PLURILINGUAL SOCIETIES WITH MIGRANT LANGUAGES IN KARIMUNJAWA, INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Karimunjawa is inhabited by Javanese, Buginese, Maduranese, etcetera. They live harmoniously in the surrounding not only with the same language but also with different ones. This article aims at elaborating the interlingual communication and intercultural discourse, mutual comprehensibility, and language transgenerational process. Using convenient, snowball, and event sampling techniques, we chose the respondents -- 12 out of 23 students of the Safinatul Huda Senior and Junior High school students whose parents are intercultural and the twelve students' parents. We used observation, questionnaire, and interview to gather the data. The observation was used to record the situation when the respondents were communicating each other using different languages. The questionnaire was used to ask the respondents' sociolinguistic profiles and multilingual competences, while the interview was used to confirm the use of different languages and the trans-generational process of language maintenance. Referential, inferential, and distributional methods were used. The result shows that intercultural communication implies intercultural discourse and mutual intelligibility of not only the same codes or languages but also different ones. Children are exposed to bahasa Indonesia as the first language and language of instruction at school. This study can support Stevens (2008) proposing mutual comprehensibility supporting Hocket's mutual intelligibility.

Keywords: intercultural; plurilingual; mutual comprehensibility; Karimunjawa

1. INTRODUCTION

Karimunjawa, located in the north coast of central Java Indonesia, is an archipelagic sub district of Jepara regency of central Java, Indonesia, consisting of 27 islands. It attracts people to come not only for recreation due to its beauty but also for a better life because of its rich resources. Its beauty attracts visitors to enjoy the view, the sea, and the plurality of the ethnicity. In

addition, its richness can attract visitors to enjoy the fish not only for family consumption but also for family income.

To get more family income in Karimunjawa happened not only at present but also in the past when fishermen coming from Borneo, Celebes and other regions, migrating to Karimunjawa. In Karimunjawa, in the beginning of their settlement, they interacted with local people, Javanese people residing years there; they blended with them to be a part of Karimunjawa community. The migration happened in the XV century (Kesuma, 2004). They migrated then settled in Karimunjawa to build a new life by marrying the local people of Karimunjawa. Year by year, they have had children and grandchildren, that this becomes the background why Karimunjawa becomes a place for more various plurilingual society.

In Indonesia, plurilingual communities exist everywhere because they have at least two different languages in their communication. Sometimes, they communicate using *bahasa Indonesia* and local languages interchangeably at the same time. When someone, for example, uses Javanese talking to his/her friend, but his/her friend answers in *bahasa Indonesia.* Alternatively, they switch or mix their languages. However, what happens in Karimunjawa is a bit different from what happens in other areas in Indonesia. The difference is in the number of the languages and the language origins. In terms of their number, languages in Karimunjawa can be identified as Javanese, Buginese, Maduranese, Bau-baunese, Bajonese, for instance; in terms of their origins, the main languages used mostly came from Borneo, Celebes including Wakatobi, and Madura beside Javanese as the primary language of Karimunjawa as a part of Central Java.

Javanese as the biggest local language having the biggest number of speakers in Indonesia shows its strength in Karimunjawa as one of the sub-districts of Jepara regency consisting of 27 islands located in the north coast of Central Java, Indonesia. Javanese is competing with migrant languages coming from Borneo and Celebes like Buginese, Bau-baunese, Wakatobenese, which is automatically competing with *bahasa* Indonesia as the national language and language of instruction. In this case, does Javanese decrease its strength?

Karimunjawa is now resided by 4861 people of different ethnic groups among other things Javanese, Buginese, Bajonese, Mandarese, Wakatobinese, Butonese. The ethnic groups inhabit only five out of twenty-seven islands namely, Karimunjawa, Kemujan, Nyamuk, Parang, Genting spreading in Java Sea. The ethnic groups originally came from different regions of Borneo and Celebes and migrated to Karimunjawa for different reasons. This indicates that in Karimunjawa there are Javanese, the biggest language, and other languages with different numbers of the speakers.

In the beginning of their settlement in Karimunjawa, they used their home local languages. However, they become familiar with Javanese, and now they even use Javanese in their conversations among family members and even outside home. Beside Javanese, Buginese is the strongest. Both languages, Javanese and Buginese are learned by their children.

From the title, there are two highlights namely Karimunjawa and plurilingualism. Karimunjawa has been studied by other scholars like Suliyati (2016) investigating Karimunjawa from the inter-ethnic pattern of communication by showing several families using different languages. Rochwulaningsih et. al (2014) studied Karimunjawa from central-peripheral relationships between Karimunjawa island as the centre while Kemujan, Nyamuk, Genting, and Parang islands as the periphery in terms of the relationship patterns studied from social-political, and geographical location focusing on the political and economic domination. Rochwulaningsih (2015) also studied Parang island from how social and cultural values affected what happened in Parang island related to educational values due to inconsistency of the supporting educational resources such as teachers due to natural problems hindering

teachers from going to Parang Island. The lack of teachers can trigger the awareness of Parang community to have self-reliance to fulfill their needs. This current study has a different focus from those studies. This current study focuses on mutual intelligibility of different languages namely Javanese, *bahasa Indonesia,* and migrant languages consisting of those languages brought by their ancestors to Karimunjawa from Borneo, Celebes, or other islands in Indonesia. Besides, this study focuses on their policy in choosing language due to various languages found in their environment and the intercultural families' policy in exposing languages to children for maintaining purposes.

Plurilingualism can be seen as a characteristic of Karimunjawa due to various ethnic groups living in the district. We can find not only Javanese but also Maduranese, Mandarese, Buginese, Wakatobinese, Bau-baunese, Bajonese. Plurilingualism has been studied by other scholars in other countries such as Voipio-Huovinen and Maisa Martin (2012) investigating the teachers' perception toward the immigrant students' plurilingualism. The result of the study shows that the teachers were confused with the immigrant students' plurilinguality indicating ability to speak different languages. The confusion is triggered by the government policy stating that Finnish is the mandatory language which does not accommodate other languages at schools. Another study was done by Meyer, Gekeler, Manger, and Urank (2013) investigating the teachers' perceptions on the students' plurilinguality and multilinguality in European schools. Plurilingualism studied in this current research is what happened in Karimunjawa, Indonesia, where the communities are mostly fishermen originally from Borneo and Celebes islands, migrating to Karimunjawa approximately in the 15th century.

To study Karimunjawa, I focused on the societies living in Kemujan, Karimunjawa, and Nyamuk islands due to their availability of the data. Parang and Genting have not been explored yet due to time limitation and uniformity of the data based on the information gathered. Since the biggest population inhabit Kemujan and Karimunjawa, the study focuses on Kemujan and Karimunjawa, while the study in Nyamuk is only for confirmation. This study focuses on the intercultural communication, interactional discourse, and children's language competence, and language transgenerational process.

Discussing plurilingualism, we have to discuss multilingualism. Plurilingualism is distinguished from multilingualism (Rosello, 2012). According to Council of Europe (2001) in Otwinowska-Kasztelanic (2012:38), plurilingualism refers to someone's ability to communicate with people from different cultural backgrounds, while multilingualism refers to knowledge of different languages of people as a social group. This implies that plurilingual people will be automatically multilingual and pluricultural in the sense that they understand the cultural values represented by the languages they know. What is accepted and what is not accepted represented by the language can be the bases for consideration in using language. As plurilingual, maybe a person does not have the same degree of abilities of different languages s/he knows. S/he may be really good at a certain language, but not really good at another one. In other words, some people may have both production and comprehension ability of a certain language, but some others may have only comprehension.

Communication can be successful if there is mutual intelligibility or comprehensibility. By mutual comprehensibility, people who interact each other can understand each other and can reach what they want (Stevens, 2008). Mutual intelligibility can be used to measure whether a certain code is a dialect of a language (Chambers & Trudgill, 2004:3). Chambers & Trudgill (2004) stated that measuring dialects as a part of language is not always easy. There are factors that can affect it namely not only linguistics but also politics. For example, linguistically, Malay has similarities with *bahasa Indonesia,* but they are categorized as different languages because they belong to different countries.

Furthermore, what is commonly proposed is dealing with mutual intelligibility which is built among speakers of the same code. However, what is studied in this current study is the society which is plurilingual but has mutual intelligibility. The members of the society can communicate using different languages. Based on the communication components proposed by Saville-Troike (2003) inspired by Dell Hymes' SPEAKING mnemonic into eleven components namely genre, topic, purpose or function setting, key, participants, message form, message content, act sequence, rules for interaction, and norms of interpretation, we can say that mutual intelligibility is not only built linguistically but also socio-linguistically and discourse strategically. This implies that mutual intelligibility has linguistic foundation, sociolinguistic pillar, and discourse strategy.

2. METHODS

This study was conducted in Karimunjawa sub-district especially Kemujan island, since Kemujan is the island whose residences show strong love to their original language even they live in the environment in which Javanese is the biggest number of the speakers. In Kemujan, we can find intercultural marriage like Javanese and Maduranese, Maduranese and Buginese, Javanese and Mandarese. Especially Buginese, in Kemujan, build "Kampung Bugis" to develop resorts and Buginese language in order to characterize Kemujan as the centre of Buginese.

The number of the language used in Kemujan is not as big as that in Karimunjawa island. We can find Buginese that becomes the second biggest language in Karimunjawa after Javanese. The respondents who are the students of junior and senior high schools of Safinatul Huda were chosen randomly using convenience, snowball, and availability sampling techniques. The criterion for choosing the object of the study is the mixed-marriage families. Therefore, only those whose parents are interethnic marriages.

To collect the data, we used three methods namely observation, interview, and questionnaire. There were 12 (twelve) cross-lingual families interviewed. The number was obtained by offering the children studying at junior and senior high schools of Safinatul Huda Karimunjawa located in Kemujan island. The school is the only school in Kemujan. There were 236 students studying at Safinatul Huda Foundation comprising 136 junior high school students and 100 senior high school students. Out of 236 students, there are 45 students whose parents are cross-ethnic marriage. From 45 students, 12 students were willing to be visited and interviewed. Therefore, we only visited those who were willing to accept our visit. The visit is intended to get the information related to the use of languages and their competences. We interviewed the children and their parents to triangulate the data. Triangulation was also done for analysis to get correct forms of Buginese and other languages which the researcher cannot speak or understand. The event sampling technique was used when schools are active so we can meet the respondents organized by the school master instead of vising them one by one.

The questions were related to their first and other languages they learn, their parents' origins, the way they got their language competences, the language used in their conversation, their ability in Javanese as the dominant language, and the ability of writing the languages they learn, for instance. Beside questionnaire, we used observation for looking at how interaction happens especially when they were using different languages but could understand each other. In other words, how mutual intelligibility is built even though the speakers are using different languages.

To check the translation of the data, the researchers used informants, the Buginese in order to get suitable translation. To explain inter-lingual communication, we used translation method in order to show how different languages were analyzed from linguistic point of view. It is to

confirm the correct form and meaning. We used abductive inferential technique (Krippendorff, 2004) for showing the mutual comprehensibility of the intercultural discourse.

The abductive inferential technique was used when not only analyzing the text, in this case, the conversation but also the context and the users' competences. The technique was used to confirm how and why mutual intellibility can happen.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Plurilingual society in Karimunjawa can be characterized from the ability of using more than one language beside *bahasa Indonesia.* The society can not only speak *bahasa Indonesia* but also their migrant languages and Karimunjawa local language including Javanese. Therefore, it can be seen in how they interact each other.

When communicating each other in a family, for example, they use different languages but understand each other. The ability of understanding each other can be reached since the speakers have the same background knowledge. From the background knowledge as context, they use easily the context that can help them grasp the meaning of the discourse which is going on. For example, a daughter in law, Javanese, speaking with a mother in law, Maduranese, can understand each other well. The question is how they can understand each other while using different languages. Javanese and Maduranese have different linguistic systems, but those can communicate, and the way to communicate is that they speak using different languages in their interaction. See the following fragment between Sobirin, Buginese husband and Kasiyatun, Javanese wife.

Husband (Buginese) : *Dek, mangkate lao Jepara?*
 Darling, depart to Jepara
 'Darling, may I go to Jepara?'

Wife (Jepara/Javanese) : *Iyo, kapan mangkatmu?*
 Yes, when   departure your
 'Yes, when will you leave?'

Husband (Buginess) : *so' Seneng.*
 next Monday
 'Next Monday'

Wife (Jepara / Javanese) : *Lha, barang   mu wis   mbok siapke durung?*
 PART belonging your already PART prepared yet
 'Have you prepared your belongings?'

Husband (Buginese) : *Matu'pi ako araweng di. Apa'na utajeng toi wak Dalang*
 Later only afternoon yes. Because I wait for Sir Dalang
 'Later, this afternoon because I have to wait for Mr. Dalang'
 aga yolo'.
 Also past

Wife (Jepara/Javanese) : mmm

Husband (Buginese) : *Makkasamang siseng pi (u)penno barak(ku)*
 Together   while only I drop off belonging my
 'I will go together to drop off my belongings too'

Wife (Jepara / Javanese : *Oo....Lha kancamu sopo?*

PART   friend your who
'then with whom will you go?'

Husband (Buginese)   : *Paling engka eppa tau kapang. Iya, wak Dalang,*
PART exist   four person seem I   Sir   Dalang
wak mail, wak Semmang.
Sir Mail, Sir   Semang
'It seems there are four people, me, Mr. Dalang, Mr. Mail,
and Mr. Semmang'

Wife (Jepara / Javanese)   :*Yo wes hati-hati yo lek mangkat*
Yes already careful yes PART leave
'OK, take care when leaving'

Husband (Buginese)   : *Iye'.*
yes
'Yes'.

Wife (Jepara / Javanese)   : *Lha, kamu sudah sampai sana belum?*
PART you already reach there yet
'Have you got there?'

Husband (Buginese)   : *nappa (ka')he araweng, nappa silalo(ku) lettu' ku anu*
Just in time I afternoon, just I arrive there
apang enneng, ku PLTU saliweng mapettang mompa'
*a*bout six   at PLTU still   dark
I've just arrived around six, at PLTU, it has been dark''

Wife (Jepara/Javanese   : *Lha sepiro?*
PART how much
'How much'

Husband (Buginese)   : *Mattamba mompa'. Sepullo kajunna tinumbu. Nappa*
(Buginese)
Add   still   ten   fish kind of fish just
'Do you think they will order some more?'
(u)telpong bosku'e Makkada(i) sakkilo paleng? Engka
I   telephone boss my
'let me telephone my boss'.
duappulolima kilong
twenty-five   kilograms
'twenty-five kilograms'
kapang balena.
Apparently
'apparently'

Wife (Javanese)   : *Sok mok timbang maneh, kok semono*?
Later PART weigh again PART such amount

'next, you should weigh again to know the accurate weight'

Husband (Buginese)	**:** *Makkeda siaga kilo? Paling engka duappulolima kilo kapang.*
	Asked how many kilo approximately twenty-five kilo apparently
	'Please ask how many kilo? Maybe twenty-five kilo'
Wife (Javanese)	: *Lha wes masak durung?*
	PART already cook yet?
	'Have you cooked"
Husband (Buginese)	: *De 'pasi dek. Nappa(ki) je' silalona lettuk he. Bale(ku) lagi de'pa*
	Not yet still darling. Just now I only reach fish my not yet
	'Not yet darling, I just arrived, I have not weighed the fish'
	utimbangngi. Makkeda siaga kilo.
	I weigh asked how many kilo.
	'I have not cooked yet. I have just arrived, but why did you ask me whether I have weighed the fish?'
Wife (Javanese)	: Yo wes gih masako disek
	Yes already then cook earlier
	'Okey, please cook now!
Husband (Buginese)	**:** Yo matu'pi pale'da, (u)telpong bos ku yolo
	Yes later only PART I telephone boss my earlier
	'Yes, later. I will telephone my boss first'.
	da, Matu'pi wenning Mattelpong(ka) si pemeng.
	Yes later, evening telephone me again
	'Yes, you can call me later again this evening'
Wife (Javanese)	: Ya. (Yo)
	Yes

The fragment (1) indicates a long conversation among speakers using different languages. The speakers were using different languages – the husband using Buginese, while the wife using Javanese. The conversation can construct a complete discourse which is coherent, meaning that there is a meaning connectivity between what the husband means and what the wife means. They understand each other, even though they use different languages.

Interlingual communication happens in the fragment (1) between, Buginese and Javanese. To explain this, the fragment (1a) will be presented below to counter the fragment (1).

(1a) Husband (Buginese) : *Dek, mangkate lao Jepara*?(Buginese)

*Dik, tak mangkat Jepara ya?(*Javanese)

Darling, depart to Jepara

	Darling, may I go to Jepara?
Wife (Jepara/Javanese)	: *Iyo, kapan mangkatmu?(Javanese)*
	Iye, panna ki tarakka? (Buginese)
	Yes, when departure your
	Yes, when will you leave?
Husband (Buginess)	: *so' Seneng. (Buginese)*
	Suk Senen. (Javanese)
	next Monday
	Next Monday

In the conversations, the comprehensibility can be seen from the smoothness of the communication and the connectivity or coherence of the conversation. For example, the husband asking the wife to leave for Jepara using Buginese and the wife answering in Javanese can understand each other. The different languages can be identified from the linguistic systems used, for example from the words they used. If the couple used Buginese, the fragment will be as follows.

    (1b) Husband   : *Dek, mangkate lao Jepara?(Buginese)*

      Wife   : *Iye, panna ki tarakka? (Buginese)*

However, if they used Javanese the fragment will be as follows.

    (1c) Husband   : *Dik, tak mangkat Jepara ya?(Javanese)*

      Wife   : *Iyo, kapan mangkatmu?(Javanese)*

Mutual intelligibility or comprehensibility may be created by both linguistic and sociolinguistic competences of the speakers. The linguistic competence does not only refer to the knowledge about phonological, morphological, syntactical aspects but also the embodied experience they have. For example, they can understand the words or expressions they hear or they can produce words or clauses or sentences that their hearers or readers can understand each other because they have ability of using the languages they use appropriately. Their ability may be created due to the exposure to the languages in the family or society, and the family plays an important role of exposing children to language. Alternatively, a language engagement process happens due to marriage. Therefore, the exposure happens when a spouse introduces his or her spouse to a language he/she has. Intensively, they learn and teach each other the language they have. Due to exposure they can learn each other, they ask each other, they practice each other, they make mistake each other. As stated by Takjuding named himself as Jambu standing for Javanese, Maduranese, and Buginese, when interviewed, he said that he could communicate with his wife using different languages and they could understand each other.

Since they know well, they feel low anxiety. Therefore the learning process can happen quite well. This statement supports Krashen's hypotheses concerning affective factors (Krashen, 1981[2002]). If a learner is in a low anxiety, he or she can learn much better because he or she is not in a threatening situation like feeling anxious, nervous, uncomfortable. When they are with their spouse, they feel comfortable and intimate. Therefore, they do not hesitate and worry of making mistakes.

Acquisition happens due to willingness to learn. For those who do not want to learn they do not acquire the language exposed to. For example, the chief secretary's wife, Muhsin's wife, Bacuk's wife are Javanese, but they do not want to learn their husband's languages, they cannot speak their husband's languages. The chief secretary's wife marrying the chief secretary,

Mandarese, cannot speak Mandarese, but his husband can speak Javanese. The husband can speak Javanese well even he could use the highest level of Javanese that is *krama*. When interviewed, he used *krama*, even the researcher did not realize that he is Mandarese due to his good Javanese. Another example is that Muhsin's wife cannot speak Mandarese even though Muhsin is Mandarese. They speak *bahasa Indonesia* among them and even with their son. They expose their son to *bahasa Indonesia* instead of Javanese and Mandarese.

3.1. Interlingual communication resulting in intercultural discourse

Communication among plurilingual people can be identified from the languages they use. They can interact well and they can understand each other, even though they use different languages. They use both different linguistic and sociolinguistic characteristics or constraints but they can understand each other. For example, the conversation happened when the husband, the Buginese, was going to leave for a town. The conversation can construct a complete discourse which is coherent, meaning that there is a meaning connectivity between what the husband means and what the wife means. They understand each other, even though they use different languages. Maduranese is speaking with Buginese and Buginese is speaking with Javanese. The following are the examples. In the conversation fragment (1), for example, the comprehensibility can be seen from the smoothness of the communication and the connectivity or coherence of the conversation. For example, the husband asking the wife to leave for Jepara using Buginese and the wife answering in Javanese can understand each other.

Different languages represent different cultural values of interaction. As stated by Evans and Green (2006), language conveys what people think, feel, and do. For example, when Javanese people speaking Javanese language, they apply Javanese cultural values appropriate for communication. In Javanese culture, it is believed that people must respect others in different speech styles. If Javanese speak to the elders, they may use higher speech styles. With three levels of speech –*ngoko, krama,kKrama inggil* people will choose *krama* to speak with the elder or respected ones. For example, even though the relationship between husband and wife is close or even intimate, they use *ngoko. Ngoko* mixed with *krama* results in *basa.* According to Purwoko (2011), the *basa* Javanese level is still strong in the Javanese repertoire. In terms of its maintenance, it is not alarming unlike the *krama* or *krama inggil*. In this case, the Javanese wife uses Javanese with *basa*, and the Buginese husband answers in Buginese by considering Buginese culture in communicating with her. However, the Javanese used by the wife in example (1) can be considered as *ngoko*. The use of *ngoko* may imply that husband and wife have the same position. They are like friends.

When plurilingual people communicate each other, they produce utterances that can make the participants of the communication understand each other. This implies that they share the same knowledge. For example, when a Maduranese husband is speaking with a Javanese wife, he can understand each other even though they use different languages. They have been living together, they have shared the same knowledge because of their experience of living together.

If we look at the theory proposed by Evans and Green (2006) concerning language as the representation of human feeling, thought, and experience, that can be a social identity of the speakers, we can say that spouses can understand their spouses because of their same experience in their togetherness. They experience, feel, think of their family together about their family members related to all aspects of life. Therefore, they can understand each other.

The experiences, feelings, and thought are stored in the mind. When they communicate they use expressions they acquire before. Like what Lakoff and Johnson (1999) said that language represents embodied experiences. Since language represents what people think, feel, and experience, it can be the identity of the speaker. From the language they use, people will

be identified from their language. For example, plurilingual societies in Karimunjawa in which they can communicate each other even though they use different language; this can show their identity as plurilingual people with different languages coming from different regions in Indonesia. This identity does not exist in other regions in Indonesia.

Therefore, language can indicate someone's identity. However, when this happens to the plurilingual people, by having different languages, they produce intercultural speech or conversation. A conversation between Javanese and Buginese in example (1) can show that the participants can understand each other even though they use different languages. The languages show different cultural norms. This can be said that the communication between plurilingual persons indicates intercultural discourse.

A language has its own convention among its speakers building certain norms. If we can refer to example (1), we can see that there are two language systems namely Buginese and Javanese having different norms. The husband is Buginese, who is asking his wife for leaving for Jepara located in different islands. The wife, Javanese woman, plays her role to serve her husband who is going for a certain purpose. She reminded him whether he had already prepared all his belongings before he enjoyed the trip. As a Javanese wife, she knows what to do when her husband is leaving home due to some businesses.

3.2. Mutual intelligibility or comprehensibility of different languages

After discussing the communication pattern—interlingual communication and the type of discourse –- intercultural one, we come to discussion about the mutual intelligibility that can be built by communication with different languages. Mutual intelligibility can be used for linguistic testing whether two or more codes belong to the same language or different one like what proposed by Chambers & Trudgill (2004). From what proposed by Chambers & Trudgill, it can be inferred that the mutual intelligibility can be reached due to the same language. However, in this study, the communication happens in plurilingual society of Karimunjawa, having more than one language. The participants of the communication use different languages in one event, for example, the husband speaks Javanese but the wife speaks Javanese. The example (1) is a discourse happening at home between husband and wife. From the data, we can say that mutual intelligibility may happen due to shared knowledge interrelated with the communication components like what proposed by Saville-Troike (2003). When we refer to example (1), we can say that the setting is home; the participants' relationship is husband and wife; the purpose is informing and asking permission for going to another district as the capital of Jepara regency for doing business. When the husband asked for permission in Buginese, the wife agreed by saying in Javanese. The mutual comprehensibility is shown by the connectivity of the meaning between asking permission and agreement.

3.3. Language Transgenerational Process

A language transgenerational process happening in Karimunjawa varies depending on the family language policy. If the family chooses *bahasa Indonesia,* the family may expose *bahasa Indonesia* to their children. The policy determines the language exposed to children. The language chosen is *bahasa Indonesia* due to its function as national language and language of instruction. If we look at the following example, the language the respondents are competent is *bahasa Indonesia.* For example, in Najmuddin family, the mother is Javanese, the father is Buginese, but the language chosen for their children to expose to is *bahasa Indonesia* like stated in the following interview fragment.

    1. Oh, masih sekolah. Nggih.   Iya.   Jadi untuk Hamid itu dikenalkan

PART still school yes (JV) yes (IND) so for Hamid that *introduced bahasa pertamanya apa?*

language first what?

'Well, they are still studying. What language are they introduced for the first time?'

Pakai bahasa... bahasa Indonesia bu.

Use language language Indonesian Mam.

'bahasa Indonesia', Mam.

In the fragment (2), when asked, Najmudin said that their children were exposed to *bahasa Indonesia.* This indicates that they are not exposed to the mother's or father's language. They are exposed to *bahasa Indonesia* for education purposes. Even *bahasa Indonesia* is used for talking each other at home. Mr. Najmudin uses *bahasa Indonesia* talking with Mrs. Najmudin and with his children. He answered as he said in the following fragment.

2. *Oh... kalau Pak Najamudin, berbicara dengan Bu Najamudin? Pakai bahasa*

PART when Sir Najmudin, talk with Madam Najmudin? Use language

apa?

what?

'When talking with your wife, what language do you use?'

Bahasa Indonesia, malah.

Bahasa Indonesia, PART

'Of course, *Bahasa Indonesia*'

Another family like Muhsin exposes *bahasa Indonesia* to their kid. The father is Mandar while the mother is Javanese. Either the father or the mother does not expose his or her own language to their child. Language exposure plays an important role to language acquisition. It can make children observe, listen, notice, and store what they are exposed to. If they are exposed to English, they will learn English, but if they are exposed to Javanese, they will acquire Javanese.

Language acquisition will succeed if the exposure is given. The exposure may be created by the parents or caretaker, after that the friends at the playground. Exposure at home can be intensive if parents or caretakers are along with the children 24 hours that can make them use the languages anytime, anyplace, anyone they are communicating with. For example, they use it when they have dinner, they will be exposed to the language referring to food, menu, tools, etcetera. However, if there is no exposure, there will not be language acquisition. Exposure can give input to children. This supports Krashen's theory on input hypothesis. Even Krashen (1981[2002]) says that language acquisition will succeed if the input children get follows the formula i+1. This formula implies that acquisition must be comprehensible or children must get comprehensible input otherwise they will not learn or acquire language.

4. CONCLUSION

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that plurilingual societies in Karimunjawa can be characterized from some consequences in language use and in interaction. The plurilingual families have their own policies in learning or teaching and using languages. Since they are competent in different languages, they have interlingual conversation which implies mutual intelligibility. In plurilingual families, for some families, *bahasa Indonesia* is chosen to be exposed to their children. In other words, plurilingualism in Karimunjawa indicates some changes in terms of language use in family and for children. The language exposed to children

tends to be *bahasa Indonesia* due to its role as national language which is used in formal education. *Bahasa Indonesia* is acquired and used at home. This may influence the role of Javanese that make Javanese displaced by *bahasa Indonesia.*

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