Javanese language with a higher political power in the area of Central Java Province entered the Sundanese Brebes community, especially in the area of the monolingual community.

The existence of Sundanese language in Brebes Regency is interesting to study from the point of view of language maintenance. The phenomenon of the Sundanese speakers' community survives in the midst of their need to interact with more dominant cultures and languages, namely Javanese culture and language are interesting to study. In addition, the power of nationalism requires the use of Indonesian as the language of communication in many domains. Brebes Sundanese language is a criterion of potentially threatened languages, namely languages with many speakers including the younger generation but do not have official status or are not prestigious.

Indonesian entered into Sundanese Brebes language area after independence in 1945. The designation of Indonesian as the national language of the country forced Indonesian citizens to use Indonesian. The use of Indonesian is very intense especially in the domain of education and government.

Foreign languages, especially English and Arabic, also entered into the life of the Sundanese Brebes speaker community. English comes mainly through education and social channels. Elementary and middle school students have been taught English, social media is also filled with English-language content. Meanwhile, Arabic fills the religious life of Sundanese Brebes community. The Sundanese Brebes community which is predominantly Muslim, gets religious lessons with mostly Arabic.

The Sundanese Brebes language has difference orientation economically, politically and culturally. Economically and politically Brebes region is located in the Central Java Province where Javanese language is dominant. In day to day interaction, the Sundanese community who lives in Brebes interacts using Javanese language. It is also the same as the government system centered on Java. In the field of education there are Javanese language lessons in elementary schools. The learning emphasizes the use of Indonesian as a national language and mastery of foreign languages. It was thought to influence the maintenance of the language of the Sundanese community in the border of Java-Sunda Brebes.

On the other hand, the cultural orientation of the Sundanese Brebes community speakers in the dominant Sundanese community is in the Priangan region, West Java. The Priangan area as the center of Sundanese culture and language is far from the Sundanese Brebes speaking community. The Sundanese speakers community in Brebes Regency hardly interacts with the Sundanese speakers community in the Priangan area.

Brebes Sundanese speakers community mostly live in groups in the mountainous region. Geographically, Sundanese Brebes speakers live in all of Salem District, mostly Bantarkawung and Banjarharjo Districts and several villages in Ketanggungan District (Buara, Cikesal Lor, Cikesal Kidaul, Pamedaran, Sindang Jaya, Jemasih, Cisereh); Prohibition (Kamal); Losari (Negla, Karang junti, Jatisawit, Karang Connect); Kersana (Pende, Sindangjaya, Kradenan); and Tanjung (Sarireja). There are several regions using Javanese and Sundanese, namely in Bantarkawung District (Cinanas, Pangebat and Kemandungan Villages); Ketanggungan District (Karangbandung, Baros, Kubangsari, Kubangjati, Tanjungsari, and Dukubadak villages); Banjarharjo (Desa Banjarharjo, Cimunding, Tegalreja, Banjarlor, and Ciawi); Losari District (Randegan, Bojongsari and Babakan Villages); Kersana District (Kubangpati Village); Tanjung Subdistrict (Luwungbata Village), and Larangan Subdistrict (Pamoverly Village) (Junawaroh & Kulsum, 2010).

This paper discusses the maintenance of Sundanese Brebes language based on heterogeneous community. The link between heterogeneous community and language maintenance was conveyed (Holmes, 2013) that in an established multilingual community, the presence of higher political and language power did not always result in the conquest of linguistics and language shifts. This is different from monolingual societies, which tend to be subject to pressure.

2. Research Methods

2.1. Research Design and Instrument

Based on the type and analysis, this research uses a mix method approach (Creswell, 2014). This research combines the types and analysis of qualitative and quantitative research. The qualitative research design used in this study is an explanatory sequential design (Creswell, 2014). Expansatory sequential design is research that starts from quantitative data and then qualitative information is collected.

2.2. Quantitative Stage

In the quantitative stage, indicators of language maintenance variables include language selection and usage. These indicators include the question of self-report about the choice and use of language in the Sundanese Brebes community life domain. Language choices that the respondents could choose from included 1) Sundanese, 2) Javanese, 3) Indonesian, 4) Sundanese and Javanese, 5) Sundanese and Indonesian, 6) Javanese and Indonesian, 7) other languages. Other language choices if it is the respondent's choice, then may be filled in accordance with the facts of the respondent. The choice of Sundanese is given a weight of 5. The choice of Sundanese and Indonesian languages; Sundanese and Javanese; Sundanese, Javanese, and Indonesian are given a weight 4. The choice of Javanese is given a weight 3. The choice of Javanese-Indonesian language is given a weight 2. Finally, the selection of Indonesian or other languages is given a weight 1. In the option which has a weight of 5 means holding the respondent's language to the Brebes Sundanese language is increasingly active, while the option that contains a weight of 1 means that the respondents' maintenance of the Brebes Sundanese language is very passive. Therefore, this can be stated that the respondent who obtains a high weight value indicates the person's maintenance is active for Brebes Sundanese. Conversely, if the respondent gets a low score, then the person's maintenance is passive towards Sundanese Brebes.

The population of this study is Sundanese native speakers who live in the Brebes Regency. Sundanese speakers of 270 thousand people are scattered in eight sub-districts out of a total of 1,788,880 residents of Brebes Regency, or about 14 percent of the population of Brebes Regency (data is processed from the Brebes Regency Statistics, 2017).

The determination of the sample in this study uses the area sampling technique. This method is performed with consideration of the broad research area, which covers one district. The steps taken by mapping the area of Brebes Regency are based on the characteristics of the thickness of the Sundanese culture in the community of each district. Of the seventeen Sub-Districts in the Brebes Regency, eight sub-districts are found with Sundanese speakers. Based on these criteria, a sample of three sub-districts was obtained, i.e. Salem District, Ketanggungan District, and Larangan District. Salem Subdistrict is a sub-district that, geographically, all of the residents speak Sundanese. Of the 21 villages in Salem District, all are Sundanese speakers. Furthermore, Ketanggungan District has a medium thickness of Sundanese. In Ketanggungan District there are 8 villages with Javanese speakers, 7 villages with Sundanese speakers, and 6 villages with mixed Sundanese and Javanese speakers. Finally, in Larangan Subdistrict there are 9 Javanese villages, 1 Sundanese village--Kamal Village, and 1 Sundanese Javanese speakers' village—Pamulihan Village.

Table 1. Community Type Classification

Name	Village	Sub-district	Criteria Description
Type 1	Citimbang	Salem	monolingual Society (Sundanese) one monolingual sub-district (Sundanese)
Type 2	Sindangjaya	Ketanggungan	monolingual Society (Sundanese) one multilingual sub-district (Javanese-Sundanese)
Type 3	Baros	Ketanggungan	multilingual society (Sundanese-Javanese), one multilingual sub-district (Javanese-Sundanese)
Type 4	Pamulihan	Larangan	multilingual (Sundanese-Javanese) Sundanese minority in Javanese majority

The data collection method used in this quantitative study was in the form of a questionnaire totaling 37 questions. The validity test for the research instruments use the item analysis technique. The following results are the validity test of the instrument of language maintenance variable.

Table 2. Table of Validity Test Results for Instruments of Language Maintenance Variable

Question Item Number	r Count	r Table (398; $\alpha=0.05$)	Description
1. What language do you use every day to your parents at home?	0.333	0.0983	valid
2. What language do you use every day to older people at home?	0.413	0.0983	valid
3. What language do you use every day to younger people at home?	0.335	0.0983	valid
4. What language does your parents use to you every day at home?	0.387	0.0983	valid
5. What language do you use with your children every day at home?	0.423	0.0983	valid
6. If angry, what language do you use every day for your parents at home?	0.359	0.0983	valid
7. If angry, what language do you use every day to the older ones at home?	0.356	0.0983	valid
8. If angry, what language do you use every day to the younger at home?	0.350	0.0983	valid
9. If you are making jokes, what language do you use every day to your parents at home?	0.340	0.0983	valid
10. If you are making jokes, what language do you use every day to the older ones at home?	0.340	0.0983	valid
11. If you are making jokes, what language do you use every day to the younger at home?	0.449	0.0983	valid
12. If you are making discussion, what language do you use every day to your parents at home?	0.457	0.0983	valid
13. If you are making discussion, what language do you use every day to the older ones at home?	0.429	0.0983	valid
14. If you are making discussion, what language do you use every day to the younger at home?	0.465	0.0983	valid
15. If you talk to Sundanese neighbors, what language do you use?	0.287	0.0983	valid
16. If you talk to Javanese neighbors, what language do you use?	0.355	0.0983	valid
17. If you are joking with Javanese neighbors, what language do you use?	0.376	0.0983	valid
18. If you are angry with Sundanese neighbors, what language do you use?	0.196	0.0983	valid
19. If you are angry with Javanese neighbors, what language do you use?	0.322	0.0983	valid
20. When speaking a lesson with the teacher, what language do you use?	0.546	0.0983	valid
21. If you talk seriously with the principal, what language do you use?	0.545	0.0983	valid
22. If you talk seriously with employees at school, what language do you use?	0.536	0.0983	valid
23. If you talk casually with the teacher, what language do you use?	0.578	0.0983	valid
24. If you talk casually with the principal, what language do you use?	0.640	0.0983	valid
25. If you talk casually with employees at school, what language do you use?	0.555	0.0983	valid
26. If you talk to village/subdistrict officials who you know are Sundanese, what language do you use?	0.532	0.0983	valid
27. If you talk to village/subdistrict officials who you know are Javanese, what language do you use?	0.472	0.0983	valid
28. If you talk to village/sub-district officials you don't know, what language do you use?	0.438	0.0983	valid
29. If you talk to Sundanese traders, what language do you use?	0.296	0.0983	valid
30. If you talk to Javanese traders, what language do you use?	0.326	0.0983	valid
31. If you talk to unknown traders, what language do you use?	0.415	0.0983	valid
32. If you talk to a Javanese driver, what language do you use?	0.341	0.0983	valid
33. If you talk to a Sundanese driver, what language do you use?	0.326	0.0983	valid
34. If you talk to Sundanese Islamic teachers, what language do you use?	0.361	0.0983	valid
35. If you talk to non-Sundanese Islamic teachers, what language do you use?	0.309	0.0983	valid
36. If you welcome the family of a Sundanese bride/groom, what language do you use?	0.439	0.0983	valid
37. If you welcome non-Sundanese bride/groom's family, what language do you use?	0.396	0.0983	valid

The table above shows that the r count from 37 items/statements of language maintenance variable (y) compared to r tables in $n-2$ (398) and $\alpha = 0.05$, is 0.0983. Therefore, statistically there is an internal consistency in the question/statement of the language maintenance. It means that the 37 items measure the same aspect of language maintenance. The test results also indicate that all 37 question/statement items have construct validity.

Instrument of language maintenance using the Cronbach Alpha technique. Output reliability statistics indicate the Cronbach Alpha coefficient of 0.855 .. Because the Alpha Cronbach coefficient (0.855) > r table (0.0983), the language maintenance instruments are declared reliable.

Table 3: Language Retention Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
0.855	37

2.3. Sampling and Participants

The respondents of this study are Brebes Sundanese speakers who were born in the Brebes Regency area and their parents are Brebes Sundanese speakers. The number of respondents is 400 people. The following are the characteristics of respondents by type of village.

Table 4. Characteristics of Sample by Village Type

No.	Community Type	Total	Percentage
1.	Citimbang Village (Type I Village monolingual-monolingual)	100	25.0
2.	Sindangjaya Village (Type 2 Village monolingual - multilingual)	100	25.0
3.	Baros Village (Type 3 village multilingual - multilingual)	100	25.0
4.	Pamulihan Village (Type 4 Village multilingual - minority)	100	25.0
	Total	400	100.0

From the table above, it is known that the number of respondents is 400 people. Based on community type, the number of respondents consisted of 100 (25%) respondents from Citimbang Village (type 1 monolingual community), 100 (25%) respondents from Sindangjaya Village (type 2 monolingual community), 100 (25%) respondents from Baros Village (type 3 multilingual community), and 100 (25%) respondents from Pamulihan Village (type 4 multilingual community).

2.4. Qualitative Stage

The focus of this study is to explore issues that determine the pattern of Brebes Sundanese maintenance in Sundanese Brebes community based on quantitative analysis. The data in this study were obtained from observations and interviews with informants regarding language maintenance. Sources of data in this study were informants, places, and events. The informant is the person who is considered to be the most knowledgeable about the problem and is expected to provide complete information about language maintenance in the sample villages in Brebes Regency. In addition, places and events point to the research locus and events/phenomena at the research locus related to the research focus.

3. Results and Discussion

In this section, we will discuss patterns of Sundanese Brebes preservation based on the domain and type of society.

3.1. Brebes Sundanese Language Maintenance Based on Domain

The following is the average score of indicators and Brebes Sundanese language maintenance variable in Sundanese Brebes community.

Table 5. Brebes Sundanese Language Maintenance Indicator Score

No.	Indicator	Variable	Average Score
1.	Family Domain		4.80
2.	Neighborhood Domain		3.55
3.	Education Domain		2.28
4.	Government Domain		2.35
5.	Commerce Domain		3.21
6.	Religious Domain		3.32
7.	Life Cycle Domain		3.08
8.	Language maintenance		3.64

Score Criteria

Score 1.00-1.99 = very passive

Score 2.00-2.99 = passive

Score 3.00-3.99 = active

Score 4.00-5.00 = very active

Maintenance of language in the sample on Brebes Sundanese language on the seven indicators of language maintenance is active with an index of 3.64. This can be interpreted that the respondents have a good maintenance of Brebes Sundanese language. Maintenance of Sundanese language looks very good in the family domain, with an average index of language maintenance in the family domain is 4.80. This shows that the Brebes Sundanese maintenance is very active in the family domain. Sundanese language maintenance is shown to be active in the neighborhood domain (3.55), the religious domain (3.32), the commerce domain (3.21), and the life cycle domain (3.08). Meanwhile, language maintenance has shown to be passive in the education domain (2.28) and the government domain (2.35).

3.2. Maintenance of Sundanese Brebes Based on The Heterogeneity of The Speaker

This section will discuss the pattern of maintenance of Sundanese Brebes based on the heterogeneity of the speakers.

Table 6. Cross Tabulation of Language Retention Categories and Type of Respondent Village

			Type of Respondent Village				Total
			Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	
Category of Language Maintenance	Very Passive	Count	0	0	0	1	1
		% within Category of Language Maintenance	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within Type of Respondent Village	.0%	.0%	.0%	1.0%	.3%
	Total%		.0%	.0%	.0%	.3%	.3%
	Passive	Count	1	4	10	10	25
		% within Category of Language Maintenance	4.0%	16.0%	40.0%	40.0%	100.0%
		% within Type of Respondent Village	1.0%	4.0%	10.0%	10.0%	6.3%
	Total%		.3%	1.0%	2.5%	2.5%	6.3%
	Active	Count	73	75	81	76	305
		% within Category of Language Maintenance	23.9%	24.6%	26.6%	24.9%	100.0%
		% within Type of Respondent Village	73.0%	75.0%	81.0%	76.0%	76.3%
	Total%		18.3%	18.8%	20.3%	19.0%	76.3%
	Very Active	Count	26	21	9	13	69
		% within Category of Language Maintenance	37.7%	30.4%	13.0%	18.8%	100.0%
		% within Type of Respondent Village	26.0%	21.0%	9.0%	13.0%	17.3%
Total%		6.5%	5.3%	2.3%	3.3%	17.3%	
Total	Count	100	100	100	100	400	
	% within Category of Language Maintenance	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%	100.0%	
	% within Type of Respondent Village	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	Total%	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%	100.0%	

The tendency to maintain language is very passive in the type 4 multilingual minority village (Desa Pamulihan). This can be seen from the largest percentage for categorization of very passive language retention by village type, which is 1% in multilingual minority type 4 villages. The tendency of passive language retention is found in heterogeneous villages type 3 (Baros Village) and type 4 (Pamulihan Village). This can be seen from the greatest percentage for the categorization of passive language retention by village type, which is 10% in multilingual villages type 3 and type 4. The tendency for active language retention is found in multilingual villages type 3 (Baros Village). This can be seen from the largest percentage for the categorization of active language retention by village type, which is 81% in multilingual minority type 4. Furthermore, the tendency for language retention to be very active is found in monolingual villages of type 1 (Citimbang Village). This can be seen from the largest percentage for the categorization of very active language retention by village type, which is 26% in monolingual village type 1.

3.3. Brebes Sundanese Language Maintenance Based on Domain and Community Type

The following are the average score indicators and language maintenance variable of Sundanese Brebes on Brebes Sundanese language by village type.

Table 7. Average Indicator Scores and Language Maintenance Variable in Sundanese Brebes Community

No	Community Type	Average Score							Language maintenance variable
		Indicator Variable (Domain)							
		Family	Neighborhood	Educational	Government	Commerce	Religious	Life Cycle	
1	Village 1	4.92	3.39	2.76	2.47	3.17	3.43	3.17	3.75
2	Village 2	4.86	3.52	3.10	2.60	2.99	3.31	3.10	3.73
3	Village 3	4.72	3.85	1.39	2.19	3.32	3.46	3.13	3.51
4	Village 4	4.70	3.79	1.86	2.14	3.37	3.09	2.93	3.55

Based on the average score of indicators and Brebes Sundanese language maintenance variable based on the type of society, it can be shown that the strongest language maintenance is found in homogeneous type

1 society with a score of 3.75. The weakest language maintenance is shown by heterogeneous type 3 society data with a language maintenance score of 3.51. Language maintenance in the family domain was very active in all sample locations. The highest is shown by the type 1 homogeneous community data with a score of 4.92. The lowest is shown by the heterogeneous type 4 minority community data with a score of 4.70. Language maintenance in the neighborhood domain indicates an active category. The highest score is seen in heterogeneous type 3 society with a score of 3.85. The lowest score is found in homogeneous type 1 society with a score of 3.39. The highest score is found in homogeneous type 2 society (2.60) and the lowest are in heterogeneous type 4 society (2.14). Language maintenance in the education domain shows variation. The strongest holding was shown to be a homogeneous village of type 2 with an active holding category (3.10). Furthermore, language maintenance in the passive category in education domain occurs in homogeneous type 1 society (2.76). Heterogeneous villages type 3 and 4 show very passive language maintenance in the education domain with a score of 1.39 (heterogeneous village type 3) and 1.86 (heterogeneous village type 4). Likewise, the domain of government is almost uniform in the category of passive maintenance. The highest score was homogeneous type 2 village (2.60) and the lowest was in heterogeneous type 4 society (2.14).

In the commerce domain, Sundanese language maintenance in types 1, 3, and 4 society is in the active category, type 2 society is in the passive category. The highest score is found in heterogeneous type 4 society (3.37) and the lowest score is found in homogeneous type 2 society (2.99). Also, for the religious domain, all sample villages are in the active category. The highest score is found in heterogeneous type 3 community (3.36). The lowest score is found in heterogeneous type 4 communities (3.09). In the life cycle domain, Sundanese Brebes maintenance is in the active category. The highest score is found in homogeneous type 1 societies (3.75). The lowest score is found in heterogeneous type 3 communities (3.51).

3.4. Discussion

The pattern of maintaining Sundanese Brebes is different in each type of community. Monolingual community type 1 is the community with the strongest Sundanese Brebes maintenance. The maintenance of Sundanese Brebes in a row from the strongest to the weakest are monolingual - monolingual type 1 communities, monolingual - multilingual communities type 2, minority multilingual communities type 4, and finally multilingual - multilingual communities type 3.

Monolingual-monolingual community type 1 is located in Citimbang Village, Salem District. The village community is entirely a Sundanese speaking community. One sub-district in the area, namely the Salem sub-district is entirely a Sundanese-speaking community. Geographically, the community here is a closed society because means of transportation to this village are limited. This type of community has the strongest Sundanese Brebes maintenance. Type 1 communities have good Sundanese Brebes maintenance in the domain of family, neighborhood, trade, religion, and life cycle. Homogeneous communities interact more actively with their fellow in Sundanese Brebes community. Javanese language type 1 is not used except at school. There are Javanese subjects at schools. If a Javanese comes to this village informally, the villagers use Sundanese or Indonesian. In an official situation, Indonesian will be used. It does not have much effect on the linguistic conditions of type 1 communities.

Monolingual - multilingual community type 2 is Sindangjaya Village, Ketanggungan District. The people of Sindangjaya Village are all Sundanese-speaking communities. However, the surrounding village area in one district, namely Ketanggungan District is a multilingual community. The subdistrict and economic center are in the Javanese language community. Language maintenance in this region is active in second place after community type 1. Domains related to everyday life are filled with Sundanese language. Type 2 communities have good language maintenance in the domain of family, neighborhood, education, religion, and life cycle. Type 2 communities use Sundanese for all family members at home. Likewise in the neighborhood domain, Sundanese is still actively used by type 2 communities. In the education domain, type 2 communities are still active speak Sundanese language.

Sundanese language preservation in this domain is best among other communities. This is supported by educational facilities until junior high school. The speech community in this area is mostly filled with Sundanese communities and the attitude of community languages type 2 in this area is good. Sundanese is more widely used in non-formal situations in schools. However, for the trade domain, type 2 communities have passive language maintenance. This is because communities type 2 are farmers and traders. The market and economic center are located in the Java region so Sundanese community in this region use Javanese and Indonesian when

they transact. Javanese and Indonesian are used when this type of community becomes a seller to buyers of Javanese communities or communities outside Java and Sundanese. The seller usually adjusts to the buyer's language.

Indonesian is used in the government domain, especially if it relates to people outside of the Sundanese Brebes language community. Foreign languages in this region are actually studied by many groups in the type 2 village. Sindangjaya village has been designated as an English village in the Brebes Regency area. In this case, there is a structured effort to instill English in this village community. However, that does not change the Sundanese Brebes language. English is used only when meeting people with an interest in English.

Multilingual-multilingual community type 3 lives in Baros Village, Ketanggungan District. The village is a multilingual village of Javanese and Sundanese. Language maintenance in this region has the lowest score compared to the other three villages. The use of Sundanese language in the family domain is still very active. The neighborhood, trade and life cycle domains are classified as active maintenance of language. The domain of government is categorized passive maintenance, and the education domain is categorized very passive maintenance. Javanese and Sundanese language communities have been mixed for a long time. Javanese and Sundanese have occupied their respective domains. The presence of Indonesian language made Javanese and Sundanese languages shift, especially in the younger generation. In some domains, Indonesian fills in utterances that were previously filled in Javanese or Sundanese. There is a tendency for some educated families in type 3 villages to use Indonesian to their children. Foreign languages are learned by the Sundanese language community at school.

Multilingual-minority type 4 community is Pamulihan Village, Larangan District. The village is a Javanese and Sundanese language multilingual village. Type 4 communities are a minority community of Sundanese speakers in the Larangan Sub-district, the majority of which are Javanese-speaking communities. Language maintenance in this region is still active, with the second lowest score compared to other villages. The use of Sundanese in the family domain is still very active. Sundanese speakers communities are usually married to Sundanese speakers' communities. Sundanese is still maintained in that domain. The neighborhood, trade, and life cycle domains are classified as active maintenance. When talking with neighbors, doing transactions, and doing life cycle ceremonies they still use Sundanese. Self-identity as a Sundanese language community still exists in these domains. Government domains include passive maintenance. Government officials are mostly Javanese-speaking communities. The education domain is categorized passive maintenance. The school is filled with students and teachers, some of whom are Javanese-speaking communities. In this domain Sundanese is not used. The speakers of Sundanese Brebes community almost can speak Javanese. In daily life, speakers in type 4 villages must interact with Javanese. This has been going on for a long time. Indonesian has become an alternative language, especially for the younger generation of Sundanese Brebes in communicating with Javanese speakers and outside communities. Foreign languages are used in lessons at school.

The governance domain is the weakest domain in the multilingual communities type 3 and type 4. Sundanese language is a passive language. The central government that is dominated by the Javanese community makes Sundanese maintenance in this domain weak. The domain also belongs to the official domain, so the Sundanese language community chooses the national language, Indonesian. The education domain is the weakest domain in the multilingual communities type 3 and type 4. Language maintenance in this type is very passive. This happens because the education domain is considered as an official domain that must be filled by the national language, namely Indonesian. Teachers who teach in multilingual areas are mostly teachers from the Javanese language community. To facilitate communication, the more widely used language is Indonesian. In addition, in this domain foreign languages are also studied, especially English. This is the main cause of the weakness of Sundanese Brebes language maintenance in the education domain.

Specifically in the education domain, the monolingual community has active (type 2) and passive (type 1) language maintenance, but for multilingual communities it is very passive (type 3 and type 4). For the monolingual community, students and school staff tend to be monolingual, and come from the Sundanese language community. Therefore, Sundanese still dominates the use of language in this domain. Indonesian is only used when students learn in class, and sometimes it is mixed with Sundanese. Many teachers come from the Sunda region. If there are teachers from outside Sundanese, they will adjust to learning Sundanese, and Sundanese is mainly used in informal situations at school. But interactions in the classroom still use Indonesian. However, for the multilingual area, students communicate with multilingual. To avoid language problems, Indonesian is used for almost all communication at school. Indonesian is not only used in learning in the

classroom, but also in non-formal communication in the school environment. Communication between teachers and students outside the classroom is almost entirely in Indonesian, even though the teacher is from the Sundanese region. If the teacher is not from the Sundanese region, it is certain not to use Sundanese, but rather to use Indonesian. There was no attempt by outside Sundanese teachers to learn Sundanese.

4. Conclusion and Suggestion

The conclusion of this paper is the preservation of Sundanese Brebes contrary to the theory (Holmes, 2013). The Sundanese Brebes monolingual community maintain the language more active than the multilingual community toward the presence of greater political power. The defense of Sundanese Brebes still occurs because of the strong identity of Sundanese Brebes. The Sundanese Brebes speaking community is a person who speaks Sundanese Brebes. The study also formulated that monolingual and multilingual heterogeneity did not determine language maintenance. There is an important factor, namely the strength of identity as a language community and part of a particular culture. This research needs to look at the perspectives of gender, age, education, and employment.

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