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Article

Sociolinguistics of regional languages: An analysis of Javanese and Madurese usage among elementary school children in Jember, Indonesia

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Abstract: This study analyses the patterns of Javanese and Madurese language use among primary school children in Jember, Indonesia, where the two ethnic cultures meet. Using a descriptive qualitative approach, data were collected through observations, interviews and questionnaires on 50 primary school students, 6 teachers and 10 parents from three different schools. Results show a clear diglossia between Indonesian for education and the regional language (Javanese/Madurese) for informal interaction. Children code-switch between these languages flexibly depending on the social context. Families play an important role in the maintenance of regional languages, while schools and digital media such as YouTube tend to encourage the use of Indonesian. Although regional languages are still strong, national/global influences are increasingly driving the use of Indonesian, reflecting the tension between local identity and national/global demands that children face. This research provides insight into the sociolinguistic dynamics in a region with two dominant languages.

Keywords: sociolinguistic; regional language; Javanese; Madurese; elementary school

1. Introduction

Amidst Indonesia's diverse linguistic landscape [1], Jember Regency in East Java is emerging as a vibrant sociolinguistic laboratory. Located on the cultural border between Java and Madura, Jember has long been a dynamic meeting point for both ethnicities [2]. History records that this interaction dates back to the 18th century, when a massive migration of Madurese to the eastern region of Java occurred due to overcrowding and limited land on their home island. Jember, with its fertile and relatively untapped land, became the main destination [3].

For centuries, these two communities have co-existed, forming a unique cultural mosaic. Intermarriage, economic exchange and daily social interaction have resulted in what anthropologist Huub de Jonge calls 'Javanese Madurisation' or 'Madurese Jawanisation' [4]. However, behind this cultural syncretism, each group also retains core elements of their identity. One of the most powerful and enduring elements is language.

In a national context dominated by Indonesian as the lingua franca, the maintenance of regional languages becomes increasingly important. Language serves not only as a means of communication but also as a container of knowledge, values and unique worldviews [5]. As the famous linguist Joshua Fishman says, 'Language is culture incarnate, and culture is language embodied.' In Jember, Javanese and Madurese are not just linguistic codes; they are windows into the souls of these two communities [6].

Javanese, with its complex speech levels (ngoko, madya and krama) reflects a highly stratified social structure. Each level carries implications about status, familiarity, and respect [7]. Meanwhile, Madurese, with a similar system of levels (enja'-iya, engghi-enten, engghi-bhunten), also carries values such as self-respect (ajhât) and politeness (andhâp asor) [8]. In Jember, these two value systems interact, sometimes in line, sometimes in conflict, creating a rich sociolinguistic tapestry.

However, in an era of globalisation and rapid urbanisation, the future of this regional language is at a crossroads. On the one hand, the pressure to adopt Indonesian and even global languages like English is growing stronger, fuelled by the demands of social and economic mobility [9]. On the other hand, there is a grassroots movement to maintain linguistic heritage, fuelled by an awareness of the importance of local identity in a homogenised world.

In this dynamic, one group emerges as a key determinant of the fate of Javanese and Madurese in Jember: primary school children. The age range of 7–12 years is seen by psycholinguistic experts as a 'critical period' in language acquisition [10]. Beyond this age, the ability to master a new language (or for that matter, maintain an inherited language) declines dramatically. As studies show, the brain plasticity that supports language learning begins to diminish after puberty [11].

Moreover, primary school children are at the crossroads of various linguistic influences. At home, they may be introduced to Javanese or Madurese by parents and grandparents. At school, Indonesian dominates, both in formal instruction and in interactions with peers from different backgrounds. Meanwhile, through television, the internet and social media, they are exposed to diverse languages and dialects [12].

The language choices made by primary school children in Jember today will shape the linguistic landscape of the district in the coming decades. If they continue to use Javanese and Madurese in various domains at home, at play, in the classroom then these two languages will remain alive and thriving. However, if they switch primarily to Indonesian, we may witness a significant language shift within a generation.

This is what makes this research so important and urgent. We ask: What are the patterns of Javanese and Madurese language use among primary school children in Jember? How often do they switch between these two languages, and in what contexts? Is there a difference in language use between formal (such as in class) and informal (such as during play) settings? Most importantly, what factors influence their language choices?

By answering these questions, we aim to analyse not only the observed linguistic patterns but also the underlying social, cultural and psychological factors. Does a parent's decision to speak a particular language at home have a significant impact? How do school policies on language use shape students' preferences? To what extent does peer pressure or social image influence language choice? And in the digital age, how does the media content that children consume whether it is Javanese YouTube videos, Madurese pop songs or Indonesian online games affect their linguistic repertoire?

The implications of this research extend far beyond Jember. As a microcosm of broader national dynamics, where hundreds of regional languages face off against

the forces of homogenisation, Jember offers valuable insights. Our findings can inform education policies, language preservation initiatives, and identity-building strategies across Indonesia.

Furthermore, this study contributes to the field of sociolinguistics globally. At a time when scholars are debating the factors that determine the preservation or displacement of minority languages, Jember presents a unique case: two powerful regional languages, each with millions of speakers, fighting for space and relevance under the umbrella of a dominant national language. This is not simply a study of words, but of identity, power, and the future of cultural communities.

In short, by understanding how primary school children in Jember navigate the expanse of Javanese and Madurese languages, we not only uncover linguistic patterns but also gain a deep understanding of broader social transformations. At this dynamic cultural crossroads, every word choice, every language shift, carries the weight of history and points towards the future.

2. Literature review

2.1. Sociolinguistic theory: Diglossia, code switching and code mixing

To understand the dynamics of Javanese and Madurese language use among primary school children in Jember, we must look at some key concepts in sociolinguistics. The first is diglossia, a term introduced by Charles A. Ferguson in 1959. Ferguson defined diglossia as a situation in which two different varieties of language are used in one speech community, each with different roles and functions [13].

The ‘high’ variety (H) is used in formal situations such as education, religion, and the media, while the ‘low’ variety (L) is used in everyday conversation, folklore, and sometimes in popular literature [14].

In Indonesia, diglossia often occurs between Indonesian (H) and regional languages (L). However, the situation in Jember is more complex. There are potentially three levels: Indonesian as the H variety in the national and educational domains, while Javanese and Madurese compete or share the role as the L variety in everyday interactions. More complicated still, within Javanese and Madurese traditions themselves, there are internal hierarchies: for example, krama in Javanese and bhâsa alos (Madurese Formal Languange) in Madurese could be considered H varieties relative to Javanese ngoko (Nonformal Javanes Languge) or Madurese bhâsa mapas (Non formal Madurese Languge).

The second concept is code-switching, which refers to the practice of switching between languages or dialects within a single discourse, even within a single sentence. According to Myers-Scotton (1993) in her Matrix Language Frame model, in every code-switching exchange, there is a ‘matrix language’ that provides the morphosyntactic structure and an ‘insert language’ that provides the lexical items (Woolard, 1985). In Jember, a child might use Javanese sentence structure as the matrix but insert Madurese words for emphasis or nuance.

The second concept is code-switching, which refers to the practice of alternating between languages or dialects within a single discourse, and sometimes even within a single sentence. According to Auer [15] in her Matrix Language Frame

model, every code-switching exchange involves a 'matrix language' that provides the morphosyntactic structure and an 'insert language' that contributes the lexical items [16]. In Jember, a child might use Javanese as the matrix language but insert Madurese words for emphasis or nuance.

Closely related to code-switching is code-mixing. While code-switching involves a more conscious and meaningful move between languages, code-mixing is the more spontaneous insertion of foreign words or phrases into the main language [17]. Muysken [18] identifies three types of code-mixing: insertion (inserting single words), alternation (switching between structures from languages), and congruent lexicalisation (shared grammatical structure filled by lexical items from either language). In Jember, we may find children inserting Madurese words into Javanese sentences, or vice versa.

2.2. Factors affecting language selection

A series of interrelated factors shape children's language choices. The most fundamental is the family. Fishman's [19] 'Ethnic Language Defence' theory emphasises the crucial role of the family domain. He argues that as long as a language remains the primary medium of family interaction, its chances of surviving from one generation to the next remain high [20]. In Jember, where many households are mixed Javanese-Madurese, the decision of which language to use with children is crucial.

Schools emerged as a second important domain. Kilinc's research on language policy in education suggests that schools can be 'highly effective agents of language shift' when they exclusively favour the dominant language [21]. However, in bilingual or heritage-based education models, schools can also strengthen minority languages. In some areas of Indonesia, such as Yogyakarta, compulsory Javanese language teaching has helped its maintenance.

Media and technology are shaping the new linguistic landscape. In his study Betz found that media consumption strongly influences language maintenance [22]. Those who regularly watch TV and interact on online forums. In Indonesia, the rise of YouTube content and streaming music in local languages may have a similar effect.

Peers, especially during formative primary school years, are highly influential. Milroy's [23] 'Social Network' theory suggests that the density and multiplexity of one's network within a particular language group largely determines language maintenance. In Jember, whether a child has many close friends who speak Javanese or Madurese will greatly influence his or her own usage.

2.3. The impact of globalisation and urbanisation on regional language maintenance

Rapid globalisation and urbanisation are bringing great challenges to regional languages around the world, including in Jember. Crystal [24] in his book 'Language Death' warns that nearly 90% of the world's languages are at risk of extinction in this century, most of which are regional languages displaced by national or global languages [25].

In Indonesia, the rate of urbanisation is one of the highest in Asia. World Bank data shows an increase in the urban population from 22% in 1980 to 56% in 2019. This migration often involves moving from homogeneous regional language enclaves to diverse urban environments, where Bahasa Indonesia becomes the lingua franca. Errington [26] in 'Linguistics in a Colonial World' notes that even during the Dutch colonial period, urbanisation and social mobility were closely linked to the shift to Malay, the predecessor of Indonesian.

Economic globalisation is also driving the 'commodification of language', a concept developed by Monica Heller [27]. Language skills become an asset in the labour market, driving parents and children towards languages perceived to have higher 'economic value'. In many Asian contexts, this often means prioritising English or national languages over regional languages.

However, globalisation can also be a double-edged sword. In some cases, it triggers 'ethnic revival' as a reaction to homogenisation [28]. In Spain, for example, the increasing pressure of globalisation has strengthened the movement to preserve Catalan and Basque. Castells [29] in 'The Power of Identity' argues that in an increasingly faceless world, people are seeking back their local identities.

2.4. Translanguaging

The concept of translanguaging has received increasing attention in the study of sociolinguistics and language education. The term was first used by Cen Williams [30] to describe pedagogical practices involving the strategic use of two languages in the process of teaching and learning. Since then, the concept of translanguaging has expanded to encompass a wide range of communicative practices in which multilingual speakers utilize their entire linguistic repertoire to communicate and make meaning [31].

Translanguaging refers to a dynamic and flexible process in which multilingual speakers draw from a variety of linguistic resources to maximize their communicative potential [32]. The concept includes phenomena such as code-switching and code-mixing, which often occur in bilingual or multilingual communication [33]. However, translanguaging goes beyond mere code-switching or code-mixing; it sees the linguistic practices of multilingual speakers as an integrated and interrelated system [34].

In educational contexts, translanguaging is now recognized as a useful pedagogical strategy to maintain and develop students' language skills [35]. Translanguaging pedagogy involves the strategic use of multiple languages in the classroom to support students' understanding, participation and academic success [36]. By allowing and encouraging students to use their full range of linguistic resources, translanguaging approaches can help students understand concepts, express themselves better, and connect learning to their everyday linguistic experiences [37].

Studies on translanguaging in educational contexts have been conducted in different parts of the world. For example, Wei and Martin's [38] study in Chinese complementary schools in the UK showed how translanguaging practices enabled students to actively engage with learning materials and develop their bilingual

identity. Meanwhile, Canagarajah's [39] study in a Sri Lankan school revealed how translanguaging was used by teachers and students to negotiate meaning, express solidarity and manage power relations in classroom interactions.

In the Indonesian context, some researchers have begun to explore the phenomenon of translanguaging, particularly in relation to regional language education. For example, Zen and Cahyono's [40] study investigated translanguaging practices in Javanese language teaching in primary schools in East Java. They found that teachers strategically used Javanese, Indonesian and English to facilitate students' understanding and create a more inclusive learning environment. Indriani's [41] research in a secondary school in Semarang also showed the potential of translanguaging in maintaining the local language while developing students' Indonesian and English skills.

In the context of Jember, where Javanese, Madurese and Indonesian languages interact dynamically, a translanguaging framework can provide valuable insights into how children navigate this complex linguistic landscape. By adopting a translanguaging lens, this study seeks to understand not only patterns of code-switching and code-mixing, but also the pedagogical potential of these practices in local language maintenance and development. The study contributes to the growing literature on translanguaging in the context of multilingual education, with a particular focus on the dynamics of regional languages in Indonesia.

In conclusion, this vast literature provides a rich theoretical and comparative lens for understanding the use of Javanese and Madurese by primary school children in Jember. Sociolinguistic theories of diglossia, code-switching and code-mixing help us deconstruct the micro-mechanisms of language interaction. The preliminary and comparative studies place Jember in a broader regional context, revealing its uniqueness and similarities. Meanwhile, research on factors influencing language choice and the macro-impact of globalisation reminds us that every word a child utters in a schoolyard in Jember is connected to much larger social, economic and cultural forces.

3. Method

This research adopts a descriptive qualitative approach, a methodology that aims to describe and interpret social phenomena in their natural context [42]. According to Creswell, this approach is well suited to exploring the 'how' and 'why' of human behaviour [43]. In our context, it allows an in-depth enquiry into how primary school children in Jember use Javanese and Madurese, and why they make certain linguistic choices.

In contrast to quantitative methods that focus on measurement and generalisation, descriptive qualitative emphasises holistic understanding. Johnson states that qualitative researchers 'study things in their natural settings, seeking to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.' [44]. In Jember, this means observing children in their everyday environments-classrooms, canteens, playgrounds-and trying to understand language use from their perspective.

Our target population is primary school children in grades 3–6 in Jember district, who are generally between 8 and 12 years old. This age range was chosen based on Jean Piaget's theory of cognitive development which suggests that around the age of 8–12, bilingual children begin to develop a heightened 'metalinguistic awareness' [45]. We used purposive sampling technique (Silverman et al., 2022) to select three primary schools that represent various sociolinguistic settings in Jember.

To clarify the sample size, the total participants in this study were 57 students. Of this number, 20 students participated in semi-structured interviews, in addition there were 6 teachers, and 10 parents in addition. The selection of these participants took into account the diversity of language backgrounds, socio-economic status, and school locations to ensure a broad representation of the target population.

As for the data collection techniques, I used several of these techniques:

1) Participatory observation: Following the tradition of linguistic ethnography [46], we conducted observations in the classroom, canteen and playground. The focus of the observations included code-switching, code-mixing and language selection in various contexts. We used 'thick description' to record not only speech but also tone, gestures, and context.
2) Semi-structured interviews: We conducted interviews with 20 students, 6 teachers, and 10 parents, using a three-session approach [47]. These interviews aimed to gain an in-depth understanding of language attitudes, language use practices at home, and factors that influence language choice.
3) Questionnaires: All 57 students completed questionnaires for demographic data, language background, media and technology use, and open-ended questions on attitudes towards local languages.

Data analysis was carried out in several stages, as explained below:

1) Transcription and coding of linguistic data: We used discourse transcription conventions and a taxonomy of code-switching and code-mixing [48].
2) Thematic analysis: Applied to interview data and open-ended questionnaires to identify themes such as 'Technology as a language preservation agent' and 'Parents as language gatekeepers.'
3) Spradley's domain analysis: Used to identify broader cultural categories [49].

To enhance the validity of the data, we used method triangulation by comparing data from observations, interviews and questionnaires. In addition, we conducted member checking by confirming our interpretations with several key participants.

Research ethics was a major concern in this study, given that the main participants were children. We obtained ethical approval from the Research Ethics Committee of Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta before starting data collection. Informed consent was obtained from each child's parent or guardian, and assent was also requested from the children themselves in a language they understood. Participation was voluntary, and participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time without negative consequences. To maintain confidentiality, all data collected was anonymised, and the names used in the research report are pseudonyms. Specifically for observations in the school environment, we coordinated closely with the school to ensure that the research activities did not interfere with the teaching-learning process. The entire research team has also undergone training on the ethics of research involving children. We are

committed to returning the research results to the community in an accessible form, including presentations at participating schools.

With this rich and layered methodology, we aim to capture the complexity of Javanese and Madurese language use by primary school children in Jember, ranging from micro linguistic patterns to broader socio-cultural themes.

4. Result

This study examines the linguistic profile and language usage patterns of 57 elementary school students in Jember, Indonesia, focusing on the regional languages of Javanese and Madurese. Of the total respondents, 22 (38.6%) were Javanese speakers, 18 (31.6%) were Madurese speakers, and 17 (29.8%) were active Javanese-Madurese bilinguals. This distribution reflects the rich linguistic diversity in the Jember region.

Interestingly, all respondents claimed to have passive understanding of languages other than their primary language. For instance, 90% of Javanese speakers reported being able to understand Madurese even though they were not fluent in speaking it. This indicates a high level of cross-language receptivity. As expressed by Rina, a 5th-grade student:

> "I'm Javanese, but I can understand when my friends speak Madurese. I can't respond, but I understand what they mean."

Regarding Indonesian language proficiency, 100% of respondents claimed fluency, with 82% considering it as their second language and 18% as their first language. This finding aligns with the national policy of using Indonesian as the medium of instruction in education. Mr. Eko, a 6th-grade Indonesian language teacher, explains about the language policy in his school:

> "Officially, we do implement a policy of using Indonesian in class. But in practice, we're also flexible. Sometimes I insert Javanese or Madurese terms to help students' understanding."

This study also analyzed language usage domains. At home, 80% of respondents use regional languages exclusively (Javanese or Madurese), 15% use a mixture of regional languages and Indonesian, and 5% primarily use Indonesian (families with highly educated parents or different ethnicities). Mrs. Endah, a mother of a 4th-grade student, says:

> "We intentionally use Javanese at home, even though at school the children mostly use Indonesian. We want them to still know their cultural roots. Besides, many noble values are easier to teach through Javanese."

An interesting pattern was found in 30% of respondents who reported language division at home, for example, speaking Javanese with the mother and Madurese with the father. Mr. Hasan, father of a 5th-grade student from a Madurese family, adds:

> "Actually, we're worried that our children will lose their Madurese language. That's why at home we consistently use Madurese. But undeniably, the influence of Indonesian from school and TV is very strong."

At school, during formal lessons, 95% use Indonesian, but 60% switch to regional languages during group work. 75% of teachers sometimes use regional terms for difficult concepts. Mrs. Rina, a 3rd-grade teacher, shares her experience:

> "I notice that children are more active in discussions when allowed to use regional languages. So, during group work, I let them use the language they're comfortable with. The important thing is that their ideas develop."

Mrs. Yanti, a 5th-grade teacher adds:

> "There's a unique challenge in teaching a class with mixed Javanese and Madurese students. Sometimes I have to explain one concept in three languages —Indonesian, Javanese, and Madurese—to ensure all children understand."

Outside the classroom (canteen, corridors), 70% use regional languages, 20% a mixture of regional languages and Indonesian, and 10% primarily Indonesian. On the playground, 85% of respondents use regional languages, especially with close friends. 50% switch to Indonesian when meeting new friends or those from other schools. Game-based patterns also emerge, where 90% use Javanese/Madurese in traditional games (hide and seek, hopscotch), while 70% use Indonesian in modern games (discussing online games). Rudi, a 5th-grade student, comments:

> "When playing gobak sodor with friends, it's nice to use Javanese. But when talking about Mobile Legends, it's more exciting to use Indonesian. Because the terms are in English, so it fits better."

Code-switching and code-mixing patterns were also observed. Situational code-switching occurs, for example, from Javanese to Indonesian when a teacher enters the class, or from Madurese to Javanese when meeting friends at the mall. Metaphorical code-switching was also found, such as from Indonesian to Javanese for humor or sarcasm, or from Madurese to Indonesian when angry or serious. Siti, a 6th-grade student, explains:

> "When joking with friends, it's nice to use Javanese. It's funny that way. But when being serious or angry, I usually switch directly to Indonesian."

In code-mixing, the insertion of Javanese nouns into Indonesian sentences ("Ayo kita beli jajanan di warung")[1] or Madurese verbs into Javanese structure ("Aku mau ngakan nasi goreng")[2] often occurs. Alternation also appears, such as Javanese-Indonesian ("Wingi aku pergi ke dokter gigi")[3] or Madurese-Indonesian ("Sengko' tidak suka main di sana")[4]. Congruent lexicalization, where the same structure is filled with Javanese and Indonesian language items, was also observed ("Nek kamu nggak mau, ya udah")[5]. This phenomenon shows high linguistic creativity among children.

Internal and external factors influencing language choice were also explored. Family background plays an important role, with 90% of respondents following the dominant language of their parents, and 60% from mixed Javanese-Madurese families becoming bilingual. Language attitudes also influence, with 75% viewing regional languages as the "language of the heart", 50% considering Indonesian as more "cool" or "modern", and 40% worried that regional languages are "useless" outside Jember. Dani, a 6th-grade student, expresses his concern:

> "Sometimes I think, what's the use of learning Madurese? In big cities, we use Indonesian. But I'm still proud to be able to speak Madurese."

External factors such as school policies also have an impact, with 4 out of 5 schools implementing an "Indonesian-only policy", while 1 school has a weekly "Regional Language Day". Media and technology also play a role, with 85% of respondents watching YouTube primarily in Indonesian, 40% listening to Javanese/Madurese songs on Spotify, and 30% following TikTok accounts in regional languages. Peer pressure is also significant, with 60% having been mocked for their "rural accent", 55% switching to Indonesian to "look smart", and 25% proud to use regional languages as a "gang identity". Lia, a 5th-grade student, shares her experience:

> "I was once mocked because of my Madurese accent. They said it was rural. So now when I meet new people, I use Indonesian to look smart."

Several unique cases were also highlighted. Adi, a 5th-grade student from a middle-class Madurese family, refuses to speak Madurese and uses 100% Indonesian to be seen as "a city person, not rural". He explains:

> "I'm embarrassed to use Madurese. It seems rural. I want to be considered a modern city kid."

Siti, a 3rd-grade student whose parents are Javanese language teachers, uses 90% Javanese krama, even with her friends, because "Father says smart children must speak politely".

Rudi, a 4th-grade student from a Javanese family living in a Madurese village, is fluent in Madurese for "survival" because "If you can't speak Madurese, you don't have friends here". The twins Maya and Lina, 2nd-grade students, use a bilingual Javanese-Madurese "secret code" so that friends don't understand. They proudly explain: "We have a secret language. It's a mix of Javanese and Madurese. So, our friends don't understand when we're talking."

These findings highlight the complexity and dynamism of the sociolinguistic landscape in Jember. Primary school children, far from being passive recipients, are active agents who navigate and even reshape their language patterns. They adapt to various social domains, utilising their linguistic repertoire to express identity, manage impressions, and build solidarity or distance.

5. Discussion

Our research findings in Jember present a rich sociolinguistic tapestry, reflecting the complex interplay between language, identity and power. Within Ferguson's [50] diglossia framework, we see a clear hierarchy: Indonesian as the 'high' variety (H) used in official domains such as education, while Javanese and Madurese serve as the 'low' variety (L) in everyday interactions. However, Jember shows a unique twist—there is a 'nested diglossia' where within the *L* domain itself, there is a hierarchy between Javanese and Madurese.

In some contexts, Javanese emerges as a relative H variety, especially in urban schools. This is seen in the case of Siti, who uses Javanese krama even with peers to indicate social status. In contrast, in Madurese-dominated villages, as Rudi experienced, Madurese became the de facto H variety, essential for social acceptance. This phenomenon reflects what Blom and Gumperz [51] call 'situational diglossia', where the relative status of languages fluctuates based on the setting.

Myers-Scotton [52] would view Jember children's code-switching behaviour through the lens of Markedness Theory. In this framework, every language choice carries social meaning—whether marking in-group solidarity (unmarked choice) or social distance (marked choice). When Maya and Lina, the twins, use a Javanese-Madura mix as a 'secret code', they are making a highly marked choice, creating a strong in-group boundary.

Gal [53] in his study of language shift in Austria, emphasises the role of social networks. In Jember, we see a similar principle in the 'MLBB' gaming group. By creating an idiolect that unites English gaming terms with Javanese structures, they form a distinct 'community of practice' [54], where gamer identity overrides ethnic background.

Overall, the linguistic landscape of Jember is not just a simple reflection of Javanese-Madurese demographics, but an active arena where identities are negotiated, power is manifested, and solidarity is built-all through seemingly simple language choices.

The finding that 80% of children use regional languages exclusively at home confirms Fishman's [55] view that the family domain is the last bastion of minority language maintenance. In his influential book, 'Language Maintenance and Language Shift', Fishman argues that as long as a language remains a medium of inter-generational interaction within the family, its chances of survival are very high.

In Jember, we see a variety of family strategies in language transmission. Some, like Siti's parents, consciously encourage the use of Javanese krama, associating it with values such as intelligence and refinement. This reflects what King and Fogle [56] call 'parenting language policy', where parents actively shape their children's language environment.

Interestingly, 30% of families in Jember practice 'language compartmentalisation'—for example, Javanese with the mother, Madurese with the father. This is in line with the 'one parent, one language' strategy popular in bilingual families around the world. As pointed out by Yamamoto [57] in her study of Japanese-English families, this strategy can improve children's ability to differentiate and retain both languages.

However, not all language transmission is a conscious process. For many Jember families, regional language use seems to be more of a 'taken-for-granted practice', to use Bourdieu's [58] term. Parents do not explicitly teach the language; it is just 'the way they talk'. Paradoxically, as Kulick [59] found in his research in Papua New Guinea, this unconscious transmission is often most effective because it is fully integrated into everyday life.

Cases like Adi, who rejects Madurese, remind us that families can also be sites of language shift. Fishman warns of 'internalised shift' where younger family members gradually replace the minority language with the dominant language. In Jember, the desire for social mobility and 'global connectedness' seems to be driving some families to adopt Indonesian, mirroring Kulick's findings in Gapun village.

The dominance of the 'Indonesia-only policy' in Jember schools (4 out of 5 in our study) reflects the legacy of a national policy that has long favoured linguistic unity over diversity. This policy has its roots in the 1928 'Youth Pledge' and was reinforced during Soeharto's New Order era. As Errington [60] notes in 'Shifting

Languages', schools became the main agents in this nation-building project, with Indonesian as the tool.

However, our findings show that despite official policy, practice on the ground is more fluid. In 75% of classroom observations, teachers occasionally switched to regional languages to explain difficult concepts. This reflects what Lin [61] calls 'translanguaging pedagogy'—the flexible use of students' linguistic repertoires to maximise understanding. In Jember, Javanese words such as 'panganan' for food or Madurese terms such as 'bhâjhâng' for starting were used to make the lessons closer to students' everyday experiences.

Furthermore, the tolerance of regional languages outside the classroom-70% of interactions in canteens and corridors-demonstrates what Hornberger and Johnson [62] call 'implementation space'. While macro policies may seem rigid, at the micro level, there are spaces where teachers and students can renegotiate these rules. These spaces, though seemingly trivial, are potentially important loci for language maintenance and even revitalisation.

Schools that implement 'Local Language Days' offer an interesting alternative model. Such practices are in line with the 'allocated time and place' approach [63], which provides a clear and legitimised space for minority languages in the curriculum. In Hawaii and New Zealand, similar methods have been successful in reviving indigenous languages. In Jember, the initiative is still in its infancy, but the potential is significant.

The finding that 85% of Jember children watch YouTube primarily in Indonesian seems to support the 'cultural imperialism' thesis put forward by scholars such as Phillipson [64]. In the digital age, major languages associated with popular content tend to dominate, potentially eroding regional languages.

However, our data also suggests a more complex narrative. The fact that 40% of children listen to Javanese or Madurese songs on Spotify and 30% follow regional language TikTok accounts suggests that digital media can also be a tool for local identity expression. Cunningham [65] calls this phenomenon 'mediascapes', where smaller communities use technology to broadcast and reinforce their culture.

In Jember, indie musicians such as Ndarboy Genk (Javanese) and Madura United have found new audiences through streaming platforms. Funny videos in Javanese and Madurese have gone viral on TikTok. Online games even provide regional language options. This is in line with Jones's [66] findings in Wales, where social media has helped normalise the use of Welsh among teenagers.

Most interesting is the phenomenon of the 'MLBB' gaming group. By mixing English gaming terms into Javanese language structures, they create a unique 'technolect'. This reflects the concept of 'crossed languages' proposed by Rampton [67] to describe the creative use of linguistic resources in the formation of new identities. In Jember, the 'gamer' identity does not replace ethnic identity but instead adds an additional layer, demonstrating how regional languages can adapt and remain relevant in the digital age.

The patterns of language use revealed in this study give us a unique window into identity construction and social dynamics in Jember. So far, both Javanese and Madurese seem to retain a strong vitality, with 70.2% of respondents identifying one

of them as their primary language. Beneath this surface, however, there are complex currents of change.

The case of Adi, who rejects Madurese in favour of urban aspirations, reflects the phenomenon Bourdieu [68] calls 'linguistic capital'. In Bourdieu's view, language is a form of symbolic capital; some varieties carry more prestige and, therefore, opportunities for social mobility. In Jember, there seems to be a perceived hierarchy where Indonesian is seen as the 'language of progress'. This attitude, if pervasive, could threaten the cohesion of the Madurese community.

In contrast, Siti, with her consistent use of Javanese krama, demonstrates an active defence of the traditional value system. In Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's [69] 'acts of identity' framework, her language choice is a deliberate statement of who she is and which group she wants to associate with. This suggests that even among children, language can be used as a tool to project social status.

The finding that 60% of children have been teased for their 'kampung accent' is particularly concerning. It reflects what Labov [70] calls 'linguistic insecurity', the feeling that one's language variety does not fulfil the norms of the wider community. In Jember, this insecurity seems to be rooted in a perceived urban-rural dichotomy. Ironically, in an attempt to 'look smart' and avoid stigmatisation, some children may be further distancing themselves from their cultural heritage.

However, not all peer pressure is homogenising. The fact that 25% are proud to use a regional language as a 'gang identity' demonstrates the potential of language to build micro-solidarities. As Gumperz [71] observed in his study on 'social networks and language choice', cohesive peer groups can become spaces of linguistic resistance, where non-standard varieties become symbols of pride.

The case of Maya and Lina, twins who use a Javanese-Madura blend as a 'secret code', is a shining example of the 'secret' function of language. In Jakobson's 'Functions of Language' [72], this function is called the 'phatic function', where language is used not for information but to build, maintain or break relationships. The twins' choice of language strengthens their bond while establishing boundaries with outsiders.

Rudi's experience, who was compelled to learn Madurese to 'survive' in a new environment, fits with Giles and Ogay's 'Communication Accommodation Theory' [73]. This theory explains how individuals adjust their speech styles—including language choices—to reduce or increase social distance. Rudi, by adopting Madurese, performs 'convergence' to be accepted.

The dual impact of globalisation and urbanisation on regional languages is very evident in Jember. Appadurai [74] in 'Modernity at Large' discusses five dimensions of global flows: ethnoscapes, technoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes. In Jember, we see all of these influencing language use.

Urbanisation is changing ethnoscapes, bringing more Javanese-Madurese interaction and encouraging some, like Adi, to abandon regional languages in favour of 'city living'. Technoscapes and mediascapes dominated by Indonesian and English, as seen by 85% of YouTube consumption being in Indonesian, have the potential to erode regional language use.

However, digital media also opens up opportunities. As Cunliffe [75] argues, social media allows 'micro-celebrities' to promote regional languages. In Jember,

local TikTok musicians and influencers are proving this, making Javanese and Madurese 'cool' again. This phenomenon reflects what Cru [76] calls 'digital vernacularisation'—the process by which technology encourages the use of the vernacular.

The impact of globalisation is also visible in the gaming domain. The 'MLBB' group with its unique technolect shows how global identity (gamers) can blend with local expression (Javanese language structure). This corresponds to Robertson's [77] concept of 'glocalisation', where global trends are appropriated and given new meaning in local contexts.

In summary, this vast literature provides a rich framework for interpreting the sociolinguistic dynamics in Jember. From classic theories such as Ferguson's diglossia to contemporary concepts such as glocalisation, each lens offers unique insights into how primary school children navigate and reshape their complex language landscape.

The findings of our research in Jember have broad and significant implications for language and education policy in multicultural contexts. Here are some of the key implications:

5.1. Language policy in schools

A. Reviewing the 'Indonesia-only' Policy

The dominance of the 'Indonesian-only' policy in Jember schools needs to be reviewed. While the use of Indonesian is important for national unity and access to higher education, our research shows that the exclusive use of Indonesian can hinder students' understanding of concepts and active participation.

B. Implementation of the multilingual approach

Schools in Jember and other multicultural areas need to consider implementing a more inclusive multilingual approach. This could include:

a) The use of Javanese and Madurese as the language of instruction in the early grades (grades 1–3) before transitioning to Bahasa Indonesia.
b) The introduction of bilingual or trilingual programmes that integrate Indonesian, Javanese and Madurese in a balanced way.
c) Development of learning materials that reflect local linguistic diversity.

C. Teacher Training for Translanguaging Pedagogy

Teachers need to be equipped with translanguaging pedagogy skills. This involves training on how to strategically use multiple languages in teaching to enhance students' understanding and bridge the gap between home and school languages.

5.2. Curriculum Development

A. Integration of Local Content

The curriculum needs to be revised to integrate more local content that reflects the cultural and linguistic richness of Jember. This could include:

a) Modules on Javanese and Madurese history and culture in Jember.
b) The use of folklore and local literature in language lessons.

c) Projects that encourage students to explore and document language practices in their communities.

B. Development of Multilingual Literacy

The literacy programme in schools should be expanded to include literacy in Javanese and Madurese, not just Indonesian. This could involve:

a) The introduction of the Javanese writing system (Javanese script) and the development of reading and writing skills in Madurese.
b) Cross-language projects that encourage students to translate or adapt texts between Indonesian, Javanese and Madurese.

5.3. The role of family in language preservation

A. Parent Education Programmes

a) Given the crucial role of the family in language transmission, educational programmes for parents need to be developed. These could include:
b) Workshops on the importance of mother tongue preservation and the benefits of multilingualism.
c) Practical guidelines to support children's language development at home.
d) Establishment of a parent support group to share strategies and resources.

B. Promotion of 'Family Language Policy'

Encouraging families to adopt a conscious family language policy, such as the 'one parent, one language' strategy found to be effective in our study.

5.4. Utilisation of technology and media

A. Development of Local Digital Content

Given the high consumption of digital media among Jember children, there is an urgent need to develop more quality content in Javanese and Madurese. This could include:

a) Interactive language learning applications.
b) Educational YouTube channels in local languages.
c) Podcasts and audiobooks in Javanese and Madurese.

B. Collaboration with Local Influencers

Work with local 'micro-celebrities' on platforms such as TikTok and Instagram to promote the use of local languages and create content that appeals to children and teenagers. c) Gamification of Language Learning: Develop educational games that integrate Javanese and Madurese, capitalising on the popularity of gaming among children.

5.5. Linguistic policy in public spaces

A. Multilingual Signage

Encourage the use of multilingual signage in public spaces, including schools, to increase the visibility and prestige of local languages.

B. Local Radio and TV Programmes

Strengthen support for radio and TV programmes in Javanese and Madurese, especially those targeted at children and youth.

5.6. Language research and documentation

A. Participatory Documentation Projects

Engage students and communities in language documentation projects, such as the creation of a community dictionary or the collection of local stories.

B. Longitudinal Research

Conduct longitudinal studies to track changes in language use and language attitudes over time, providing richer data for policy makers.

5.7. Community empowerment

A. Language and Culture Festival

Organise festivals that celebrate Jember's linguistic diversity, engaging schools and communities in performances, competitions and exhibitions that promote local languages.

B. Language Mentor Programme

Establish a programme where fluent speakers of Javanese and Madurese (including parents and grandparents) become mentors to children, creating a space for intergenerational language transmission beyond the nuclear family.

5.8. Linguistic sensitivity training

A. Linguistic Anti-Discrimination Workshop

Organise workshops for teachers, students and the general public on the dangers of linguistic stereotyping and language-based discrimination.

B. Promotion of Linguistic Equality

Develop a public awareness campaign that promotes the idea that all languages have intrinsic value and contribute to the cultural richness of the region.

The implementation of these recommendations requires collaboration between various stakeholders, including education policy makers, school administrators, teachers, parents and local communities. This holistic approach is essential to ensure that Jember's linguistic richness is not only maintained, but also thrives amidst the challenges of globalisation and urbanisation.

By implementing these strategies, Jember can become a model for other multicultural regions in Indonesia in terms of how to manage linguistic diversity in an inclusive and productive manner, ensuring that future generations do not lose their cultural roots while remaining able to compete on the national and global stage.

6. Conclusion

This research reveals a complex and dynamic sociolinguistic landscape in Jember, an area where Javanese and Madurese cultures meet. Primary school children show remarkable proficiency in navigating between Javanese, Madurese and Indonesian, adapting their linguistic choices to various social contexts. Our findings confirm the existence of diglossia between Indonesian as the 'high' variety in formal domains, such as education, and Javanese and Madurese as the 'low' variety in everyday interactions. However, the relationship between Javanese and Madurese itself is more complex and egalitarian, suggesting what we refer to as 'nested diglossia'.

While local languages are still strong in the domain of family and informal interactions, with 80% of children using them exclusively at home, the influence of school policies and the penetration of digital media are increasingly driving the use of Indonesian. This phenomenon reflects the tension between local identity and the national and global demands that children face in the modern era.

Through the lens of translanguaging, these practices can be understood not simply as signs of linguistic disorder or deficit, but rather as intelligent and adaptive communicative strategies. By utilizing the entirety of their linguistic repertoire, children actively construct identities, negotiate social relationships, and engage with the world around them.

The study reveals several key findings:

1) Families play a vital role in language maintenance, with various language transmission strategies implemented.
2) Schools, although predominantly using Indonesian, show flexibility in teaching practices with the use of 'translanguaging pedagogy'.
3) Digital media has a dual role—on the one hand encouraging the use of Indonesian, but also providing new platforms for local language expression.
4) Children show high linguistic creativity, seen in the formation of a unique 'technolect' within the gaming community.
5) Peer pressure has a significant impact on language choice, both encouraging the use of Indonesian and reinforcing local identity.

The practical implications of these findings are significant and multidimensional:

1) Language Policy: Policymakers need to review the 'single language' rule in schools, adopt a multilingual approach that values and integrates local languages in the curriculum.
2) Educational Practices: Educators can use Javanese and Madurese as effective teaching tools, rather than simply being objects of tolerance. Teacher training in translanguaging pedagogy is recommended.
3) Role of Families: Parent education programmes are needed to encourage consistent use of local languages at home, building pride in linguistic heritage.
4) Utilisation of Technology: Digital content development in local languages and collaboration with local influencers can strengthen the relevance of local languages in the digital age.
5) Public Policy: The implementation of multilingual signage and support for local media can increase the visibility and prestige of local languages.

For future research, we recommend:

1) Longitudinal studies to track changes in children's language choices and attitudes over time.
2) Inter-generational comparisons to understand the long-term trajectories of Javanese and Madurese in Jember.
3) Research on the effectiveness of school-based interventions in local language maintenance.
4) Further exploration of the role of technology in the formation of new language practices among children.

5) Comparative studies with other multicultural regions in Indonesia to identify effective language maintenance patterns and strategies.

In conclusion, this study provides an in-depth view of the complexity and dynamism of language use among primary school children in Jember. The findings contribute significantly to our understanding of how language shapes and is shaped by changing social realities. More than just a linguistic description, this study highlights the central role of language in identity negotiation, community formation, and adaptation to modernity in areas of cultural encounter.

By understanding these dynamics, we can design more effective policies and practices to nurture linguistic richness while preparing younger generations for global challenges. This research confirms that in the context of Jember, and perhaps in many other multicultural regions, multilingualism is not only a reality, but also an asset that needs to be valued and nurtured for a more inclusive and diverse future.

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Notes

[1] English: “Let’s buy some food at the grocery store”.
[2] English: “I want to eat fried rice”.
[3] English: “I went to the dentist yesterday”.
[4] English: “I don’t like playing there”.
[5] English: “If you don’t want to, that’s fine”.

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