
Language Socialization and Family Value in Maintaining Local Dialect: a Case of Tengger Community

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Abstract

Tengger community is one of the cultural communities who live surrounding Bromo Mountain. They held their tradition tightly specifically on preserving Tengger dialect. This study focuses on the value that held by the parents who socialize Tengger community to their children. Language socialization, a part of linguistic anthropology study, is used as the theoretical framework to find the goal of this research. Ethnographic method was used to support the writer in collecting the data. This study involved combination between library research, interview, and participant observation in Tengger community. The study was spent one month participation observation in Ngadisari, Probolinggo, East Java. The writer took five families and their children. They were interviewed and observed. The result indicated that nowadays, Tengger community in fact is a multilingual community. There is more than one language developed inside the community. There are *kawilanguage*, Javanese *kromomadyo*, Indonesian, and also English. But, because of each of Tengger parents uphold and respect Tengger dialect, it becomes the first priority language that they socialize to their children. Although they are so open to outside world and modernization, it does not make them left Tengger dialect behind. It is because Tengger community obey and respect local customs including Tengger dialect. The cohesiveness of community in socializing Tengger dialect began from community, educational environment and also the community makes Tengger dialect preserved and maintained

Keywords: language maintenance, language socialization, parents' value, Tengger community

Introduction

Indonesia is a country that has numerous cultures. There are more than hundreds of ethnic groups in this country (Rukhsan, 2007). For all types of ethnic that exist in it, each culture has its own characteristics. One example of the ethnic groups in Indonesia is a tribe which resides at the foothill of Bromo Mountain, named as Tengger community. It is a community which still retains and grants their traditions tightly. They hold the value of honesty and sincerity in socializing with the same race and the outsiders. The atmosphere of peace, safety, and full of tolerance is also reflected and preserved in each of the individual of Tengger people (Sutarto, 2006).

Further, Tengger community is also a community who is open to outsiders. They receive the modernization, technology and also the people that come from the outside of their region. Santoso, et al (2012) argues that there is no border that limits the interaction between Tengger community and the outsiders. There is no any formal circumstance for the outsiders when they want to visit Tengger region. Everyone can come to Tengger freely as long as they respect the beliefs and values there.

However, even though Tengger people are so open to the outsiders and modernization, they still maintain their beliefs and values tightly (Santoso, et al, 2012). One of the evidences is reflected in the way they speak to the outsiders and to each other member of the community. It appears that almost all of Tengger community members can speak Indonesian and even several of them can speak English. Nevertheless, Tengger people will use only Tengger dialect when they speak to the members of their own community in any condition and location. They use Indonesian and English only when speaking to visitors. So, the phenomenon represents that the local dialect is one of the most important aspects of culture in Tengger community. The socialization of the importance of local dialect can

only be done through language socialization by parents to their children in their very early age. This fact encourages the writer to conduct a study of language socialization in Tengger community. On this occasion, the writer would like to observe Tengger community to find out what is the value held by parents about their local dialect and how that value is implemented in the way they socialize the language to their children.

Language socialization describes the condition of a new member in a community through his or her competence in linguistics related to the cultural context in their community and “it is focused on how children are socialized through the use of language as well as how children are socialized to use language” (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1986). Practically, language socialization is not only bounded in the child’s development in a community, but also investigates socialization of language throughout children’s social contexts and social experiences. Jones and Morris (2005) also stated that, the focus of language socialization is centered in the family area where the parents in the family play a role as the facilitators of language socialization to their children from their earliest age. In this case, language socialization depends on the parents and the parents’ value of the language.

The parent’s value is a value held by the parents about the local language that they use (Jones and Morris, 2005). It is obviously affected by the value and belief held by the community (Hamida, 2011). One parent will socialize their local language to their children if they value that the local language that they use is an important thing and should be preserved. Therefore, the parent’s value makes parent determine whether to socialize local language or not to their children. It is the language policy decided by the parents that will then influence the maintenance of the local language.

Language maintenance describes about how a local community preserves their language from the treatment which comes out from the inside or outside of the community which can endanger the local language. Mesthrie (in Zhang, 1999) stated that language maintenance is “the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially powerful or numerically stronger language”. The role of the parent’s value in the maintenance of local language is very significant. It will determine whether the local language will be maintained or loss (Spolsky 2004, p 4). It is because the role of a parent or a family is the first and the center of children’s interaction in a community (Jones and Morris, 2005, p 2).

There have been several researches conducted about language socialization alone or in relation to the parent’s value of language and language maintenance. Among many are Smith-Hefner’s (1988), Jones and Morris’s (2005), Hamida’s (2011). Firstly, Smith-Hefner (1988) observed two communities; urban area (Ciliwung) and rural area (Tengger). In her study entitled *The Linguistic Socialization of Javanese Children in Two Communities*, she reported that in socializing language there are little differences in the form of talk addressed to children that has not been able to speak yet at Tengger and Ciliwung sites, with the exception perhaps that Tengger caregivers seem to talk even less with their infants than do Ciliwung caregivers. This fact may in part be a reflection of the more rural nature of the Tengger community. Next, Jones and Morris (2005) stated that the language socialization in Welsh is established from the children’s earliest year of their age. In their report entitled *Welsh Language Socialization within the Family*, they stated that families that were observed in their study indicated that Welsh-speaking mothers do the language socialization more significant than fathers do. It is because the mothers are child’s primary caregivers, and spending more time than the fathers do. The use of Welsh to children is considered to be one of the ways to preserve the Welsh language. The last related study is a study that was conducted by Hamida (2011). In her report entitled *Family Values in the Maintenance of Local/Home Language*, Hamida conveyed that the policy of parents’ language socialization practices are endorsed by the value they hold as considering Javanese language as part of Javanese culture. It appears that maintaining Javanese is an action of preserving Javanese cultural identity and therefore Javanese should be transmitted from generation to generation. Values held by parents are determined by many factors including linguistic and professional experiences. Parents’ attitude toward the preservation of local language must be supported by government policy as it is for the parents and family children learn their first words.

Nevertheless, among the researches about language socialization which have been conducted formerly, there has been less information about how the language socialization of local dialect in

Tengger community can lead to the maintenance of the local language. Smith-Hefner (1988) showed only the language socialization through children and the observation was also conducted in the long range of time in 1988. There might have been several changes in Tengger community that have not been observed yet now. It provides an empty space for the writer to conduct a study in Tengger community in the field of language socialization. Next, the place of observation that had been conducted by Jones and Morris (2005), and Hamida (2011) is not the same place that will be observed by the writer. So that, although both researches were conducted in the current years, but the result certainly will not be the same. For those reasons, writer would like to observe the linguistic aspect of Tengger community, particularly in the term of language socialization that leads to the maintenance of Tengger dialect.

Methodology

This research is mainly aimed to find the parent's value that is reflected in the way they socialize Tengger dialect to their children and to find how the socialization of local language lead to maintenance of local dialect in Tengger. For those results, writer would need interviews, observation, and other various data of texts. So that, by considering those needs, in conducting this research, the writer would like to use a qualitative approach as Dörnyei (2007) argued that, naturally qualitative approach with ethnographic approach is an approach that works with a wide range of data including recorded interviews, various types of text, and recorded data.

In collecting the data, the writer spent one-month library research and longitudinal observation. It was divided into three parts. The first part, first weeks, was used for observing community and finding the informant from Tengger Community. Then, the second week was used for collecting the information about Tengger community from the library and internet. This step is useful for the writer in defining whether Tengger community as a speech community. This process also helped the writer to learn more about the Tengger community in terms of culture, language, and religion. Therefore, by doing this step, the writer could conduct the observation easier. Finally, the third and fourth week were used for observing and interviewing the participants in Tengger.

In finding the participant, the writer chose Mr. Pono, who was also as the participant, as the writer's informant. Further, luckily, the writer also got Mr. Pono's house as the writer's residence while doing participant observation there. Then, Mr. Pono, himself also has four participants who are three close friends and a sister of him. Their criteria matched with the study's requirement and their houses were located close to Mr. Pono's house. Then, semi-structured interviews were conducted toward participants in their houses. The questions asked toward parents in this section were designed in semi-structured questions. The result in this section is expected to provide information about the age of children, their activities, parents' daily life and their knowledge community's local dialect. After initial interviews had been conducted, the writer continued to involve himself in informally conversation within the family. While that situation was being held, the writer also did audio recording and took a field note toward the dialogue between parents and their children. The result of this section is expected to show parents' consistency of their answers in the initial interviews.

No	Family members' name		
	Child 's name and age	Father's name	Mother's name
1	Karlina5thn	Sutiksan	Indrawati
2	Diva Natalia 4thn	Marnoto	Darmawati
3	Tanu7thn	Pono	Tayu
4	AyundaPritaPrasasti	EnggalSampurno	Ririn Sri Winarsih
5	Gangga 11 bulan	PutuEgi	Reni

Table 1: summary profile of children's family

Tengger Dialect Socialization in Tengger Community

Language socialization did not only occur within the family environment, it also happened in Tengger community environment. In Tengger community environment, every child receives social support in their Tengger dialect socialization process. All residents agreed to talk to anyone as long as he is still a member of Tengger community. Sometimes, usually parents ask their children to cultivate the fields. There, they helped their parents such as bringing food, drink, and preparing parents equipment. In some moments, there must be happened a process of interaction between the children with their parents, peers, or with elder people in the fields. In these interactions, they use the Tengger dialect as their primary language. The conversations that happened between children and older people in that condition would go well because even though they are speaking in cross-ages, they do not need to worry about diction to show the politeness. Diva's father said that the absence of the speech level in Tengger makes children easier to communicate with adults in the community. Obviously, this makes them much easier and faster in acquiring Tengger dialect-speaking ability.

Furthermore, language socialization of Tengger dialect also found in the children's educational environment, for example in temple or in elementary school when Tengger custom lesson is being held. In such situations, they would use Tengger dialect as instruction language. Though the *kawi* language is used when they are studying holy book *wreda*, the language of instruction used in material discussion is definitely the Tengger dialect.

Shortly, Tengger dialect socialization occurs in various lines of children's lives, both in the family, society, and also the educational environment. The way they socialize their children from childhood, and then proceed with the process in the educational environment and the community, is a very significant way to the development of language acquired by children. In addition, without realizing their language socialization process, they actually did something significant which causing positive impact on language maintenance in the Tengger community.

Parents' Value Toward Tengger Dialect

Before going further, firstly the writer would like to show brief explanation about each family who participated in this study.

Family 1 (Tano)	
Father's origin	Tengger, Ngadisari
Mother's origin	Tengger, Ngadisari
Father's job	Farmer, village government
Mother's job	Farmer
Father's name	Mr. Pono
Mother's name	Mrs. Tayu
Father's language proficiency	Tengger dialect, Javanese kromomadyo, Indonesian
Mother's language proficiency	Tengger dialect, Javanese kromomadyo, Indonesian
Child's age	7 years old
Family 2 (Diva Natalia)	
Father's origin	Tengger, Ngadisari
Mother's origin	Tengger, Ngadisari
Father's job	Farmer
Mother's job	Farmer
Father's name	Mr. Marnoto
Mother's name	Mrs. Darmawati
Father's language proficiency	Tengger Dialect, Javanese kromomadyo, Indonesian
Mother's language proficiency	Tengger dialect, Javanese kromomadyo, Indonesian

Child's age	5 years old
Family 3 (Ayunda P. P.)	
Father's origin	Tengger, Wonotoro
Mother's origin	Tengger, Ngadisari
Father's job	Farmer and horses rental
Mother's job	Farmer
Father's name	Mr. EnggalSampurno
Mother's name	Mrs. RirinWinarsih
Father's language proficiency	Tengger dialect, Javanese kromomadyo, Indonesian
Mother's language proficiency	Tengger dialect, Javanese kromomadyo, Indonesian
Child's age	7 years old
Family 4 (Gangga)	
Father's origin	Bali
Mother's origin	Tengger, Ngadisari
Father's job	Teacher
Mother's job	Teacher
Father's name	Mr. PutuEdiantara
Mother's name	Mrs. Reni
Mother's language proficiency	Tengger dialect, Javanese kromomadyo, Indonesian
Child's age	11 months old
Family 5 (Karlina)	
Father's origin	Tengger, Ngadisari
Mother's origin	Tengger, Ngadisari
Father's job	Farmer
Mother's job	Farmer
Father's name	Mr. Indrawati
Mother's name	Mrs. Sutiksan
Mother's language proficiency	Tengger dialect, Javanese kromomadyo, Indonesian
Child's age	5yearsold

Table 2: Family members' identities

Just like in other places, there are many ways in which a community valuing their local language. It is as noted in the two researches about language socialization research entitled *Welsh Language Socialization within the Family* research conducted by Jones and Morris (2005), and *Family Values in the Maintenance of Local/Home Language* which was conducted in Surabaya by Hamida (2011).

Jones and Morris (2005) concluded that the most powerful thing that encourages parents to teach Welsh language to their children is the value of identity. This encourages several parents to be keen in teaching Welsh language to their children. They also send their children to schools that teach Welsh language in it. While the next values that encourage parents in Welsh to socialize their local language are the value of language as a community language, and social language. Meanwhile, Hamida (2011) said that, one thing that encourages people in Surabaya to learn the Javanese is the value of their cultural identity. They thought that by leaving the Java language it means that they will eliminate the existence of their root culture.

The same as preliminary explanation, there is also differences point of views of Tengger parents in valuing Tengger dialect. By referencing to the observation data, the writer concludes that there are three types of parents' value which is held by Tengger parents toward Tengger dialect. They are

language as identity, culture, and social equality. For making the explanation briefer, those values will be explained in the following table.

The Socialization of Tengger Dialect and The Maintenance of The Local Language

The consequence of Tengger people's obedience toward Tengger culture causes them willingly respects and upholds the Tengger culture including language in the Tengger. They respect and uphold the values that exist in the Tengger dialect. Although it has many ways of valuing the Tengger dialect, but can be inferred from all values - identity, culture, and togetherness - encourage Tengger people to continue to socialize Tengger dialect from one generation to the next begun from each family.

Then, the powerful Tengger language socialization in the family makes the first language mastered by the child is Tengger dialect. Further, deciding Tengger language as the main language inside the family is also a determinant of children's process in acquiring language at the next age. That's because the family is the center and get a child beginning language (Jones and Morris, 2005) before other later environments. As for the effects of the media consumed by children such as television, video, or video game toward children's language development, is only useful as entertainment and will not affect them in the way they acquire Tengger dialect.

Further, the way parents consider their children as agents of communication is also a major influence in the development of children's language. Thus, communication between parents and children become more frequent so that the children can learn faster Tengger dialect. Shortly, language socialization in the family environment can sustain Tengger dialect from the influences of the media that children consumed. Parents' decision to more often to communicate with their children can prevent the derangement caused by the media toward Tengger dialect developed within the family. The last, parents' decision to socialize Tengger dialect to their children makes their children decide to use Tengger language as the main language in their daily life inside the community.

Language socialization also happened in the children's educational environment. In *pure* (temple), they are always taught religion by using Tengger dialect as introductory material. Tengger language socialization in the educational environment has a role as a preventive against the influence of dominant language such as of Indonesian and *kawi* language to the development and retention of Tengger dialect.

Finally, the role of language socialization in community is used as advanced step in children's language socialization in the larger environment. Before school age, Tengger children are usually brought to the farm to join farming with the society. There, they socialize with others infants and also adults. Indeed, they use Tengger dialect as the only language used in communication. The absence of speech level in the Tengger dialect facilitates children to talk with older adults easily. They are not hindered by the difficulty in determining whether to be polite or impolite in which decided by the selection of words. Therefore, the language socialization process runs smoothly from time to time until they are adult. Of course, this process strongly supports the retention of the local language in the Tengger community.

The language socialization process that developed in the community environment is useful as retention from "outside" languages that come into the community. This process prevents the influence of language coming from the outside like English and other foreign languages which threatens the local language in Tengger. It is the last and most significant of the process of language socialization than any other environments in Tengger. It is because the community environment is a place for gathering any kind of people, both local people as well as outsiders. Consequently, in that environment, the strength of the local language is tested by other languages. The more Tengger dialect socialized, the stronger language maintenance will be made, and vice versa.

Conclusion

Tengger community is a community that has openness to modernization both brought by the media or the people who come there. Furthermore, Tengger is a main route to Mt Bromo. So a new culture and a new language can easily get into the Tengger region. However, those situations do not affect the Tengger people in carrying out their cultural percepts. They remain firm in the teachings of indigenous cultures which exist there. That is because their obedience to the local custom is so high

and makes every individual of the community to be a good agent of Tengger culture. Their simplicity in living life also supports them in preserving cultural survival. In economic needs, for example, they do not necessarily abandon their culture in order to gain the necessities of life. Moreover, their adherence to the culture of Tengger also turned out very big influence on their perspectives on local languages that is used there, the Tengger dialect. Their adherence to culture makes them respect and preserve the Tengger dialect until this day. Although there are many languages that come in their environment, the Tengger dialect remains the number one choice of language used in their lives.

Livelihoods and the parent's background in Tengger give a big hand in making them to have different ways of valuing the Tengger dialect. From all the parents who participated in this study, the authors can conclude that there are three categories of parents' values of Tengger dialect, namely the identity, the cultural value and the values of social equality. Furthermore, the value that grown within each parent continues to encourage him or her to realize the importance of Tengger dialect in the continuation of Tengger culture. They also realized that it is very useful for their children's future to socialize in Tengger. Therefore, they socialize Tengger language to their children started since they are small inside their own families and continued to their educational and society environment.

From all the socialization process that exists in Tengger community, it is clear that the language of the Tengger will continue to survive as long as one of the processes that occur does not lose. It is because one process with others will support each other in the running of language socialization of Tengger. If all the processes is well, then the openness held by every person of Tengger community in the modernization of the media and other people brought, mayl not effectively affect their culture. Therefore, Tengger language will survive and become number one in their neighborhood compared to other languages.

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