

Conference Paper

The Language Characteristic and Its Acculturation from Chinese Speakers in Losari, Cirebon Regency, West Java: The Acculturation of Chinese with Javanese Culture

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Abstract

The linguistic situation in Cirebon is diglossic. In Cirebon, a number of languages are spoken, namely Cirebonese, Cirebonese Sundanese, Indonesian, and foreign languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, and English. Mandarin is one of the languages productively used by the Chinese ethnic group in Losari district, Cirebon (borderland between West Java and Central Java). The acculturation of language and the culture between the Chinese ethnic group and the native group can be seen from the vivid diffusion in the way of thinking and the behavior of both ethnic groups in the region. In addition, the primordialism between the native and Chinese ethnic group is not clearly visible, which indicates the establishment of communication in social, economic, governance, and power aspects. Consequently, the acculturation of Mandarin with Javanese culture in Eastern Cirebon covers phonological, lexical or diction (which is the most frequent), morphological (the most unique), and syntactical aspects. In addition, this paper is the result of a field research using observation, note taking, and interview techniques (directly with the native speakers of the Chinese ethnic group), as well as a literature study.

Keywords: acculturation, characteristics of language, Chinese culture, Javanese, linguistic borderland

1. Introduction

The Cirebon region is the easternmost northern-coastal area in West Java province. The eastern and southeastern borders are Central Java province, the southern border is Ciamis regency, the western border is Sumedang and Subang regency, while the northern border is the Java Sea. According to the government administration, this

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region comprises four regencies (Cirebon, Indramayu, Kuningan, and Majalengka) and the Cirebon region is categorized as a densely populated region in Indonesia.

Cirebon, as a region inhabited by a Cirebonese culture community, has unique characteristics due to acculturation between Hindu, Hindu-Islam, Javanese-Sundanese ethnicities, Arabic-Chinese ethnicities, the Mataram-Galuh Pakuan/Padjajaran kingdom, and West Java/Central Java. Moreover, it is also a cross region between coastal areas and mountainous/highland areas.

The linguistic situation in Cirebon is diglossic. In Cirebon, a number of languages are spoken, namely Cirebonese, Cirebonese Sundanese, Indonesian, and foreign languages such as Arabic, Mandarin/Chinese, Dutch, and English. Mandarin is one of the languages productively used by the Chinese ethnic group in Losari district, Cirebon (borderland between West Java and Central Java). The acculturation of language and the culture between the Chinese ethnic group and the native group can be seen from the vivid diffusion in the way of thinking and the behavior of both ethnic groups in the region. In addition, the primordialism between the native and Chinese ethnic group is not clearly visible, which indicates the establishment of communication in social, economic, governance, and power aspects.

The Javanese language and culture (Cirebonese-Javanese language) is a part of Indonesia's culture (it falls under the Malay language category), and also makes its own contribution towards the development of customs, the efforts to nourish and elevate the value of humanity, and foster the unification and unity of the Indonesian nation. The Losari district is one of the districts in Cirebon regency that has also become the center of Chinese ethnic group activities in East Cirebon's trading (borders with Brebes region, Central Java). The use of language by the Chinese ethnic group that has been developed in Losari district possesses characteristics that are intriguing to scrutinize, namely the variation of Cirebonese, which has already been mixed with Mandarin.

The languages used by the people are Javanese with Cirebonese dialect, Cirebonese-Sundanese, Indonesian (as much as needed), and other languages such as Arabic, Chinese, and Bugis. For instance, in Cirebon regions, both city, and rural areas, there are regions with Cirebonese-Sundanese speakers. This can be clearly seen from Aya-trohaedi's research [1], which thoroughly describes the situation of the Sundanese language in Cirebon. Cirebonese Sundanese also possesses its own uniqueness compared to the standard Sundanese language (*lulugu*). Furthermore, the Indonesian language in Cirebon is used out of necessity. As a matter of fact, other languages are also productively used.

In addition to Javanese and Sundanese, in Cirebon, the Chinese culture also flourishes harmoniously. One of the areas that provide an opportunity for the establishment and spread of Chinese culture is the borderland between West Java and Central Java, which is West Java's easternmost area, more precisely in Losari district, Cirebon Regency. The social, economic, and cultural lives of the people in this region are very harmonious. The life of the society looks very peaceful. The natives of Losari district are mostly Javanese speakers (Cirebon), with some of them speaking Sundanese while some of the Chinese ethnic group members speak Javanese (the majority of them) and Indonesian. As a matter of fact, there is a small percentage of Sundanese-speaking Chinese ethnic group members.

Such a varied linguistic situation in Cirebon drives contacts between languages. The existence of such language contacts leads to a bilingual situation amongst the speakers (for example, the occurrence of interference and code-mixing/code-switching occurring within the context of language usage in Cirebon), in addition to the existence of acculturation between two different cultures (Chinese and Javanese), thus it is only normal if there is an acculturation of Chinese culture (non-native inhabitants) with the Javanese natives inhabiting the language use area of Losari, Cirebon Regency.

Departing from the research background previously elaborated, the paper aims: (a) to generally describe the linguistic situation in Losari; (b) to scrutinize the acculturation of Chinese culture to Javanese culture in Losari; (c) to provide a structure/form of language as the result of acculturation between Mandarin and Cirebonese-Javanese; and (d) to describe linguistic characteristics in the Losari region, Cirebon as seen from phonological, lexical, and morphosyntactical perspectives.

Consequently, the acculturation of Chinese to Javanese culture in eastern Cirebon comprises phonological, lexical/diction (the most frequent), morphological (the most unique), and syntactical aspects.

2. Methods

The method used in this research is descriptive. The application of a descriptive method is in line with the research objective, namely to systematically describe the acculturation of Chinese culture to Javanese culture in Losari, Cirebon in the existing or the actually used Indonesian language by the people of Cirebon city/Cirebon regency as bilingual speakers. Then, the data collection is done through the use of field notes by using two means, namely (1) direct field notes and (2) recordings or indirect field notes. The data collection is done through: (1) guided conversation, (2) direct questioning, (3)

indirect questioning, (4) answer-simulating acts, and (5) questions to obtain multiple answers. Data are also collected through the distribution of a questionnaire. Consequently, a list of prepared questions is used to gather the data through the respective methods.

The data sources in this research are both the spoken and written language attained from Chinese ethnic speakers in Losari district, Cirebon regency, who was born and raised in, and who now inhabit the region. The data successfully gathered by the research also comes from native Cirebon informants who were born and raised in, and who now inhabit Cirebon Regency.

The data in this research are gathered from Chinese ethnic citizens in Losari districts comprising 10 villages, namely (1) Astanalanggar, (2) Barisan, (3) Losari Kidul, (4) Panggangsari, (5) Losari Lor, (6) Mulyasari, (7) Ambulu, (8) Kalisari, (9) Kalirahayu, and (10) Tawangsari. Out of these 10 villages in Losari district, only five are taken as a sample due to being identified as having a notable number of Chinese ethnic inhabitants. Thus, the research was held in the Losari region, more precisely in villages with notable numbers of Chinese ethnic inhabitants, namely (1) Astanalanggar, (2) Barisan, (3) Losari Kidul, (4) Panggangsari, and (5) Losari Lor.

3. Results

3.1. Social and cultural situation in Cirebon

In Cirebon, a number of languages are spoken, namely Cirebonese-Javanese, Cirebonese-Sundanese, Indonesian, and foreign languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, and English.

3.1.1. Cirebonese-Javanese language

Since being established, this language has been used as a lingua franca since the middle of the 15th century AD. In the beginning, this language possessed no distinguishing features from other Javanese languages, but as it developed, it had more contact with Sundanese, and thus the Sundanese influence was inevitable. The similarities could also be seen only in terms of *kromo*. For the *kromo* language, generally, Cirebonese-Javanese fully adopts the standardized Javanese.

In addition to being influenced by Sundanese, Cirebonese-Javanese also influences the Sundanese language in Cirebon itself, especially in terms of vocabulary and a

little bit in regard to phonology. Currently, Cirebonese-Javanese plays the role of the language for household settings, trading, and religion. As the language used within households, Cirebonese-Javanese is used for daily conversation between family members whose mother tongue is Cirebonese-Javanese, including those who are outside of Cirebon. As the trading language, the language is used in daily negotiating activities at the market or in shops in the region where Cirebonese-Javanese is widely used. As the language of religion, Cirebonese-Javanese is used as the medium of instruction at *pesantren/pondok*, including those that are outside the region where Cirebonese-Javanese is widely used.

3.1.2. Cirebonese-Sundanese language

Cirebonese-Sundanese has been used since the beginning of the 15th century AD. Due to being closely related to Cirebonese-Javanese, Cirebonese-Sundanese didn't escape the influence of Cirebonese-Javanese generally in terms of phonology and morphology. Cirebonese-Sundanese plays the role of the language in households, trading, literature, and as an educational medium of instruction.

3.1.3. Indonesian language

Indonesian in Cirebon is used as the language for formal contexts and the medium of instruction in schools. The Indonesian language in this region develops quickly and is able to influence the existing ethnic languages, Cirebonese-Javanese and Cirebonese-Sundanese. This influence affects the diction and morphology areas, whereas, in the phonology area, the dialect becomes invertedly influenced.

3.1.4. Foreign languages

The foreign languages used in Cirebon are Arabic, Chinese, and English. Arabic, in particular, still plays a role as the language of religion. Chinese, which is mostly used by Chinese ethnic citizens, doesn't significantly influence other ethnic languages. The influence can only be seen in particular aspects, namely the names of types of cuisine and numbers.

The influence of English is more significant along the raising use of English as well as the establishment of industrial fields and foreigners who invest in Cirebon. Thus,

according to the history and the sociocultural elements, the establishment of *Karesidenan Cirebon*, which was based on the former Cirebon sultanate, doesn't imply that Cirebon is a region with an integrated culture. On the one hand, Javanese culture flourishes within the castles. On the other hand, Sundanese culture develops out of the castles. Hence, in Cirebon, there are forms of both Javanese culture and Sundanese culture in addition to being known as the center of the spread of Islam. Moreover, Cirebon culture was also influenced by foreign cultures (besides Javanese and Sundanese).

3.2. General description of Losari District, Cirebon Regency

Cirebon is known as a northern-coastal region with an intriguing history, a cultural region, and the center of the spread of Islam. One of the regions in Cirebon regency that actively contributes to the establishment of social, cultural, and trading is its easternmost regions, more specifically in the borderland between West Java and Central Java province, Losari district.

In Losari district, West Java, both Javanese and Chinese ethnic groups (native and non-native) live alongside each other harmoniously and make up the society. The majority of the natives work as farmers with a minority of them being vendors. On the other hand, the majority of Chinese ethnic nonnatives work in the trading sector.

Referring to the history of their arrival in this area, the Chinese group settling in Losari district are mostly descendants of refugees from Batavia. At that time, Chinese ethnic groups living in Batavia were massacred by the Dutch imperialists in 1740 AD due to their envy of the Chinese ethnic group in Batavia. Ever since the massacre that occurred that year, Chinese ethnic groups have not been allowed to freely settle in Batavia. Those that survived had to follow the *Wijkenstelsel* rule issued by the Dutch in which they were only allowed to settle in Pecinan (Pecenongan). Meanwhile, those who couldn't stand living in Batavia fled eastwards and would then ask for sanctuary in the Mataram Kingdom (Amangkurat II), which was focused in Wanakarta (Kartasura). Some of these refugees only made it to Losari and didn't continue their journey to Kartasura.

Another intriguing thing about Losari is that during the era of Hindu Mataram (6th century) and up to the era of the Demak Kingdom (4th century), Losari was a coastal area known as an important harbor, along with Gresik and Banten harbors, as a place of transit to get to the hinterland of the Galuh Kingdom. The Cisanggarung river, which used to be called the Sanggabraja estuary, was a very busy pathway for

water transportation between local residents as well as between people and incomes, including trader incomers.

The Losari region is a northeastern region of West Java province that directly borders the Brebes regency region, Central Java province. In the Losari region, there are 10 villages, namely (1) Astanalanggar, (2) Barisan, (3) Losari Kidul, (4) Panggangsari, (5) Losari Lor, (6) Mulyasari, (7) Ambulu, (8) Kalisari, (9) Kalirahayu, and (10) Tawangasari. This research took place in Losari district, especially in villages where there are notable numbers of Chinese ethnic inhabitants, namely (1) Astanalanggar, (2) Barisan, (3) Losari Kidul, (4) Panggangsari, and (5) Losari Lor.

The Indonesian language and ethnic language – Cirebonese in Losari district – greatly influence the development of language in this border area, hence the linguistic uniqueness possessed by the local Chinese ethnic inhabitants.

Some villages in Losari district, Cirebon regency, are inhabited by several Chinese ethnic families. They tend to be multilingual in their daily communication as they use Chinese, Indonesian, and Javanese. Some of them have already inhabited the region for generations, with the majority of the inhabitants speaking Cirebonese-Javanese. In addition, the Chinese ethnic in Losari district has been diffused by the local residents.

3.3. Theoretical framework

3.3.1. Linguistic study of sinology

Studies (relating to sinology) developed in Indonesia and related to linguistic aspects have been conducted by Astar et al. [2] Darheni [3], and Khak et al. [4].

The history of the development of the Malay-Chinese language developed in Indonesia. Chinese ethnic groups that settle in Indonesia comprise 3% (three percent) of the whole population. "If the overall population in Indonesia reaches 192 million, the Chinese ethnic group members will total about 5.76 million individuals."

Chinese ethnic groups in Indonesia make up a complex society. This complexity can be seen from their ethnicity, citizenship status, socioeconomic background, orientation, and education. They originate from Hokkian, Hakka, Teohiu, Kwongfu, and other subethnicities.

The diffusion of Chinese ethnic groups into Indonesian citizens can be seen from various perspectives, namely sociological, anthropological, political, or linguistic. Furthermore, he explains that the process of Chinese ethnic group diffusion from the socio-cultural perspective is indicated by the acculturation of the incomer culture towards

Indonesian culture. This will strengthen the status of the Indonesian nation. The acculturation, tradition, and interracial marriage, for instance, lead to the uniqueness of Indonesia's ethnicities.

Astar et al. [2] performed a study on Mandarin preservation in Jakarta. The study covers household aspects. The sample variables employed as indicators include age, ethnicity, religion, mother tongue, latest education, occupation, duration of settlement, the first language used when meeting their mate, number of children, the ethnicity of the majority of the neighbors, whether or not they hired a housemaid, and the housemaid's ethnicity.

A study on sinology, namely on the language preservation and language attitude amongst Indonesia's Chinese descendant higher-education students in Medan by using quantitative and qualitative methods in the collection and analysis of the data. The list of questions in the questionnaire used requires information regarding (i) mother tongue, (ii) proficiency in the mother tongue, (iii) the surrounding environment, and (iv) the intensity of communication or intergroup relationship. Within the household, the female respondents tend to use the Hokkien language more with whomever they talk to. The male respondents tend to use the Hokkien language in any situation. When they croon, silently counting, joking, and discussing, the respondents tend to use the Hokkien language. Similarly, when they swear, fantasizing, seething with anger, and dreaming, Hokkien again tends to be used. However, the respondents tend to use Indonesian when they compose a letter or message and they listen to songs and watch movies in English and Indonesian more than listening to or watching them in Mandarin. Based on this research, the Hokkien language preservation tends to be active [5].

Another study on sinology underlines the existence of a Chinese ethnic group from their sociocultural aspect in Jakarta city. From time to time, the social life of the Chinese ethnic group in Indonesia experiences a shift of value in several factors of social life that leads to a physical change in terms of architecture. This can be seen from the physical shape of their houses. In his study, he also elaborates on the occurrence of a cultural value shift, especially the aesthetic value of the Chinese in Indonesia, which is a prominent phenomenon amongst Chinese ethnic groups in Jakarta city [5].

Furthermore, the aesthetic value of the Chinese ancestral culture that entered Indonesia had a tendency to be a symbolic aesthetic value. This could be seen from life values that referred to Confucianism and Taoism and submission to the Feng Shui principle (the principle of balance with nature). Thus, such symbolic aesthetic values were still held and influenced the physical shape of the houses of the Chinese ethnic households. Currently, however, Chinese ethnic groups in Indonesia are a global

society that is no longer seen as an ethnic minority. They have a modern way of thinking that is in line with the advancement of time and alongside Indonesian natives. This modern way of thinking becomes the main factor causing the shift of the symbolic aesthetic value towards the tendency for a formal aesthetic value.

Darheni [3] carried out a study on sinology in the borderland between West Java and Central Java in her thesis. In his research, he elucidates the attitude of Cindowa (abbreviation of Chinese-Indonesian-Javanese) speakers in Losari district, Cirebon, which tends to be influenced by the sociocultural environment of the society. Spoken Indonesian of the Losari's Cindowa speakers is one of the Indonesian language variants that are used in the household setting (between children and their parents). Losari's Javanese language is the medium of instruction in elementary education. The Cindowa speaker also uses the medium of instruction that has already been adapted to the multilingual situation in Losari-Cirebon and vice versa; the society there also uses the language used by Cindowa speakers in elementary education.

Indonesian and the local ethnic language, in this case, Cirebonese-Javanese in the Losari region, greatly influence the linguistic development in this borderland, causing the Chinese ethnic speakers there to possess uniqueness in their language. The Chinese vocabulary influencing the language development only covers areas such as greeting expressions and number vocabulary.

Within the Cindowa speaker community, age is one of the social markers in conversation. Speakers who are younger will automatically choose appropriate utterances and follow the maxim of respect towards the elderly. The negligence of values within this maxim will demonstrate a particular linguistic attitude. One of the attitudes is the effort by the speaker to take a new role and status by identifying himself to the other social markers as a display of attitude in liberating himself from the old traditional status.

The form of the spoken language of Cindowa speakers in Losari is greatly influenced by the form of ethnic language developed in the place (Cirebonese-Javanese). The utterances used also tend to be a code-mixing from Indonesian to Losari-Javanese and vice versa. In addition, interferences are often identifiable amongst Cindowa speakers, for example from the local language to Indonesian, and Chinese to Indonesian.

The attitude of Cindowa speakers towards their ancestors' language is negative given that the use of Mandarin by Chinese ethnic group members in Losari is very rare, especially amongst young people, as they no longer recognize or use Chinese in their daily conversation, both written and spoken. However, Cindowa speakers have a very positive attitude towards the use of Indonesian and Losari-Javanese. This tendency

leads to a lack of mastery of proper Indonesian amongst Cindowa speakers. This can be considered normal for several reasons: (a) the Cindowa speaker community requires them to speak the local language, namely Losari Cirebonese-Javanese; (b) the Cindowa speaker community tends to preserve the Chinese language and terminologies since they consider them to be more suitable/appropriate for communicating with one another; (c) the code-mixing and interference undertaken by the Cindowa speaker community is intended to show that they want to be taken as part of the local society, namely the Losari Javanese group, and thus the structures they use are often a mixture of Javanese, Indonesian, and Chinese, or are interfered with by the structure of Losari's Cirebonese-Javanese.

The older generation of Cindowa speakers has a very positive attitude towards the use of Javanese. Almost all of the activities performed by this group use Cirebonese Javanese, whether it is with other, family, or with fellow Cindowa speakers.

In addition, this research also describes the structure of the spoken Indonesian used by Cindowan speakers, which doesn't differ greatly from that of the general Indonesian public. However, the structure of their spoken Indonesian utterances tends to be different from the other structures of the Indonesian language.

The Chinese ethnic group in Tangerang, which is also known as Benteng Chinese, had experienced acculturation of language and culture with the surrounding society. The process, pattern, and factors causing the shift of the Hokkien dialect of Mandarin. The Chinese ethnic group in Tangerang hardly ever use the Hokkien dialect.

Furthermore, that the language shift process within the Benteng Chinese ethnic group occurs due to acculturation, which leads to a mixture of existing languages. Another factor is that Tangerang is located in Banten province where Sundanese is mainly used and it directly borders Jakarta province where Betawi is the main language used. The Hokkien dialect is sometimes found to be used within household settings when they address their family members, counting, or when they mention currency and Chinese cuisine. In addition, they also use the Hokkien dialect to mention nouns, especially nouns used in spiritual activities. In using verbs and adjectives, they also still use a little bit of Hokkien dialect. They mostly use Sundanese and Betawi to mention nouns, verbs, and adjectives.

The pattern of the language shift within families of the Benteng Chinese ethnic group in Tangerang occurs as a result of their vocabularies being adopted from Sundanese, which are then pronounced in Betawi language style. For example, the pronunciation of /a/ in Sundanese becomes /e/ as in the Betawi language. The word *bebuaahan*, which is originally a Sundanese word, becomes *bubuaahan* (fruits). Although

most of the root words used are Sundanese, there is a notable quantity of words that are affixed to become Betawi-like. For example, the affix *nya-*, which is used to form a verb in Sundanese, is changed to the affix *-nye*, as in the Betawi language: The word *nyerende* comes from the word *nyarande*, “to lean on” in the Sundanese language. In addition to phonological, morphological, and lexical changes, there is also a linguistic phenomenon behind the existence of the word *nenampan*, which means *nampan* (tray). This word has experienced a prosthesis process where there is an additional sound in the initial position of the word. In addition, there is also the word *triska*, which means *setrika* (iron). This word has been modified through a metathesis process where there is a change of syllable position. In addition, there is the word *kerosi*, which originates from the Sundanese word *korsi*, which means *kursi* (chair). This word is modified through the epenthesis process where the letter “o” is added in the middle of the word. Also, there is a case of apheresis in the word *anyut*, which means *hanyut* (carried away by the water stream), because the letter “h” is omitted from the start of the word. Furthermore, a case of syncope is also identifiable in the word *bejejer*, which means *berjajar* (to be in a line/row), as the letter “r” is omitted from the middle of the word.

The factors resulting in the language shift in the household settings of the Benteng Chinese ethnic group are: (1) the ban from using the language and embodying ethnical attributes, especially Chinese ethnicity, in 1966; (2) the desire to be considered as an equal citizen of the Republic of Indonesia because they also claim their stance against imperialism; (3) the fact that since the old days, the parents had not been willing to teach Mandarin to their children; (4) their settlement, which, due to being situated in Banten province bordering directly with Jakarta, results in language diffusion, namely the mixture of Sundanese and Betawi; (5) their socioeconomic status, which is different from other Chinese ethnic groups in Indonesia; and (6) the fact that the majority of them live with a low socioeconomic status.

Khak et al. [4] conducted a study on Chinese ethnic group language preservation in six big cities in West Java. In their research, Khak et al. [4] elaborate that amongst Chinese ethnic speakers in West Java, there has been a Mandarin language shift. It has been emphasized that there is no language preservation effort identifiable within Chinese-Chinese families; a language shift occurs instead. The language shift in Chinese-Chinese families is the consequence of a less supportive environment factor, which amounts to 96.46%, and only 3.4% of the respondents claim that their environment supports the language preservation.

The language shift amongst Chinese ethnic speakers in the six regions in West Java is supported by language attitudes comprising the following: (a) only 12.05% of the parents deliberately teach Mandarin to their children whereas the rest of the respondents (87.95%) don't do so; (b) 69.76% of the parents claim to gain pleasure from seeing their children being able to communicate in Mandarin. This indicates that eventually most of the parents have a positive attitude towards Mandarin. The problem depends on their unwillingness to teach the language to their children.

The reasons as to why Mandarin (Chinese) is not preserved vary. They include a better proficiency at communicating in Indonesian/ethnic language than proficiency in Mandarin, the superior qualities of Indonesian language, habits since childhood, communicativeness (Indonesian/ethnic languages are more communicative), comfort (experiencing more comfort in using Indonesian/ethnic language), and politics (communicating in Mandarin used to be banned).

With regard to the various studies conducted, it is revealed that Chinese ethnic groups are an ethnic minority within the Republic of Indonesia and they are evenly distributed in all provinces, residences, and even districts. However, almost all of the sinology-linguistic studies, both inside and outside Java island, only focus on the Chinese ethnic groups in big cities; no study on the use of language and the content of Chinese ethnic groups' language as seen from the sinology-linguistic perspective in Cirebon, West Java, to the best of the writer's knowledge, has ever been conducted. This research is limited to sinology-linguistic phenomena flourishing in Cirebon.

3.3.2. Definition of borderland

The theory of borderland which relates to linguistics is very rare. A borderland is a bridge between two geographical regions that are prone to potential conflict either between regions or nations. Studies relating to borderlands have been conducted by Nothofer [6], the team from the literature faculty, Padjadjaran University, Bandung (1982), Lauder [7], and Sasangka [8]. A borderland shouldn't be defined only as an official border given that borderland can also refer to a border of influence or power, a border of population distribution, a border of a language area, and a border of cultural influence. Thus, Cirebon, Kuningan, Banjar (Patroman), Cilacap, and Brebes are not only official borderlands but also borderlands of language and culture.

Cirebon is a borderland between West Java and Central Java. Despite being in the West Java region, the ethnic language used by the people there is not Sundanese; they speak Cirebonese instead (another way of referring to Cirebonese-Javanese),

which differs from the Javanese language in Surakarta or Yogyakarta. The language in Cirebon seems free from either Mataram or Priangan influence. The majority of people inhabiting Cirebon city speak Javanese, whilst people in the southern part of Cirebon regency speak Sundanese. However, the Javanese and Sundanese languages used are different from the standardized Javanese and Sundanese. The influence of the Sunda Kalapa kingdom and the Pajajaran kingdom might have been one of the reasons behind the existence of Sundanese in Cirebon. The Sundanese language that used to be spoken in Sunda Kalapa, Galuh, Pajajaran, and Pakuan might have influenced Cirebon.

The conflict between Mataram and the Portuguese in Batavia, as well as the involvement of Mataram (Sultan Agung) in deciding on the death penalty for Dipati Ukur (for being involved in the Cirebon kingdom's affairs after the death of Sunan Jati), create an atmosphere of Cirebon preserving its borderland characteristic. It is neither skewed towards Pajajaran nor Mataram. Consequently, the language that appears and spreads in this borderland is an adaptation of two languages, Javanese and Sundanese. It is fair to say that individuals inhabiting a borderland are bilingual. The language that is used more frequently depends on the particular environment they live in. It can be said that those who inhabit areas near Pajajaran speak Sundanese whereas those who inhabit areas near the northern coast (notably distant from Pajajaran) speak Cirebonese Javanese.

In a borderland, a linguistic enclave is often identifiable. Studies on the respective subject in Brebes have been studied by Sasangka's [8] study and the study on the Sundanese language enclave in Indramayu. The findings are almost identical as they revealed that communities living in a borderland tend to be bilingual. According to Lauder [7], a linguistic enclave is the use of vocabularies that are different from those in the surrounding villages. In his dissertation entitled "The mapping and distribution of languages in Tangerang," Lauder [7] mentions that in referring to Tangerang's geographical location, it can be predicted that the area of Malay-language use directly borders Jakarta province; the area of Sundanese use directly borders Bogor regency, and the area of Javanese use directly borders the northern part of Serang regency along with several enclaves. These enclaves are villages where the people tend to use vocabularies distinguishable from those of the surrounding villages despite being within a similar area of language use.

3.3.3. Bilingualism

The concept of bilingualism has been discussed for a long time. The term “bilingualism” is a term whose definition can be relative. This is due to the limitations of being labeled as a bilingual individual. In other words, the ability to be bilingual is arbitrary and can't be precisely determined. Given that people's view towards bilingualism hinges upon their view towards such limitations, the view towards bilingualism also varies. As a result, the definition of bilingualism is continually developing and tends to widen alongside the rate of linguistic advancement.

Soewito [9] defines bilingualism as the ability of a speaker to make equally good use of two languages and they are then labeled as a native speaker with control of two languages. Bilingualism as the ability to of the same individual to use two languages alternately.

The diversification in the definition of bilingualism can be seen in Weinreich and Mackey's [10] opinion, which proposes the notion of the existence of levels of bilingualism aimed at distinguishing the stages of one's ability in mastering a second language. Such mastery stages are identifiable from speakers' grasp of grammatical, lexical, semantic, and style aspects that are reflected in the four language skills, namely listening, reading, speaking, and writing. The more elements are mastered by a speaker, the higher his/her bilingual level will be. In contrast, the fewer elements are mastered by a speaker, the lower his/her bilingual level will be. However, despite the high and low bilingualism levels, they have all been categorized as bilingual individuals [9].

This is intended to show that in terms of bilingualism, a bilingual individual doesn't have to actively master two languages. Instead, passively grasping the two languages is sufficient (a completely passive bilingualism is understanding without speaking). The stage of incipient bilingualism, which is the stage of bilingualism experienced by individuals (especially young learners) who learn a new language in its early stage. In this stage, bilingualism is still very simple and at a very low level. However, this stage cannot be ignored as it is the foundation of the next bilingualism stages.

As regards the definition of bilingualism, the opinion amongst Indonesian scholars is almost unanimous. Rusyana [11] elucidates the definition of bilingualism by referring to Weinreich and Mackey's opinion that it is “[t]he practice of alternate use of two languages.” Moreover, Rusyana states the definition of bilingualism based on Weinreich and Mackey's formulation as follows: “The alternate use of two or more languages by the same individual.” In this formulation, it is proposed that bilingualism is: “a demonstrated ability to communicate via more than one language. In using

language, bilingualism doesn't require the production of two languages; someone is only required to comprehend both of the languages. Furthermore, he states that the level of a bilingual individual is indicated by his *ability to produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language*.

According to Weinreich and Mackey [10], bilingualism is the use of two or more languages alternately by the same individual. Currently, the limitation of bilingualism is an "umbrella term" that comprises several different mastery stages in two languages. A bilingual individual is not only someone who is capable of using two languages, but also someone who has no longer used one of the languages. This allows someone to shift between languages within a situation.

Bilingualism in this research is alternately using languages as a consequence of language contact that is adapted to the context and situation.

Language contact

A problem that is still closely related to bilingualism is language contact. According to Rusyana [12] two or more languages are said to be in language contact if they are used alternately by the same individual. The individual is the site where the language contact occurs. Furthermore, Rusyana [13], by referring to Weinreich and Mackey's [10] concept, emphasizes that language contact with another language, either directly or indirectly, results in changes of a monolingual individual's acquired language system and enters the history of such language development. A language contact tends to lead towards a linguistic phenomenon. Language contact covers all interactions between several languages that result in the probability of a shift in the language used by an individual in his social environment.

Language contact can result in advantageous output such as word loans in addition to harmful effects such as deviation of grammar (interference).

The effects of language contact, both advantageous and disadvantageous, lead to the occurrence of a transfer that can be understood as a loaning of elements from one language to another.

Language choice

Language choice is related to the condition of the multilingual society. This multilingual condition can be seen from the use of two languages, namely ethnic language as the

mother tongue by some Indonesians. In this condition, the language users have an option regarding what language to use in communicating.

Language choice, according to Fasold [14], is not as simple as it may seem, i.e. choosing a whole language in communicating. To communicate, one should be able to determine what language to use. A person should choose one from at least two languages when he is about to talk with others. In doing so, there are three options. First, he chooses one variation from the same language (*intra-language variation*); second, he switches the code (*code-switching*); third, he mixes the code (*code-mixing*).

3.3.4. Acculturation

Definition of acculturation

Santoso said that acculturation is a fusion of two or more cultures in a synergy to bridge the characteristic of two or more cultures [9]. Someone acts and thinks in the way people think in the society where he interacts. A new environment and culture will require someone to act and think in the respective new culture. Unconsciously, a culture fusion, in this case, has taken place within himself. The phenomenon is known as "acculturation."

The definition sees acculturation in a scope between a traditional and an accumulated one. Those who act traditionally are the ones who preserve the values, beliefs, and norms of their origin culture. Then those who are accumulated or bicultural are in the middle of two cultures, preserving their origin culture, but are also assimilated into a second culture. In this case, the definition of acculturation is almost similar to the concept of transculturation, which then creates a new seed of culture that develops the origin culture and the new one. Therefore, the acculturation in Losari (between Chinese and Javanese) is a cultural characteristic of the area that plays an important role in the acculturation of indigenous and nonindigenous (Javanese-Chinese) embodied into Javanese that goes into Chinese Javanese and vice versa.

Acculturation of javanese and chinese culture in Losari as a borderland

Most of the people in Losari are Muslim. However, there are three religious levels within Islam's religious system. The first is a group that studies Islam deeply and is obedient to God's teachings. They are called Santri. The second are those who obey the teachings of Islam, but still, preserve the teachings of Hinduism. They are often

referred as the Islamic Kejewen or Abangan. The third group comprises people who consider themselves Muslims yet do not live by its precepts. This group is referred to as Islam KTP. They perform ritual ceremonies as Hindus do more often than performing Islamic rituals.

Of all the statements above, the most interesting are the second and the third group, namely Abangan and Islam KTP. They are Muslims but their lifestyle is like that of Hindus. This is shown by the frequent performance of ceremonies and offerings at certain times. These are still happening today. As a matter of fact, in terms of social life, there is a clash between the Santris and the Abangans. This conflict occurs because the Abangans do things that are considered to deviate from Islamic teachings.

The strong religious life and old culture that has been attached to Losari society are both influential in the society. Many still believe in mysticism despite being Muslim. People believe in the existence of supernatural forces surrounding them.

Many of them go on pilgrimages to tombs that are considered sacred as a sign of vows or submission of a request for permission prior to doing things that are considered important, for instance throwing a feast or building houses. There are several stages that are recognized within one's lifespan, including birth, marriage, and settling down, right through to one's death ceremony. It is not surprising that such religious value is still inherent in the Losari society.

Although the majority of the natives of Losari are Muslims, there are still notable elements that don't reflect that preaching. The people still believe in their inherited ancient lores: for example, the folklore of the goddess Sri, who is the goddess of fertility attributed to rice agriculture. According to the indigenous belief, Sri is the goddess who grants blessing for the farmers. With such a belief, there are various rituals performed commemorating events such as the opening of a new paddy field, seed planting and tending the plant, right up to the harvest.

Javanese culture is not the only one developed in Losari, as a nonindigenous culture also has a great opportunity to flourish in this borderland. This is shown by the existence of freedom for the Chinese to interact by using their mother tongue or their ancestral language or Mandarin. Besides Mandarin, Chinese culture is allowed to develop in Losari. This is shown by the fact that Chinese feasts and holidays have always been celebrated by the community members: for example, worship in temples, klenthengs, or churches. Arts/culture are also often celebrated. For example, *tanggapan*, the art of *ula liong*, is watched by both the indigenous and nonindigenous. Moreover, Chinese culture is also seen in the batik patterns that are developed and produced in this borderland.

3.4. Discussion on the language characteristics and acculturation of chinese and javanese (Hindu-Islam) among the ethnic chinese in Losari, Cirebon Regency

The characteristics of the language of Chinese ethnic speakers in Losari district are influenced by various linguistic aspects of Losari's Cirebonese-Javanese as shown in the following discussion.

3.4.1. Lexical influence

Acculturation through language is spoken by Chinese speakers to Javanese culture can reflect the acculturation of nonindigenous and (Hindu-Islam) through Javanese language and its Sanskrit. In terms of lexicon, the influence of Chinese culture on Javanese culture (Hindu-Islam) in Losari, West Java, is shown in the following lexicons.

Indonesian lexicon and the local language – in this case, Cirebonese-Javanese in Losari district – greatly influence the linguistic development in that borderland. It causes the local Mandarin speakers own their characteristics. Mandarin lexicon that influences the local linguistic development is limited to the vocabulary of greetings/calling and numbers.

Greeting/calling lexicon

Mandarin speakers use mixed greetings of Javanese (Losari-Cirebon) and Mandarin for their children, as follows.

<i>nok</i>	"calling for a girl"
<i>tong</i>	"calling for a boy"
<i>mas</i>	"calling for a man"
<i>ci/taci</i>	"calling for an older sister/woman"
<i>mamak</i>	"uncle"
<i>ooh</i>	"calling for an older brother/man"
<i>empe</i>	"parents' older sibling"
<i>mang</i>	"parents' younger sibling"
<i>engku</i>	"wife's younger sibling"
<i>encek</i>	"husband's younger sibling"
<i>kow, engkow</i>	"parents' younger sister"
<i>ciem</i>	"in-laws, parents of someone whom one's children have married"
<i>cinke</i>	"grandchild"

engsoh "wife"

The use of these calling lexicons is shown in the following sentence samples:

1. *Ci*, Sio Jok Eng tidak mau makan lagi?
Ci, doesn't Sio Jok Eng want to eat anymore?
2. *Ooh* Cheng Han sudah gak punya duit, *Cung*.
Ooh, Cheng Han hasn't got any money anymore, *Cung*.
3. Aquanya diambil dong, *Nok*, *ningkana* dekat keranjang.
Get the Aqua, please, *Nok*, *ningkana* it is by the basket.

Number lexicons

Selawe, jigo "25" "twenty-five rupiahs"

Rong puluh, jicap "20" "twenty rupiahs"

Satus, cepek "100" "one hundred rupiahs"

Sewu, ceceng "1000" "one thousand rupiahs"

Sangang puluh, "ninety rupiahs"

kowcap "90"

3.4.2. Morphological influence

The Indonesian language of Chinese/Mandarin speakers in Losari is influenced by local morphology, for example of Losari's Cirebonese-Javanese affixes into Indonesian affixes that are successfully documented by the writer verbally from the respondents is quite a lot. They are shown in the following sentences.

1. ... **ngangkut** besi coran dari sini ya sekitar sepuluh ribu.
" **mengangkut** besi coran dari sini sekitar sepuluh ribu."
"Carrying the cast iron from here costs around ten thousand."
2. Kakaknya **ngangon** kambing di lapangan sepak bola.
"Kakaknya **mengembala** kambing di lapangan sepak bola."
"His older brother grazes the sheep in the football field."

3. *Mamahnya Olivia nganggap Wakid orang Ambulu.*
"Mamahnya Olivia menganggap Wakid orang ambulu."
"Olivia's mom thinks that Wakid is an Ambulu person."
4. *Papah mangkat ke vihara biasane jam-jam ini.*
"Ayah berangkat ke vihara biasanya jam-jam ini."
"Usually, the father goes to the monastery around this time."
5. *Engkong ngomonge bahasa Cirebon bae.*
"Engkong selalu berbicara bahasa Cirebon."
"Grandfather always talks in Cirebonese."
6. *Keuntunganane sehari ya biasane telungatus seket.*
"Keuntungan sehari biasanya tiga ratus lima puluh rupiah."
"A day's profit is usually three hundred fifty."

The words *ngangkut*, *ngangon*, *nganggap*, *biasane*, *ngomonge*, and *keuntunganane* in sentences 1–6 are Javanese words at the morphological level that interfere with Indonesian. Synonyms of those six Losari Javanese words in Indonesian are *mengangkut* (to carry), *menggembala* (to graze), *menganggap* (to think), *biasanya* (normally/usually), *berbicara* (*bicaranya*) (to talk), and *keuntungannya* (profit).

3.4.3. Syntactical influence

Syntactically, the use of Indonesian by Mandarin speakers in Losari is influenced by Cirebonese Losari Javanese syntax as shown in the following sentences. Example (a) is Indonesian spoken language of Chinese Losari speakers; meanwhile, example (b) is Javanese spoken language of Mandarin Losari speakers.

- (7) a. *Telur asin itu akan dijual kamu?* (S-P-Complement)
 b. *Endog asin kien arep didol sira?* (S-P-Complement)
"Telur asin itu akan kamu jual?" (S-P)
"Will you sell the salted egg?"
- (8) a. *Empat kratonnya diberi nama Kraton Palungwati.* (S-P-Compl-Compl)
 b. *Papat kratone dinein nama Kraton Palungwati.* (S-P-Compl-Compl)
"Keempat kraton itu dinamakan Keraton Palungwati." (S-P-Compl)
"The four kratons (castles) are called Kraton Palungwati."

- (9) a. *Nasi itu sudah **dimakan** aku.* (S-P-Compl)
 b. *Sega kiye wis **dipangan** isun.* (S-P-Pel)
 “*Nasi itu sudah **saya** makan.*” (S-P)
 “The rice has been eaten by me.”
- (10) a. *Bapa membelikan baju **untuk** kita.* (S-P-O-Adverb)
 b. *Bapak nukokaken klambi **kanggo** kita.* (S-P-O-Adverb)
 “*Bapak membelikan **saya** baju.*” (S-P-O-Compl)
 “Father gets me a shirt.”
- (11) a. *Ikan bandeng ini **akan** dibeli kamu?* (S-P-Compl)
 b. *Iwak bandeng iku **repan** dituku sira?* (S-P-Compl)
 “*Ikan bandeng ini **akan** kamu beli?”* (S-P)
 “Will you buy this *bandeng* fish?”
- (12) a. *Saya dibelikan **baju** oleh bapa.* (S-P-Pel-Adv)
 b. *Kita ditukoknang **klambi** nang bapa.* (S-P-Pel-Adv)
 “*Saya dibelikan bapak **baju**.*” (S-P-Pel-Pel/Complement)
 “I am given a shirt by father.”

It appears that the structure of Indonesian used by Mandarin speakers tends to be affected by Javanese Losari. If the structure in Losari Javanese is Subject-Predicate-Complement, then the structure of Indonesian used by Losari Mandarin speakers will be Subject-Predicate-Complement as illustrated in examples (7), (8), (9), and the sentences (11). When the Losari Javanese structure is Subject-Predicate-Complement-Complement, the Indonesian structure also becomes Subject-Predicate-Complement-Complement as in example (8). When the Losari Javanese structure is Subject-Predicate-Object-Adverb, the structure of Indonesian is also Subject-Predicate-Object-Complement as in example (10). Similarly, when the Losari Javanese structure is Subject-Predicate-Complement-Adverb, the structure of Indonesian used by Chinese speakers in Losari is also Subject-Predicate-Complement-Adverb as in example (12).

3.4.4. Chinese speakers' language attitude

The attitude of Chinese/Mandarin speakers toward their ancestral language has been negative because the use of Mandarin by Chinese people residing in Losari is very poor,

especially among the younger generation, as they are not familiar with Mandarin and do not use it in their daily communication, either orally or in writing.

The Mandarin speakers are very positive toward the use of Indonesian and Losari Javanese. However, the tendency of the use of Indonesian by the younger generation of Chinese ethnic group members is great, despite the frequent mixed codes and interference. This tendency causes Mandarin speakers to have poor mastery of Indonesian. It can only be considered normal for the following reasons:

- (a) The Chinese speaker community requires them to speak the local language, namely Losari Cirebonese-Javanese.
- (b) The Chinese speaker community tends to preserve the Chinese language and terminologies since they consider them to be more suitable/appropriate for communicating with one another.
- (c) The code-mixing and interference conducted by the Chinese speaker community is intended to show that they want to be taken as part of the local society, namely the Losari Javanese group, thus the structures they use are often a mixture of Javanese, Indonesian, and Chinese or interfere with the structure of Losari's Cirebonese-Javanese.

Meanwhile, the older generation of Mandarin speakers has a very positive attitude toward the use of Javanese. Almost all of the activities carried out use Losari Javanese in communicating with one another, family members, or other Mandarin speakers.

4. Conclusion

The Indonesian spoken language of Chinese/Mandarin speakers in Losari is greatly influenced by the development of the vernacular there (Losari Cirebonese-Javanese). The utterances used are inclined to be mixed codes of Indonesian to Losari Javanese or vice versa. In addition, interference often takes place amongst Mandarin speakers: for instance, from the vernacular to Indonesian, or from Mandarin to Indonesian.

The Indonesian spoken language of Mandarin speakers in Losari is one variant of Indonesian that is used in household settings (between children and their parents). Losari Javanese serves as the medium of instruction in primary education at school. Mandarin speakers also use an introductory language that is appropriate with the community's multilingual situation – Chinese speakers in Losari-Cirebon can use the language that is used by Chinese speakers in primary education.

Indonesian and the local language – in this case Cirebonese-Javanese in Losari – greatly influence linguistic development in that borderland, resulting in the local Mandarin speakers having their own language characteristics. Meanwhile Mandarin vocabulary influences the local linguistic development, but this is limited to greetings/calling and numbers.

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