




The Pragmatics of Javanese People: Pride, Identity, and Living Capital in a Digital Era

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Abstract

In midst of the modernization, xenoglossophobia might affect the local's pride, identity, and living capital. This study aimed to describe Javanese people's pride of their local language along with the related aspects contributing to how they lived. This study used the ethnographic method of research upon the Javanese community in a rural area whose people were still conservative. The study took two months to complete. The participants were chosen using purposive random sampling. Data were collected using field notes for observation and unstructured interviews and were analyzed qualitatively with descriptive approach. Results showed that Javanese people's pride of their local language was still high, of which they used the values retracted from the language as fundamental living norms. Another finding portrayed that this community was reluctant to appropriate foreign language due to dissimilar identity that leads to experiencing xenoglossophobia. The last finding conveys that people are content to live traditionally and less modernized. This study implies that xenoglossophobia might affect the Javanese people's pride, identity, and living capital. This study also infers that the difference between Javanese and foreign language identity could be the basis of the occurring linguistic rebellion and xenoglossophobia.

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Keywords: Tempuran Javanese, xenoglossophobia, community pride, identity, living capital

Introduction

Owing to complex working conditions and better living standards, the globalized modern era requires people to acquire multi-language skills (D'warte, 2014; Küçükler & Tosuncuoglu, 2018). This phenomenon rests on the belief that that mastering numbers of languages can help people achieve bigger opportunities as a living capital (Golombek & Doran, 2014). Due to the consumeristic pattern of society, it is also often presumed that the cost of living is increasingly so high that life becomes more challenging (Benson et al., 2020; Gavili, Zandi, & Bayangani, 2021; Umanailo, 2020). In the educational scenario, therefore, pursuing undergraduate degree with only one language mastered is not considered enough to pursue standard living in a metropolitan city. In other words, there is a common perspective that mastering a foreign language possibly would get more income and help survive in a city with crowd of businesses (Gavili et al., 2021; Tsang, Paran, & Lau, 2020). This also refers to the fact that acquiring foreign languages can be a capital to boost up living standard. Owing to this perspective, most common people wish to elevate their personal living quality through learning a foreign language.

When mastering foreign languages becomes a parameter of stepping forward the living quality, people often get exposed to different identities carried out within the learned languages (D'warte, 2014; Huda et al.,

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2017). There are three possible identity constructions namely appropriation, negotiation, and reluctance (Pratama, 2018). Identity appropriation is a phenomenon where people can use the identity of the target language and adapt to the culture. On the other extreme, reluctance is a condition where people cannot accept the identity of the target language so that they prefer to defend their local identity. In between, negotiation comes in a very diplomatic sense where people must not absolutely acquire the identity of the target language, however, in the same time they should not prioritize their local identity (Pratama, 2018). The three identity constructions, further, contribute to shaping a mind how people should determine their ways of living. In addition, different people experience dissimilar identity construction along its processes due to different beliefs and values (Huda et al., 2017; Karam, 2018).

There are very few people who would show their reluctance to acquire a foreign language. An example of such type is a traditional Javanese community residing in the rural area of Ponorogo city, East Java Province, Indonesia. This community lives away from the city center and has not experienced any life outside their inhabited territory. Many reasons can be given for such a phenomenon. First, people of this Javanese community are content with what they have got to run their lives (Huda et al., 2017). For example, they find the existing natural resources enough to keep them away from hunger. Though they can send their children to far away schools, they still prefer the junior high school in their own vicinity, which is enough to get a minimum education degree to enhance their lives. When a foreign language is taught at their local school, they mostly still do not believe that it can help elevate their living quality. In addition, the community assumes that they will not move from the place so that the situation they predict will not necessarily need a foreign language. Such a rationalization and preference given to their local tradition might hamper a successful appropriation or negotiation of foreign language and its identity (Gaudry, 2018; Malik, 2018; Pratama, 2018; Zen, 2021).

Consequently, such a community continues to live traditionally and with the meager resources that their ancestors lived with (Johari & Nazari, 2019; Murtisari, 2013). They will education as part of modernization as a formal encounter from the government program (Setiya, Hapsari, & Kumalasari, 2019). In fact, such people defend their properties such as lands, cultures, norms, and beliefs instead of welcoming foreign properties carried out by foreign languages (Shodiq & Syamsudin, 2019). This typical community is difficult to even negotiate because their belonging to their cultures and local languages are too binding (Gaudry, 2018; Malik, 2018). Their perspectives cannot be shifted easily as they have their own living standard, quality, and capital. Uniquely, this community is not exclusive, meaning that they are still warm to anyone visiting them and have an interaction with them.

In short, this community is proud of their local language along with values permeated within it. This is enough to rationalize why there is a reluctance to learn and acquire a foreign language. It is therefore necessary to understand the rationale behind their pride, and having obtained this rationale, perspectives on identity of being local can be examined in comparison with the identity of the foreign language. Such an examination might drive into an understanding why they experience xenoglossophobia and involve in the act of linguistic rebellion (Böttger & Költzsch, 2020). It is however understood that in accordance with such conditions, living capital of this traditional community might be determined which is so vital that it is supporting their lives (Aksakal & Schmidt, 2021; Hoogerbrugge & Burger, 2018).

To the best of the researchers' knowledge, there has not been any study that has examined local language, especially Javanese, in term of its cause on xenoglossophobia and its effect on pride, identity, and living capital. A few studies have however described the anxiety of acquiring foreign language due to strong local values (Darmastuti et al., 2019; Dewaele & Alfawzan, 2018; Malik, 2018; Setiya et al., 2019; Shodiq & Syamsudin, 2019; Syarifah, 2018), or the effect of local language on foreign language acquisition (Rintaningrum, Aldous, & Keeves, 2017; Saddhono, 2018; Sheridan, Tanaka, & Hogg, 2019). Unfortunately, these studies did not mention xenoglossophobia as the vital consequence of anxiety and not yet involved the effect on local language, its pride, identity, and living capital.

This ethnographic study aimed to describe Javanese people's pride of their local language along with the related aspects contributing to how they lived. This study also revealed the difference between Javanese and foreign language identity that had been the basis of the occurring linguistic rebellion and xenoglossophobia. This study also described the influence of self-pride and identity on Javanese people's living capital. Theoretically, the present study shows the importance of preserving Javanese language and culture, and exaggerating to include it in teaching curriculum and practice, due to the fact that numbers of its speakers still need it, especially in running their daily life. Practically, the present study portrays a real phenomenon of xenoglossophobia, which can be a new challenge in teaching foreign language.

Literature Review

- *Traditional Javanese Community*

Tempuran is a rural area in Ponorogo, East Java Province, Indonesia. It is located in a mountainous area in the border between Ponorogo and Trenggalek Regency. To reach the village, people need to ride only on

two-wheelers due to dangerous road with sharp climbs and ravines. Its people are Javanese natives whose major occupation is farming. The village is about 40 kilometers from the city center so that its nature is still well-preserved. Most of the people are Moslems and *njawani*, who practice Javanese values for everyday life. Although they are Indonesian, they always speak Javanese for daily conversation instead of using Indonesian (Affiah, 2020). In other words, since they rarely use Indonesian, their knowledge of the Javanese language is much better than the Indonesian.

The community uses Javanese values as a fundamental living basis so that good or bad is mostly determined by the norms or values retracted from their local language (Malik, 2018; Murtisari, 2013). For instance, traditional ceremony or rituals are all conducted based on Javanese values such as recitation, *kenduri* (thanksgiving), and wedding (Affiah, 2020). People always work together as their motto is *Rukun Agawe Santoso, Crah Agawe Bubrah* (we need to help each other in times of need, if we do not, consequently, we will not live in harmony). This community, moreover, is not a closed-minded one since they do really welcome visitors and foreigners. Unfortunately, it is not easy for people permeating new living concept (e.g. introducing the importance of foreign language mastery) because their beliefs about Javanese is really strong (Johari & Nazari, 2019; Zen, 2021). Not to mention, their identity as pure Javanese is difficult to interfere as a result of the strong beliefs. Therefore, such traditional Javanese community is still original.

- *Xenoglossophobia*

Anxiety might initiate the occurrence of inability to accomplish tasks, especially in acquiring a foreign language (Dewaele & Alfawzan, 2018; Male, 2018). Its level is varied depending on how an individual triggers a positive thinking and behavior as well as perceiving significant efficacy (Hanifa, 2018; Sadighi & Dastpak, 2017). The worst result of acute anxiety encompasses unwillingness to get up and be better once one has experienced failures (Dewaele & Alfawzan, 2018). For example, a child will have no encouragement to continue learning foreign language once he gets detrimental effects when speaking in front of his peers. Moreover, parents might experience serious anxiety when educating their children so that they feel stagnant and unprogressive. When dealing with language mastery, such anxiety is specifically called as xenoglossophobia (Böttger & Költzsch, 2020). Xenoglossophobia is derived from Greek: *phobos* (fear), *xeno* (foreign), and *glossos* (language) (Kohsy, 2020). Horwitz (2001) explains that xenoglossophobia belongs to a group of specific phobia that explains abnormality and exaggerated fear of a foreign language (Böttger & Költzsch, 2020; Malik et al., 2020). People who experience xenoglossophobia will have no positive perspectives about foreign language (Kohsy, 2020; Malik et al., 2020). Those persons try to avoid learning foreign language as it is too difficult and might interfere their living as a mean of obstruction. They usually keep using their natives as a part of incapacitation to appropriate foreign language (Asif, 2017). Therefore, xenoglossophobia can be a new trend of threats in introducing foreign language to locals.

- *Pride, Identity, and Living Capital*

A person who belongs to a traditional community often experiences self-bondage, a situation where local customs regulate one's life (Gerson, 2018; Murtisari, 2013; Zhao & Zhao, 2020). The enforcement seems to have no problems since the person in bonding accepts the situation and is happy to run such a life. This phenomenon can be a real portrayal of self-pride (Williams & Davies, 2017). Pride is generated under a psychological approach referring to an acceptance of the given condition and feel blessed of it (Dickens & Robins, 2020). Moreover, pride can be meant as a feeling of happiness over the existing circumstance and, in the same time, is difficult to be altered or interrupted (Tracy et al., 2020). For example, a pride of being Javanese community might influence one's living determination since the person believes the true values within Javanese language and culture (Yanti, Husein, & Santoso, 2020). In addition, the typical pride can be more extravagant when the person lives with those in similar perspectives and beliefs (Gerson, 2018). Consequently, this community has a strong belonging to the Javanese values so that it is difficult to shift their mindset.

Further, stronger pride is able to shape one's identity because self-pride and self-identity are understood interchangeably (Williams & Davies, 2017). Strangers can easily recognize Tempuran Javanese community as a traditional group of Javanese people since the community's identity is shaped through their behaviors and beliefs, which mostly inflict with their pride. Such identity is indeed born in a long history with fluctuated processes before coming to the final identity form Aversa (1978); Williams and Davies (2017). There are three most well-known identity construction namely appropriation, negotiation, and reluctance (Pratama, 2018). Identity appropriation is a phenomenon where people can use the identity of the target language and adapt to the culture (Pratama, 2018). On the contrary, reluctance is a condition where people cannot accept the identity of the target language so that they prefer to defend their local identity (Pratama, 2018). In between, negotiation comes in a very diplomatic sense where people must not absolutely acquire the identity of the target language, however, in the same time they should not prioritize their local identity (Karam, 2018; Pratama, 2018).

In connection with the importance of pride and identity, both aspects absolutely underwrite a lot to one's living concept. For example, people in Tempuran Javanese community may not consider the importance of

foreign language so that they are reluctant to it. When the reluctance occurred, it means that the people have been already happy with their current living capital including money, property, and assets (Kristiansen, 2002). On the contrary, people who understand the competitive world and have eagerness to earn bigger incomes may consider having a lot of exclusive assets as their living capital (Hoogerbrugge & Burger, 2018; Umanailo, 2020). Living capital is also varied according to concept of future life (Gavili et al., 2021). People in Tempuran village might not take into account the future life seriously as they have been always happy about what they get and do today. Therefore, living capital is ably influenced by pride and identity of a person or community.

Methods

- *Research design*

This study used ethnography research design with qualitative research approach (Press, 2018). The permission was sought from the community leader, who was explained the objective of the study. Owing to its ethnographic nature, the researchers had to find a home to stay in the Javanese community for about 2 months. The research was carried out mainly during the assembly with the community leader and all Tempuran Javanese community in a village meeting hall. Each of the participants of the study was explained the purpose of the study, got the consent forms signed, prior to the data collection.

- *Instrument for data collection*

The data were obtained using field notes for participant observations and unstructured interviews. The field notes were used to capture every essential information and moment during the data collection process. Meanwhile, the interviews were conducted to reveal deeper confirmation of phenomena experienced by the researchers daily.

- *Sampling and research procedure*

The participants were determined using purposive random sampling (Pallant, 2010), which means that everyone in Tempuran Javanese community could be a reliable informant. All participants involved in the study were assigned pseudonyms. The interviewees included two parents whose home was the researchers' temporary homestay, one community leader, and one teacher who worked at the nearby junior high school. The study was conducted in Tempuran village, Sawoo, Ponorogo, East Java Province, Indonesia from October 2019 to December 2019.

- *Data analysis*

The obtained data from the field notes were retyped in a word file format while the recorded interview data were transcribed and stored in word file format. The data were in a form of verbal description of people, interactions, setting description, language use, and phenomena within the life of segment being researched. The obtained data were analyzed using descriptive qualitative, including data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification methods (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Results

Findings of this study were drawn for three factors underlying this study namely community's pride of Javanese language, community's identity vis-à-vis their experience of xenoglossophobia, and community's living capital. Each of these factors was described in a form of narrative obtained from the field notes and from participants' observations. Some of the specific information was derived from the results of the interviews.

1. Javanese Community's Pride of its Language

Tempuran Javanese community natives speak Javanese in their everyday activities, to communicate with their family, friends, relatives, and neighbors regardless of the formality of the situation. However, they spoke different registers of Javanese, varying in politeness and formality. Linguistically, there are only two registers in the Javanese language, one ngoko or commonly called 'Low Javanese', and two, Krama or commonly called 'High Javanese'. There is also a third type, a mixed register, called madya. The Ngoko register was used by people within the same age group and with those in close relationship, or in informal situations such as chit-chatting with neighbors or discussions with peers. This type of ical Javanese was in the lowest level so that people in jokes might also use it. Second, the Kramo register was the moderate level where people used it to convey respect to others, particularly with the extended family members, like grandparents, uncles, and aunts, when using Javanese Ngoko was considered unnecessary. Such consideration appeared due to the feeling of reluctance to approach someone of higher status or a stranger. This typical Javanese level was often used by Tempuran people when they were in a village gathering and did a semi-formal chit-chat, i.e. wedding

reception and casual meeting. Finally, the Krama Inggil was considered the highest level of Javanese used to deliver an intended message to older people or those with the most respective position in the village including the community leader, teacher, and village officers. In addition, there are honorifics (Krama inggil) and humilifics (Krama andhap), which can be found in all three types of registers, but it reflects a lack of good education and lack of etiquettes.

Whatever is the type (register) of Javanese spoken by the Tempuran people, it showed an explicit expression conveying their pride of Javanese language. For example, in the morning traditional market, the following is a conversation between two buyers and one seller:

Seller: "*Piye lho sampean kok ora ngerti endi laos endi jahe, Bu?*"
 'How come you don't know which one is galangal and which is ginger, Maam?'
 Mrs. Yayuk: "*Lha rupane padha ngene, ya jelas aku ora isa mbedakne ta, Bu.*"
 'You see, the shape and color are the same, obviously I can't tell the difference.'
 Mrs. Yani: "*Walah, niki laos, niki jahe Bu. Wong beda ngene lho. Kok ora njawa ta?*" (Laughing) (Excuse me, this is galangal, this one is ginger. Those are absolutely different. How come you don't understand?)
 Seller: "*Duduk wong Jawa pie ta Bu sampean niku?*" (Laughing)
 'You are not a Javanese, aren't you?'

The word *njawa* in an utterance *Kok ora njawa ta?* spoken by Mrs. Yani had a meaning 'to understand'. Many Tempuran people use this word to confirm something understandable or not. In accordance with the conversation, Mrs. Yani was surprised that Mrs. Yayuk was not able to differentiate between galangal and ginger. After she explained the difference, she confirmed why Mrs. Yayuk did not know or understand the difference. This typical question was actually not necessary to be responded due to only a surprising expression. The word *njawa* was actually from the original word *Jawa* (Java/Javanese). Unconsciously, Mrs. Yani's utterance reflected a pride of being Javanese. Moreover, the utterance conveyed by the seller *Duduk wong jawa pie ta Bu sampean niku?* also indicates an explicit meaning that Javanese people should understand the difference between galangal and ginger. The seller also implies that those who do not know the difference between galangal and ginger are not Javanese. Consequently, both Mrs. Yani's and seller's utterances refer to the fact that Javanese people must be smart and able to differentiate between two things. Therefore, their utterances reflect how proud they feel with being Javanese, especially in Tempuran Javanese community.

Similar to the above conversation, Mr. Amin, a family leader in the home where the researchers stayed, also confirmed that the Javanese people are required to know simplest thing such as differentiating between galangal and ginger. He explained that those ingredients were common in everyday menu. Moreover, as a wife, she must know the difference because she was responsible for the cook. He also claimed that all wives must know about it, or would get questioning of their being Javanese instead. In accordance with his thoughts, it could be retracted that a pride of being Javanese woman must not be violated even by a simple cause, i.e. not knowing the ingredients. On the contrary, if she does not successfully comply with the prerequisite, a consequence rather, her pride of being Javanese should be doubted. Therefore, a pride of being Javanese should be reflected in knowledge and manifested in daily behaviors.

"It is very sinful for women who bought some vegetables in the market and does not know the difference between galangal and ginger. She must be really embarrassed. As a Javanese woman, she must know it. Not an option." (Mr. Amin, Interview 3)

Another phenomenon happened again in Mr. Amin's home when his wife casually talked to the neighbor in the afternoon. There were Mrs. Amin, Mrs. Gemi, and Anton (Mrs. Gemi's son). In that setting, Anton, a 13-year-old boy, was just back from school and entered his home by putting off his shoes.

Mrs. Gemi: "*Ngono pinter! Sadurunge mlebu omah dicopot sik.*"
 'You're smart! Before entering the home, you have put off your shoes'.
 Anton: "*Lha, biasanipun nggih dicopot riyin lho, Buk.*"
 'Ow, usually, I also do it, Maam'.
 Mrs. Gemi: "*Yo ngono. Saya gedhe, saya njawa!*"
 'That's good. The older, the more you understand!'
 Mrs. Amin: "*Wes to, Mbak. Bocah kesel ya sik sampean jaraki ae.*"
 'Please, be calm, Maam. He is tired, you still make a problem'.

The utterance *Saya gedhe, saya njawa!* uttered by Mrs. Gemi contained an explicit meaning that if a child grew older he must understand Javanese values better. The message was also a form of pride since every good thing was always compared with Javanese values. The values were also known as a parameter of accomplishment of particular tasks so that it was binding of the Tempuran Javanese community's perspective.

By referring to above findings, it can be said that the Tempuran people like to connect every day real-life phenomena with the Javanese values, and therefore they see themselves as proud Javanese speakers.

2. Javanese Community's Identity and Xenoglossophobia

In revealing the identity perceived by Tempuran Javanese community, the researchers conducted a direct conversation with some people in a stall that sold coffee, tea, and snacks. The stall was chosen as the setting because it was a place where people could talk and share ideas casually. Having a conversation in a stall was one of local habits or traditions. In other words, a stall was not utilized as a place to relax or to eat and drink, rather, it was a gathering place and did intimate talks. In addition, the researchers also participated in *kenduri* (thanksgiving). Such agenda was chosen as it also became the local tradition. *Kenduri* served a place where people were exposed to each other more intensely. The following is a casual conversation in a coffee stall, which is a significant setting to reveal people's identity:

Mr. Kaji: "Ya ngene iki lho wong ndesa, senengane ngopi, Mas."

'This is the fact that villagers love drinking coffee, Sir'.

Researcher: "Tiyang kutha nggih sami remen, Pak."

'Downtown people also love it, Sir'.

Mr. Tukiman: "Ya beda ngopine wong kutha, Mas. Wong Jawa nyel ya ning warung disambi mangan tela godhog."

'How downtown people drink coffee is absolutely different, Sir. The real Javanese people drink coffee in a stall while eating boiled cassava'.

Researcher: "Walah. Sami mawon, Pak."

'No. It's similar, Sir'.

Mr. Kaji: "Ya ora padha ta, Mas. Piye sampean niku?"

'No, it's different, Sir. How come you think sa?')

The above conversation reveals the identity of being a member of traditional Javanese community, one who lives in a rural village. The identity is represented in the tradition of Javanese people who love drinking coffee in a stall while eating some snacks, i.e. boiled cassava. The Tempuran people assume that the way they drink coffee is different from the downtown people. They believe that downtown people will not drink coffee in a stall and eat boiled cassava. Next, the researcher confirmed whether there was any difference between the manner the Tempuran and the downtown people drink coffee, the locals still could not accept the idea. When Mr. Tukiman uttered *Wong Jawa nyel ya ning warung disambi mangan tela godhog*, there was a presupposition occurred. First, Mr. Tukiman identified there were two types of Javanese people namely traditional or conservative Javanese (*Jawa nyel*) and those who were not (a.k.a. modern Javanese or, in this case, downtown Javanese). Based on the conversation, Mr. Tukiman and Mr. Kaji identified themselves, as well as their community, as a traditional one. Second, Mr. Tukiman assumed that the researcher was not identified as a traditional Javanese because he did not know the fact that traditional Javanese should drink coffee in a stall while eating boiled cassava. The third assumption that Mr. Tukiman might have thought was that downtown Javanese would not eat boiled cassava when drinking coffee. These three presuppositions could be valid due to Mr. Kaji's utterance *Ya ora padha ta, Mas*, which confirms a reluctance and the pride of people possessing a traditional Javanese identity.

There is another occasion/ place where the traditional Javanese identity was seen portrayed. It was *Kenduri*, a Javanese ritual usually only for the male population, when all the Javanese arrange a banquet for remembering something, or holding a religious ceremony. *Kenduri* is usually led by the oldest person or someone with religious knowledge. It is a socializing event. *Kenduri* was conducted at Mr. Kaji's neighbor where the community was invited to bless new grandchild. Its agenda included recitation, enjoying feast, and prayer. Before the agenda began, the people usually had a small talk with each other, of which they might talk about the village program, their family conditions, and some event recently happened in the village. In this occasion, the researcher was invited to experience *kenduri* in Tempuran community. During the small talks, the researcher's background and knowledge became the discussion topic.

Mr. Kaji: "Ning kutha gak enek ngene iki kan, Mas?"

'In downtown, there is not such event, isn't there?'

Researcher: "Wonten, Pak. Tapi boten seguyup ngeten niki."

'Yes, there is, Sir. But, it's not intimate like this'.

Mr. Amin: "Jenenge syukuran ya mesti ana ta, Pak Kaji."

'Thanksgiving exists everywhere, Mr. Kaji'.

Mr. Kaji: "Ya mestine beda ora kaya awake dhewe ngene ta."

'But, it must be different, not similar to what we have'.

Mr. Agus: "Ngene ki leg ora ning kene, ora enek, Mas."

'Such event will not be existing outside of this village, Sir'.

The utterance uttered by Mr. Kaji implied that *kenduri* or thanksgiving only existed in the Tempuran community. He did not admit that there was similar *kenduri* in other regions, including downtown. His utterance was supported by Mr. Agus' utterance *Ngene ki leg ora ning kene, ora enek, Mas*, which meant that he also admitted that *kenduri* only existed in Tempuran. The researcher also admitted that he never experienced such intimate thanksgiving event. In short, *kenduri* became a tradition of Tempuran Javanese community where all

processes referred to traditional Javanese values. The people in Tempuran village also recognized that their *kenduri* reflected a traditional Javanese identity, which could not be found in other regions.

In addition, the researchers tried to interview a couple, Mrs. Ninik and Mr. Hari. Mrs. Ninik, the wife, was a Javanese teacher in nearby junior high school. She was also a leader of the Tempuran woman community to conduct several village agendas such as enhancing family economics by making handicrafts from nearby natural resources, such as brooms made of coconut bone leaves and doormats made of coconut fiber. Mr. Hari, the husband, was the community leader who worked in the sub-district office and ideally represented the Tempuran Javanese community. His extended family was one of the oldest in Tempuran village so that it was not surprising when he became the community leader. The researchers decided to have an interview with the couple to confirm the information found in the coffee stall and at the *kenduri* event. The researchers wanted to know whether or not traditional Javanese identity was lively existing in the Tempuran community.

Mrs. Ninik: "*Bocah kene kabeh pokoke sekolah, Mas. Mari sekolah, ya dodolan ning pasar.*"

'Importantly, all children here go to school, Sir. After graduation, their job is to sell something in the traditional market'

Researcher: "*Boten wonten ingkang nyambut wonten kutha, Bu?*"

'Don't some of them work in the downtown, maam?'

Mrs. Ninik: "*Jarang. Eh, ora enek. Kerjane ya dodolan ning pasar karo tandur. Wis turun-temurun soale.*"

'Rarely. Ouch, none. They work in the traditional market and farming. It's been a hereditary'.

Mrs. Ninik states that going to school is not taken as a serious activity. In other words, as long as the children went to school, it was enough because, in the end, they would also work as a seller and a farmer, as their hereditary jobs. Another traditional Javanese identity was constructed by Mrs. Ninik through jobs perceived after graduation. In this case, the pride of being a seller and farmer could not be shifted easily since the people already put such perspective as their identity. The utterance *Kerjane ya dodolan nig pasar karo tandur* uttered by Mrs. Ninik was confirmed by Mr. Hari's following statement"

"It's really difficult to change, Sir. Besides working as a community leader, I am also a farmer. I also sell some coconuts in the traditional market. That's it, that's us, Sir. Our identity as Tempuran." (Mr. Hari, Interview 1)

Mr. Hari thus believed that such an identity had occurred since his grandfather was still alive. Moreover, every older man always told his descendants to continue the pride and identity of being traditional Javanese, especially in the Tempuran community.

When coming into a deeper conversation, the researchers wanted to obtain the information about willingness to learn a foreign language, such as English or Chinese. The researchers asked Mrs. Ninik whether she could speak English or Chinese and whether Tempuran people could speak other languages. She answered that she could speak English a little bit because she was graduated from downtown college majoring Javanese education.

"I can speak English a little bit. I learned it when I studied Javanese in my college. Actually, I am from downtown, Sir. I am married to Mr. Hari and moved here and worked here. So, I can speak." (Mrs. Ninik, Interview 1)

"All people here cannot speak English or Chinese, Sir. They think that there will be no benefits and do not contribute to their lives. They do not want to learn foreign language. Afraid. And, no willingness." (Mr. Hari, interview 1)

Thus, Mrs. Ninik could speak English because she was from downtown and was educated. She admitted that she did not originate from Tempuran so that she indeed looked different in knowledge compared to other Tempuran people. Mr. Hari emphasized that all people originated from Tempuran were reluctant to learn a foreign language because they feel frightened or absolutely anxious. This anxiety seemed serious due to the fact that Mr. Hari's speaking tone was high and reflected a strong resistance. When the researchers continued the conversation, unique facts were revealed and explained that Tempuran people still kept their identity and did not want to be influenced by unknown and strange identities (a.k.a. English or Chinese identity).

Mrs. Ninik: "*Iya, Mas. Angel eram bapake iki takajari bahasa Inggris.*"

'Yes, correct Sir. This man is very difficult to teach English'.

Mr. Hari: "*Gawe apa belajar iku. Kancaku, wong-wong kene ya ora enek sing ngomong bahasa Inggris.*"

'What's the study for? My friends, the villagers here don't speak English'.

Mrs. Ninik: "*Ya kan ora enek salahe belajar.*"

'There's nothing wrong with learning it'.

Mr. Hari: "*Dadi wong bule aku ngkok. Gah!*"

'I will be a stranger, later. No, I do not want!'

The concept of identity was important to Tempuran Javanese community. They need to preserve the identity that had been a hereditary and accustomed to all people in Tempuran village. They were reluctant to learn foreign languages because they did not want to lose their identity and appropriated strange identity carried out within foreign languages. Therefore, the people felt difficult, anxious, and impossible to acquire other languages. This condition can be referred to xenoglossophobia, a serious anxiety or incapacitation to learn foreign languages, and could be termed as fear of foreign languages.

3. Javanese Community's Living Capital

Tempuran Javanese community's living capital was much interfered by their pride and identity as traditional Javanese. Most of the people were sellers who worked at traditional market and as farmers of vegetables and fruits, especially coconuts. By becoming a seller and a farmer, a Javanese fulfilled family's daily needs such as rice, snacks, and electricity. Mrs Ninik articulates: "*Bocah kene kabeh pokoke sekolah, Mas. Mari sekolah, ya dodolan ning pasar.*" ["Importantly, all children here go to school, Sir. After graduation, their job is to sell something in the traditional market. They work in the traditional market and farming. It's been a hereditary"].

Mrs. Ninik explains that most children who graduate from junior high school, they decide to help their parents sell and work in the farms. She also emphasizes that, importantly, the children get high school certificate and it is enough. She also notices that none works in the downtown due to their pride and identity as Tempuran people. They thought they are enough to be sellers and farmers as both jobs are hereditary from their ancestors. Let's recall Mr Hari's statement as well: "It's really difficult to change, Sir. Besides working as a community leader, I am also a farmer. I also sell some coconuts in the traditional market. That's it, that's us, Sir. Our identity as Tempuran." (Mr. Hari, Interview 1) Mr. Hari, besides being the community leader, also works as a farmer. He sells coconuts in the traditional market, a place where the researchers had earlier met Mrs. Yayuk and Mrs. Yani who bargained galangal and ginger. He claimed that being a seller and farmer was his pride proven by his utterance *that's us*. Further, Mr. Hari also told that Tempuran people always enjoyed their jobs and felt blessed. They thought the jobs were enough to support their lives.

"The villagers are enough to be seller and farmer, Sir. As you may see, all people live happily and harmoniously. Some of us also have motorcycles and cars to support our business. In the market, we also use Javanese to communicate with other sellers and the prospective buyers." (Mr. Hari, Interview 2)

Mr. Hari explains that they can afford a car due to the collective financial aid, which helps the community to remain mobile in the traditional market, whose distance was about 15 kilometers. This was undertaken by the community as self-belonging to one another and also to the Tempuran tradition as their motto *Rukun Agawe Santosa, Crah Agawe Bubah*. Moreover, the people also felt *njawa*, which means that they understand the important situation and need a smart solvency. In other words, as Javanese people know the difficult situation, they must work hand-in-hand to overcome the problems. This was what the community called as *njawa*, applying Javanese values for everyday life.

Discussion

There are three interesting findings of this study. First, Tempuran Javanese community is proud of being Javanese speakers. They use Javanese to communicate regularly. This fact is not surprising because once a person or community starts to love something, they will behave accordingly (Gerson, 2018). This phenomenon is eventually called self-pride, a situation where a person or community feels blessed of what they are (Aversa, 1978; Williams & Davies, 2017). Self-pride is often connected to self-belonging where people determine themselves as part of certain group that have similar values, beliefs, perspectives, ideas, and procedures to run a life (Dickens & Robins, 2020; Gerson, 2018). High sense of self-belonging remains important in preserving values of the community, but in the same time it is difficult to interfere with other beliefs or values. Many studies of self-belonging also convey self-pride of being included in a certain community (Gerson, 2018; Tracy et al., 2020). This justifies the fact that Tempuran Javanese community is proud of themselves as Javanese speakers.

Second, the study reveals that Tempuran Javanese community conveys an identity of traditional Javanese. This is due to the fact that they always refer to Javanese values. Moreover, their pride ably constructs an identity and preserves it even since their ancestors (Murtisari, 2013). Their identity construction is included into the reluctance identity since they do not accept any foreign values permeated within their current values (Gaudry, 2018; Pratama, 2018). For example, they feel seriously anxious to learn foreign language such as English and Chinese. This phenomenon leads the community to experience, what can be called, xenoglossophobia, a kind of phobia that can be termed as abnormality and exaggerated fear for a foreign language (Böttger & Költzsch, 2020). Besides, the community is resistant to any identity appropriation and negotiation carried out by foreign influences or languages. As a result, their identity is constructed originally and shaped because of the Javanese language and values they are always exposed to. Not to mention, identity indeed becomes a bigger contribution to shape mindset and attitudes (Malik, 2018;

Pratama, 2018). It is also a factor that is sensitive to talk, for instance, changing perspectives. Many studies also find that local languages can be a factor to strengthen local identity and blockade a successful foreign language learning (Karam, 2018; Zen, 2021). Therefore, xenoglossophobia, occurs in Tempuran Javanese community, and cannot be resisted.

The third finding is more interesting. The Tempuran Javanese community run their lives as sellers and farmers. Their jobs are parts of hereditary Tempuran traditions. They feel content with what they earn currently and therefore have no further economic plans initiated to boost up their living capital. Living capital refers to any assets that helps a person, or a group of people, to gain benefits to support their lives (Hoogerbrugge & Burger, 2018; Ruch & Geyer Jr, 2017). It is important to determine living capital since people have different commodities (Benson et al., 2020). For example, Tempuran people sell their coconuts and handicrafts to the traditional markets. Various types of living capital can be inhibited by one's pride and identity (Aksakal & Schmidt, 2021), of which both aspects are influenced by the existing local language in the present study. Many studies have examined the impact of self-capability (i.e. literacy, efficacy, and education) on capacitated living capital (Aksakal & Schmidt, 2021; Gavili et al., 2021; Umanailo, 2020). Unfortunately, to the best of the researchers' knowledge, they do not look at how a local language, especially Javanese, affects the earned living capital. Therefore, Tempuran people with a pride of perceiving traditional Javanese identity feel that they earn enough to build their living capital, and by doing so, they follow the Javanese tradition.

Conclusion

The present study concludes that, first, Tempuran Javanese community is indeed highly proud of being Javanese. They always refer to Javanese values, which are retracted from its language and tradition, to determine something good or bad and to remind inappropriate behaviors by saying *njowo*. Second, Tempuran Javanese community is identified of having a traditional Javanese identity, which conducts hereditary traditions, habits, and activities. The people are also resistant to modern Javanese as it is different application from theirs. At last, they consider to have enough living capital just by being sellers and farmers. They do not ask for more, as their current lives have made them happy. As the present study is still limited to Tempuran Javanese community, it is also important to look at other tribes to describe better portrayal of the effect of strong local language and values on xenoglossophobia that also affects pride, identity, and living capital. Since the present study engages sociolinguistic and socio-cultural aspects, the study suggests that future research should cover xenoglossophobia in connection with locals' ways of learning.

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