

LANGUAGE SHIFT OF JAVANESE AND ITS IMPACTS ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF SAMIN COMMUNITY

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Abstract: This research is intended to describe the shift of Javanese and its impacts on Samin community. Samin is an honest and modest people. They always use *ngoko* Javanese. Therefore, *Samin* people are often called *the naive Javanese* or *Jawa Jawab*, meaning that they always speak innocently. The research conducted in two Samin settlement sites Tambak, Sumber Village, Kradenan Sub-District and Tanduran, Kemantren Village, Kedungtuban Sub-District. The research reveals that the shift of Javanese used by Samin society from *ngoko* (low-level) to *basa* (high-level) Javanese. The impact of the shift is the transformation of Samin society, in terms of modesty, level of education, technology, marriage, economy, tax-paying obedience, and non-isolation habit.

Keywords: Javanese, language shift, Samin community.

INTRODUCTION

The practice of language use cannot be separated from the influence of social and cultural backgrounds of its speakers. In this case, the backgrounds have a huge amount of influence over the materialization of a language. The diversity of cultural background creates a variation of a particular language. Pastika (2005: 103) agrees with the notion that a language predominantly plays an important role in a society since it does not only becomes the part of human culture but also determines the development of its culture.

There has been a long debate about the relation between language and ethnic among linguists particularly sociolinguists. Its most considerable topic relates to the issue of language as ethnic symbol and language loyalty which eventually pertains to the problem of human behavior towards their language (Thomason 2001:22). Due to the complexity of human behaviour, the problem becomes rather unpredictable.

Ethnic is a group of society whose members are originally from the same descent and usually identified by the similar physical attributes such as hair color and type, nose shape, skin color, and language (Sumarsono and Partana 2002:67). In this case, language is considered as one of ethnic identities. Frequently the difference of mother tongue reflects ethnic difference. Ethnic dialect when speaking the same language also characterizes the differences. The phenomenon is noticeable in a multiethnic country such as Indonesia in which each ethnic communicates using different language.

The phenomenon also happens in Javanese language which is identified with Javanese ethnic. Here, Javanese used by Samin Society (hereinafter referred to

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JSS) is identical with Samin society. Based on Widodo (2000:19), the identity of a Samin is principally indicated from the language behavior. The appearance of a Samin is distinguishable when speaking using Javanese Samin or not.

JSS relates the phenomena of language to the social and cultural factors of its speakers. JSS is inextricably linked to the culture of Samin society in which generally JJS is not much different with JJSt. The characteristics of JJS are as follows: (1) morphologically, JJS has an element of enclitic morphology *-em* (in JJSt *-mu*), (2) lexically it is more dominated by stressed particle of *leh* than *lah* and *to* as in JJSt, (3) ethnolinguistically there is a lexical element having particular cultural meaning such as the use of words *bancik* [bancI?] ‘sawah’, *sembahyang* [s|mbayan] ‘sexual intercourse’, *salin sandhangan* [salIn san-aŋan] ‘die’, *gebyah macul* [g|byah macU] ‘work’, *jeneng* [j|n|ŋ] ‘gender’, *sikep rabi* [sik|prabi] ‘household’, *adang akeh* [adaŋ akeh] ‘celebrate a special occasion’, *bento* [bento] ‘psychoneurotic’, *ndeloki* [ndelO?i] ‘meet fiancée’, *ndowani* [ndowani] ‘pilgrimage’ and so forth.

Samín society is a group of people living together and inhabiting some areas in Central Java. Further, this society has particular habits, structure and customs which are different from other groups due to the influence of Samín Surosentiko as the forerunner of Samín society. The name of Samín is derived from his name, Samín Surosentiko as the prominent public figure. At the moment, Samín society is no longer isolated and secluded from other groups of society. Further in some parts of the region, they mingle with others without distinct geographical boundaries as they live hand in hand with other Javanese society. Consequently, mutual influence between Samín and other Javanese society is unavoidable.

One of the results of this proximity is the fundamental change of language use in social interaction among Samín people. On a day-to-day basis, they have used communicative language which is different from *ngoko*. Further, Samín society has followed marriage procedure at the Bureau of Religious Affairs which was previously deemed as unimportant. Besides that, the perception of tax-paying obligation and the rejection towards religious not to mention state leaders have similarly undergone substantial change.

The shift of language use is actually in line with the willingness of Samín society to embrace change and various influences in the scientific, technological, social as well as cultural aspects. For the time being, Samín society has understood the structure of Javanese though their understanding is not as complex as other groups of society. As a result, this understanding has an impact on the language used by Samín society.

This research is focused on the shift of Javanese variation used by Samín society from *ngoko* to *krama*. The shift is, without any doubt, related to the social and cultural change which happened inside Samín society.

The shift of Javanese on Samin society becomes appealing as the study is not only linked to the linguistic but also social and cultural aspects. This research is a sociolinguistic study concentrating on the language phenomenon related to its users (Wardaugh 1986:12; Holmes 1992:1; and Hudson 1996:1). Therefore, the research is designed to not only portray the aspects of language but also reveal the social and cultural factors which provoke the language shift used by Samin society. Besides that, this research will also investigate the impact of language shift in the daily life of Samin society.

In sociolinguistic literature, the retention and shift of a language become an attractive phenomenon. This term was firstly introduced by Fishman in 1964. Further, some researches about language shift had been conducted by Errington (1998) and Smith-Hefner (2009).

This article explains the shift of language variation on Samin society in Blora Regency from the use of *ngoko* Javanese to *basa*. Initially, Samin society was well-known as a group of people who only spoke *ngoko* Javanese. However, in line with their open-mindedness, presently Samin society is able to speak *basa*. This language shift has, of course, impacts on the life of Samin society.

METHODS

The data in this research is collected through involved-conversation observation technique, free involved-conversation observation technique, recording technique and note taking. In involved-conversation observation technique, the researcher participates on the conversation and scrutinizes it (Sudaryanto 1993: 133). Consequently, the researcher has a direct participation in the dialogue. Meanwhile, the technique of involved-conversation observation is used as the researcher does not involve in the dialogue, conversion or reciprocal conversation. In other words, the researcher does not participate in the conversation (Sudaryanto 1993: 134). This data collection process is called as the method of observation-participation. To make it effective, the data is collected using a tape recorder.

The JSS study is focused on the Javanese used by Samin society in Blora Regency where they spread across some villages. The field sites are concentrated on two locations of Samin settlement: Tambak, Sumber Village, Kradenan Sub-district and Tanduran, Kemantren Village, Kedungtuban Sub-District. The locations are selected because that the population of these two villages dominated by Samin people. In both villages, they still live as a group and carry out Samin custom as well as.

The data analysis in ethnography research is generally conducted with two procedures. The first procedure is carried out with (a) data reduction by identifying the use of Javanese by Samin society; (b) data presentation with matrix; and

(c) tentative deduction/verification with both data triangulation and triangulation of data collection technique.

The second procedure include these following activities (a) phonetic transcription of the recordings; (b) data classification of the recordings and based on the registration according to the language structure, social and cultural factors; (c) interpretation of the difference of JSS language based on social and cultural factors; (d) inference about Javanese used by Samin society.

The Shift of Javanese on Samin Society

The study of language shift shall be linked to the concept of language selection. The understanding of language selection in diglosia concept is truly essential so that the observation regarding the retention and leakage of diglosia resulted in the language shift can further be conducted. The shift or extinction of a language in a society is initiated by a contact of two languages. The indication of language extinction will be clearly visible in a long run. At the beginning, each language is able to maintain its users on a separate domain. Then on a particular transition process, the society becomes bilingual as the stage of the first language extinction (L1) and in a long run their generation will transform themselves into a monolingual again. Therefore, the language shift encompasses bilingualism (often with diglosia) as monolingualism stage (new L1) (Rokhman 2009: 3). Moreover, the indication of language shift is frequently linked to the lack of language use domain (Grimes 2000: 64). It can be understood as this domain indicates the language widespread used and maintained by its users.

At the moment there is also a shift in JSS. The referred shift in this research is t from *ngoko* to *karma* Javanese. Further, JJS which initially was not distinguished by *karma* had a very limited use. For the time being, Samin society has recognized *basa* in any conversation, particularly when it occurs among non-Samin speakers.

The shift of Javanese used by Samin society is also recognized by the selders in Tambak whose residents are mostly Samin society. Mr. Sugiyanto (a seniorin Tambak, Sumber Village, Kradenan Sub-District) stated that the language dominantly used for communication among members of Samin society in Tambak Village is Javanese. Their Javanese is similar to the language used by other community using language structure of *krama (basa)*. Similarly, the Headman of Sumber Village, Mr. Sunoto agreed with Mr. Sugiyanto that Samin society does not constantly use *ngoko* when communicating with others. At the moment Samin society has used *krama (basa)* Javanese particularly when speaking to a non-Samin speaker as well as a respectable figure. Here is the data of Javanese shift used by youth and elderly Samin society.

TABLE 1: DATA OF JAVANESE SHIFT USED BY YOUTH AND ELDERLY SAMIN SOCIETY

<i>Sentence</i>	<i>Elderly</i>	<i>Youth</i>
	<i>Response in JSS</i>	<i>Response in JSS</i>
Bapak lagi adus neng kali 'Father is taking a bath on the river'	Mak nembe adus teng lepen [ma? n mbɛ adUs t G lɛpɛn]	Make nembe siram teng lepen [ma? n mbɛ siram t G lɛpɛn]
Paklik duwe gawe 'Uncle celebrates a special occasion'	Maklik ajeng brokohan [ma?lɪ? aj G brOkOan]	Maklik gadhah damel [ma?lɪ? ga ah dam l]
Bapak lagi maca Koran 'Father is reading newspaper'	Mak nembe maca koran [ma? n mbɛ mOcO koran]	Make nembe maos koran [ma? n mbɛ maOs koran]
Bapak ngombe kopi saccangkir 'Father drinks a cup of coffee'	Mak nginum kopi saccangkir [ma? GinUm kopi sa?c Gkɪr]	Make nginum kopi saccangkir [ma?e GinUm kopi sa?c Gkɪr]
Simbah lagi lungguh neng kursi 'Grandmother is sitting on a chair'	Simbah lagek jungok teng kursi [simbah lagɛ? juGO? t G kursi]	Simbah lenggah teng kursi [simbah l Ggah t G kursi]
Wong urip iku aja drengki srei, tukar padu, dahpen, lan kimeren. 'Man should not be easily jealous, envious and quarrelling'	Wong urip iku aja drengki srei, tukar padu, dahpen, lan kimeren [wOG urɪp iku OjO dr Gki, srɛi, tukar padu, dahpɛn, k mɛrɛn]	Tiyang gesang niku ampun drengki srei, tukar padu, dahpen, lan kimeren [tiyaG g saG niku ampUn dr Gki srɛi, tukar padu, dahpɛn lan k mɛrɛn]
Dhek wingi mbahku teka saka Blora 'Yesterday my grandmother came from Blora'	Dhekwingi mbah kula dugi saking Blora [dɛ? wiGi mbah kulO dugi sakIG blorO]	Dhek wingi mbahe dugi saking Blora [dɛ? wiGi mbahe dugi sakIG blorO]
Weteng Bapaklara amarga durung mangan 'My father gets a stomach ache because he has not had his meal'	Weteng make sakit mergi dereng madhang [w t G ma?ɛ sakɪt m rɟi dɛrɛG maɟ aG]	Wadharan make sakit mergi dereng madhang [waɟaran ma?ɛ sakɪt m rɟi dɛrɛG maɟaG]
Mau awan pak Lurah teka neng omahku ngekekke layang 'This afternoon the village chief came to my house to deliver a letter'	Siang wau pak Lurah teng mondhokan kula nyukakke layang [siaG wau pa? lurah t G mOnɔ?an kulO nuka?ke layaG]	Siang wau pak Lurah teng mondhokan kula nyukakke layang [siaG wau pa? lurah t G mOnɔ?an kulO nuka?ke layaG]
Saiki umurku 25 taun 'I am now 25 years old'	---	sakniki yuswa kula 25 tahun [Sa?niki yuswO kulO 25 taUn]

Grimes (2000: 64) predicts one of the causes of language shift and extinction is the lack language use domain. The symptoms can be used to explain the shift of Javanese on Samin society.

One of the functions of Javanese for Samin society is to deliver content, to tell the experience of the speakers in the reality including in the self-consciousness domain. In this regard, JJS is used to convey their meaning, express feeling and thought. As a result, this language cannot be separated from the Samin society whose background is unique. The uniqueness of JJS is a proof that Samin behavior and way of thinking are also unique. In accordance with its function, the language used by Samin society covers a number of domains as they are not only individuals but also social human being involved in a communication process with others. *Ngoko* Javanese as the characteristic of JJS is used in various domains. However, due to many influences Samin society does not use *ngoko* Javanese in many different occasions. In particular, *ngoko* Javanese is used only limited to the family.

Besides the lack of language use, the function of *ngoko* Javanese is also shifted. According to its history, *ngoko* Javanese by Samin society is used as a resistance to the colonial Dutch (Hutomo 1996: 35; Widodo 2000: 16; Haris 2007).

When the colonialism was ended and Indonesia became independent, Samin Society does not resist anymore. As a matter of fact they obey the regulation and follow the trends. Further, they become truly sociable and participate in the events conducted by local government or other society. Besides, Samin society are presently well-known as obedient tax-payers (the result of interview with Mr. Sunoto, headman of Sumber Village Kradenan Sub-District, Blora Regency)

The Impacts of Language Shift

As elaborated in the previous chapter, the changes in tradition in a particular community can be characterized from the perspective of culture. The dynamic cultural change is in line with the condition of Samin society in Tambak, Sumber Village, Kradenan Sub-District, and Tanduran, Kemantren Village, Kedungtuban Sub-District, Blora Regency. The society in both locations is a group of people living side by side with non-Samin society especially Samin society in Tambak Village. The boundary of their residence is only a village road so that social and cultural interaction with non-Samin society happens on a daily basis.

Given that particular condition, Samin society will constantly live under the external influence. One of the unavoidable influences is language use. This language shift is in line with the open-mindedness of Samin society to embrace changes from the outside which consequently impact on their life in many different aspects. The changes cover the matter of modesty, education, technology, marriage, practical politics (election), economy and tax-paying obedience.

The Modesty of Samin Society

At first, Samin society communicated using *ngoko* Javanese. They did not recognize the structure of Javanese except *ngoko* (Hutomo 1996; Mumfangati et al. 2004). Further, they did not differentiate the speakers because they think human beings have equal position and level. Therefore, in a daily interaction especially among relatives, Samin society uses *ngoko* Javanese.

It is in accordance with the value of Samin Surosentiko who emphasizes the equality of human beings, they may not discriminate others so that fair treatment shall be upheld. On a day-to-day basis, Samin society regards others as *sedulur* 'fraternity' though they are nobleman, official, farmer, the rich and the pauper. As a result, in their daily interaction particularly among relatives, Samin people communicate using *ngoko* Javanese.

In the era of Dutch colonialism, *ngoko* Javanese by Samin society was actually functioned as the form of unarmed resistance. As a result, they were labeled as society, who could not speak politely and could not respect others. This is related to the society perception that one of the indicators of modesty and respect is materialized in language structure and level.

Soepomo (1979: 3) states that language structure (*undha-usuk*) is a variation which distinguishes one to another determined by the difference of speaker modesty (S1) towards the speaking partner (S2). There is a particular group of society that should be respected and other group that should be treated ordinarily. Here, the factors influencing social stratum are different among groups of people. Some of them are due to the difference of physical condition, economic or political power, genetic relationship, age difference, gender, supernatural power, psychological speciality, and so forth. In this case, the different form of respect addressed to a particular person is frequently reflected by their language selection.

For the time being Samin society has changed including in their language use. Though they still use Javanese, but there is a significant difference in the present and past regarding the language structure and level of Javanese. In particular, when Samin society communicates to a non-Samin person, they have selected *krama (basa)* instead of *ngoko* Javanese as there is an emergence of under sanding of addressing respect though a language. Therefore, Samin society has been able to classify the speaking opponent and to select the Javanese code even though in their perspective, the most fundamental matter in respecting others is reflected from a good behavior. By using the Javanese structure nowadays, they have been regarded as a well-mannered society

Level of Education

Samin value teaches their believers to stay away from luxurious and modern life. The most tenacious value is reflected from a saying *ora kepingin sugih nanging*

kepingin mulya 'not wishing to be rich but noble'. This make Samin society behaves honestly in achieving their purpose of life even they voluntarily give their personal belongings for a greater good. In disseminating his values, Samin Surosentiko always uses the approach of *sesorah*. His substantial values are comprised mainly of human life problems since the beginning of their life to their death. After Samin Surosentiko passed away, his values are then disseminated by his loyal believers so that new leaders appeared after him. The Samin leaders are regarded as teachers without books due to their inability to read or write. Despite that matter, Samin values are truly fruitful and up to now practiced by its believers.

Sesorah is the way of teaching Samin values to its believers. This method was initially used by Samin forerunner (Samin Surosentiko) to his loyal followers. The values are accepted and understood as the life guidance. For Samin society, learning from the elderly and parents become the long-life education.

According to Samin value, formal education does not exist. Generally Samin off springs studied in their family (parents) and surroundings. Moreover, they learn from parents about life or about putting into practice the values of Samin elderly *sabar lan trokal, aja ngant idrengki, srei, aja nganti riya sepadha, aja nganti pek-pinepek, kutil jumpu, bedhag colong apa maneh bedhag colong apa milik barang nemu barang neng dalan wae aku simpen* 'Be patient and do not become arrogant, do not disturb others, do not become haughty, do not take other's property. Taking goods spilled on the road should be avoided, above all stealing.' At that moment, Samin people were unable to read or write since they thought that those skills were less significant. The most important matter for them is to be able to work in the ricefield and live according to the values of Samin elderly.

However, in line with the era development and cultural as well as social contacts with non-Samin people, the old perspective is gradually decreasing. Even though Samin people at first thought that school was unimportant, they started to enroll their children in the local school. It was not purely their need but the result of influence from the public perception that formal education is essential. As a result, Samin children in Tambak Village who attend schools are only able to read, count and write. They tend to drop out of the schools once the reading, counting as well as writing skills are learned, and shortly afterwards they help their parents at the ricefield. Despite the lack of permission to attend school in the past, the current condition has improved.

The different reality of Samin society happens in Tanduran, Kemantren Village, Kedungtuban Sub-District. There, the awareness for formal education is better than the condition in Tambak, Sumber Village, Kradenan Sub-District. They have experienced the importance of school as the human need. Children and teenagers of Samin in Tanduran have attended formal education since kindergarten, elementary, primary, secondary, and even there are some students who study at Oil and Gas

Academy “Ronggolawe” Cepu. In other words, there is a change of perception regarding the role and function of education. Though the decision is excessively influenced by the public perception, most of the Samin societies have followed the trend to enroll their children in a formal education institution. In regard to this condition, Samin society basically wants to be regarded as equal to other groups of society. This aspiration is also indicated by the other habit followed by Samin society.

Technology

The technology development occurred in Blora Regency relates to many aspects of life, including agriculture. Since most of the villagers are farmers, this issue cannot be separated from Samin society. There are many improvements in agriculture in terms of land management or harvest system in respect of agricultural transformation. This transformation can be interpreted as the change of type, characteristic, structure and capability of agricultural system which can improve, develop and emerge the financial state of the villagers. For the villagers who truly depend on farming, the agricultural transformation also relates to their life transformation. In a broader sense, the transformation of villagers is considered as the process of modernization or development (Widodo, 2008).

The agricultural transformation occurred in Samin society in Tambak, Sumber Village, Kradenan Sub-District and Tandura, Kemantren Village, Kedungtuban Sub-District cannot be separated from the utilization of agricultural technology which also has improved. It is proven from the use of modern equipments in farming. The Samin farmers in both villages have owned tractor, water pump, and rice drop-off machine.

Besides Samin society also used anorganic materials such as fertilizer and pesticide for land management though in a limited amount of use. They understand that the excessive use of chemical substance can damage the environment. In order to fulfill the need of natural element of a plant, Samin society has used manure which has been selected in a long time and inherited for generations. Since it takes advantage of the farming cattle, many Samin villagers graze cows to produce meat, milk and manure as the fertilizer.

The process of manure making has also been improved. In the past, the traditional process did not require additional material but presently Samin society has utilized organic materials which can enhance the quality of manure and shorten its making process. In this regard, they can increase the production of manure which can benefit to the land fertilizer.

In addition, the use of modern equipments in agriculture has an impact on the need of human power. Modern machines such as tractor, water pump, and rice drop-off machine have replaced the role of human and animals which were

previously dominant in the agriculture. However, in the land management Samin society still collectively share the idea of cooperation. Mutual cooperation in the form of *sambatan* is maintained up to now.

Modernization has also transformed the life of Samin society in other sectors. Right now they possess things such as motorcycle, television, radio, tape recorder, fan and clock which once were only wishful thinking. Moreover, they have used plastic and modern utensils. A selection of kitchen utensils used by Samin society is mostly made of plastic or modern materials. Besides that, they still use non-plastic utensils.

Marriage

Samin society mostly has intracommunity marriage though some of them prefer others. However, at the moment when member of Samin marry non-Samin people afterwards not settle in that community, they are not regarded as the part of community anymore especially when the Samin tradition and custom are not preserved and vice versa. When the member of Samin whether man or woman marry the fellow community members then settle in that area, they are regarded as the member of Samin society. They usually choose to stay in Samin surroundings and keep its tradition.

Intracommunity marriage is an option mostly considered by many Samin grown-ups. It is understandable since many of them do not know members of the opposite sex from other communities. Generally Samin teenagers do not have acquaintance with non-Samin society (except for participar purpose), thus options are not available. On the other hand, intercommunity marriage actually has benefits as the couples are going to have Samin descendants. This generation will surpass the life of Samin society with its unique and particular tradition as well as values.

The Samin marriage is different with other Javanese society in general. The couples marry in front of their parents witnessed by the Samin elderly. After that the marriage is legalized in the bureau. However presently there is a government effort (in this case Village Chief or *Kamituwa*) to urge marriage legalization in front of the officials. As a result, the Samin marriage is started with traditional ceremony then the government official represented the Muslim leader legalizes their wedding although the members of Samin society are predominantly not Muslims.

In this case, Samin society does not make any protests and never will. In their opinion, the most important matter is the wedding ceremony which has been conducted. The further process if the government official demands Islamic procession has never bothered them because basically there are two reasons as (1) the wedding ceremony of Samin society has been conducted before, (2) the factor of public perception. When the public perceives the procession to be common thus Samin society will not raise any objection as long as the notion is good for

them or other communities. In addition, they never have any prejudice to anything or anyone as they constantly have a good perception for others. If a terrible thing happens and disadvantages others, it will become the full responsibility of the doers. Here, Samin society is actually willing to embrace the change related to the marriage procedure because of the factor of public perception though it was initiated by others (government officials).

Economy

There is an improvement in the economy of Samin society both in Tambak, Sumber Village, Kradenan Sub-District and in Tanduran, Kemantren Village, Kedungtuban Sub-District. They do not rely on the agricultural crops as the primary fulfillment of daily need even though they still farm rice, corn, cassava and vegetables. Mainly the crops are grown to be sold and only a few are used or eaten by themselves. The results of cash crop will be used to fulfil their daily need. The specific term for this process is named *ngijolke* 'bartering goods' though it is not exclusively referred to barter. The belongings of Samin society are not directly bartered to their desired goods but they are sold then the money is used to buy others. Yet, they still name the process as *ngijolke*.

In addition, to fulfill their daily need, there are some greengrocers and street vendors offering their commodities. Women and girls take advantage of this opportunity to buy their needs. When having a good harvest, many sellers come to the house of Samin society to directly purchase their crops. Moreover, some Samin people visit the market to buy cows or other substantial needs.

However, there is one thing that has never been tried by Samin society is trade. Most of them are farmers; some are carpenters but the occupation of the seller though only on a small scale is not desirable. In their opinion, trade opens the possibility to be dishonest which clearly in contrast with Samin values in their belief system.

Tax-Paying Obedience

In the past, Samin society was well-known for their tax avoidance. It was the form of resistance towards Dutch colonialism. When the colonizer increased the tax, the society resisted with protests and rejections in unique ways. One of them was through showing the money to the tax collector, *Iki dhuwite sapa?* 'Whose money is this?', and when then collector replied, *Ya dhuwitmu* 'Yes, your money' thus Samin people would put it back on their pockets. In short, Samin people in Blora, Purwodadi and Balerejo (Madiun) did not respect policeman and other government officials.

The tax avoidance was being more developed in Samin settlement when its leaders urged the members not to pay the tax. They underestimated the policeman and government officials who became the puppet of the Dutch. Consequently, terror

and imprisonment were unceasingly initiated by the colonizer to the followers of Samin.

The reason why Samin society did not want to pay the tax was because the understanding from Samin value that land and earth were the communal property as the authority of God's almighty. As a result, when forest foreman collected the tax, demonstratively Samin society lay on the ground whilst shouted "*Kanggo!*"(Ours).

Right now the situation has changed as Samin society is willing to pay the tax. Further, according to Mr. Sugiyanto (*Kamituwa* Tambak), they have high awareness and become very obedient in paying the tax. When the tax claim is given, they will collectively pay. Even when there is a change, Samin society usually refuse to accept it.

This is in line with the statement from Mbah Kasbi (a reputable elderly of Samin society in Tambak, Sumber Village, Kradenan Sub-District) and Mbah Nyamu (a reputable elderly of Samin society in Tanduran, Kemantren Village, Kedungtuban Sub-District) that at the moment Samin society has regularly paid the tax. This is a result of self-awareness that the government programs are for a greater good, including tax-paying obligation. In addition, the awareness is also influenced by the factor of public perception as the responsibility of a citizen. Presently tax paying obedience becomes common in that society. In this case, Samin people do not want to be different from other members of society in terms of paying tax.

Non-Isolation Habit

Samín society is a group of people who live and work communally. They have particular habits, structure, customs which are different from other groups. Further, Samin Surosentiko values truly influence their lifestyle.

Living in a group like Samín society in Tambak, Sumber Village, Kradenan Sub-District and Tanduran, Kemantren Village, Kedungtuban Sub-District is definitely influenced by a particular consideration. They acknowledge that their lifestyle intensifies the close-knit fraternity or *sedulur*. Samín societies constantly want to communicate thus whenever there is a leisure time after working at the ricefield, they will gather in the house of an elderly. In this occasion, the senior member of the community will share the Samín values. They reinforce each other in understanding and putting into practice the tradition of Samín societies which has been inherited for generations.

The other benefit of living as a group in a particular area is facilitating parents to control their children. The children in Samín societies truly respect their parents as they understand the concept of motherhood during pregnancy in 9 months 10 days then giving birth, breastfed, being raised, cared and protected. *Biyungniku sing nurunke kula, mulang, ngurip-urip, mila kedah diajani* 'mother is a person who gives birth, raises, educates and so forth thus she must be respected'. That is the

elaboration of the role of parents according to the children. Therefore, the values from their parents particularly related to the life lesson will be listened carefully and implemented by Samin children.

Presently, Samin societies have been in daily contact with others. There is a greengrocer who regularly comes to the residence of Samin societies. There is a flourishing trade among them. Even, Samin societies also go to the market for instance to buy or sell cows. Towards the programs from the government such as the dissemination of agricultural related information and the eradication of illiteracy, the societies are actively involved due to the understanding that the purpose of the activities is good. Therefore, presently Samin societies are not isolated themselves. They are willing to be open-minded and to socialize with non-Samin societies. Moreover, Samin children have been permitted to attend formal educations at public schools.

CONCLUSION

At the moment JJS has a shift in terms of the use of Javanese variation from *ngoko* to *basa*. Initially, Samin society constantly used *ngoko* Javase. However, presently they have understood and used *basa* in many different spoken occasions including the communication between Samin and non-Samon societies. Further, the conversation among Samon society also uses *basa* in order to respect the speaking partner. Besides that, the function of Javanese for them has shifted from a weapon to resist the colonialism to the means of communication, both to Samin and non-Samin societies. This language shift has made impacts on the lifestyle change of Samin societies. The impacts encompass the modesty of Samin societies, education, technology, marriage, economy, tax-paying obedience, and non-isolation habit.

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