

# Criticism and Correction on Suboptimal Javanese-Indonesian Code-Switching in “KKN di Desa Penari” and “Sewu Dino”

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**Abstract**

*As something created with an emphasis on intentionality, art, in this case film, should pose some levels of reasoning behind what is shown in it. This is especially true when what is shown is a representation of a specific real-life culture with its own intricacies, rules and values. This study is based on such notion regarding the act of language representation in film, specifically on some seemingly lacking in intentions or functions in executing Javanese-Indonesian language dynamic in a form of code-switching practice that to me could see some improvements to make it more appropriate while at the same time more aesthetically pleasing. With considerations such as social status, age, education and place of living, this study discusses some suboptimal Javanese-Indonesian code-switching representation in two successful Indonesian horror films “KKN di Desa Penari” and “Sewu Dino”. The discussion involves patterns and language tendencies found in the two films’ characters’ use of Javanese-Indonesian code-switching, lack of clear purpose, intention and function behind said patterns and tendencies, and finally subsequent corrections or improvements that could have been taken in such cases of code-switching contexts.*

*Keywords: code-switching; Javanese-Indonesian; language representation*

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## 1. Introduction

Code-switching is one of those cases in language phenomena that can be seen as both intentional and not (or conscious and unconscious). In day-to-day settings that denote spontaneous productions of sentences, the causes of code-switching usually lean more towards the unintentional side—e.g. because of habit, familiarity, educational background, or language proficiency (Brice, 2015; Halim, 1971; Nurhayani et al., 2022). Studies on spontaneous code-switching typically focus on describing the types of code-switching found (Andriyanti, 2019; Setyawan, 2012; Swandani et al., 2022; Ulya et al., 2020), where each type has its own triggering factors, and, at most, they concentrate on the effects or changes that each type of code-switching causes in the context of the overall conversation.

However, code-switching is not only found in real-life or spontaneous situations, but also in fictional works, something where each line of the characters in the story is supposedly composed with specificity and intentionality (Culler, 2007). As such, looking at cases of language use in a fictional

writing this way should at least yield a number of results that could fall into either of these two categories: 1) representative of what the actual people do in real life with the languages being shown, and 2) serving a purpose in one or several aspects of the storyline.

Meanwhile, not all fictional works (be it poetry, prose, play, song, or film) are created equal (Winters, 1947:363). Each one will vary in many aspects of its performance even when they are of the same criteria (Culler, 1981:288)—say, form, theme, genre, etc, which can be caused by its own factors. I was particularly saddened when I watched two recent horror movies in Indonesia that were apparently produced by the same studio, based on two novels from one author about similar Javanese occult beliefs in their horror story theme that have rather suboptimal execution of the Javanese language being shown—aply to tell the occult horror story centred in Javanese beliefs.

Said films are “KKN di Desa Penari” (College Community Service in the Dancers’ Village) and “Sewu Dino” (A thousand Days) released in 2022 and mid-2023, respectively. In short, both films tell the story of fictional horror events, accidents, and beliefs surrounding Javanese folklores, legends, and myths about the unseen world or supernatural beings and places. And in presenting these horror stories, both films incorporate many Javanese cultural aspects such as character names, clothing, behaviour, and most notably, language. It is perhaps worth mentioning at this point that among Javanese people, Indonesian or Bahasa Indonesia, often serves as a second or even the first language for many individuals—usually, the latter occurs in cases of younger generations or wealthier families living in more urban areas (Subroto et al., 2008; Suryadi, 2014; Winarti, 2018).

On top of all that, these two films were allegedly produced with substantial budget and in turn also garnered significant revenue (Awaliyah, 2022; CNN Indonesia, 2022; Diananto, 2023; Evandio, 2022), which in some ways we could call as rather significant films in themselves to the society. I would call the code-switching in these two films suboptimal primarily because they do not serve any representativeness or functional points in the storytelling process and the Javanese culture told in the story. It appears, to me, as though the Javanese bits of the films’ language are used merely as promotional tools or atmosphere fillers in telling the Java-centred story without a profound consideration of their suitability for actual societal use, if any.

In some cases, the writing of the lines consisting Javanese-Indonesian code-switching is at least questionable and at worst contrary to the norm in actual practice of Javanese people speaking both Javanese and Indonesian. Table 1 below shows a few examples of what I mean by suboptimal code-switching in the two films. Indeed, however, it is undeniable that maintaining all aspects of social culture in entertainment media to accurately reflect reality in said society might be challenging, but such efforts are not impossible, especially when done with a careful approach to representing selected aspects of that culture. The primary evidence for this comes from the very study I was inspired by from Pangestu and Sudarwati (2021) and the TV/web series they chose as an example.

**Table 1:** Excerpts for Suboptimal Javanese-Indonesian Code-Switching in “*KKN di Desa Penari*” and “*Sewu Dino*”

<i>KKN di Desa Penari</i>	<i>Lack of proper reasoning behind the code-switching</i>
Widya’s mother: <i>Yo wis lek ngono, nduk. Jogo awakmu. Jogo sikap. Jogo ucapan. Ada pepatah Jawa bilang, “Air mengalir selalu ke timur.” Di timur semua kumpul nang kono. Mulai dari yang baik, yang buruk, sampai yang pualing buruk.</i>	In contrast to her using Javanese more often in her lines, she somehow switched to Indonesian when telling a myth of Javanese occult belief (often treated more as a proverb), for no apparent reason, which would culturally be more relevant being said in Javanese.
Bu Sundari: <i>Saya mboten saged nolak, ‘kan?</i>	Bu Sundari’s character only appears for such a short time in the film, and yet despite her very remote village, old age, and rather low social status, she speaks in a random combination of <i>Jawa Krama</i> and Indonesian words which would be much better technically and representatively if she used full Javanese <i>krama</i> instead.

<i>Sewu Dino</i>	<i>Lack of proper reasoning behind the code-switching</i>
Sri's father: <i>Yo uwis</i> kalau itu maumu. Bapak <i>pesen</i> , jaga diri, <i>yo</i> .	The case here is similar to that of Bu Sundari above where Sri's father would be more culturally representative and technically better shown using full Javanese—and better, <i>Jawa Krama</i> .
Mbah Tamin: Saya Tamin. Kalian pasti bingung untuk apa <i>digowo merene</i> . <i>Jawabane ono ning kamar iki. Saiki, jarik</i> ini dipakai. <i>Jarik iku bakalan nggo njogo</i> kalian, karena sudah dibasahi air kembang tujuh rupa, <i>diratus</i> asap menyan, akar wangi dan juga kayu <i>cendono</i> . <i>Haruse wewangian iku bisa gawe dek'e</i> lebih tenang	Given his deep understanding of Javanese occult magic and his old age, I would expect his character to predominantly employ Javanese, especially in <i>krama</i> form reflecting his age. Instead, he tends to use Indonesian more frequently, incorporating Javanese words sporadically or primarily for Javanese-specific terms like <i>jarik</i> and <i>kayu cendono</i> .

The examples above are very much opposite of what Pangestu and Sudarwati (2021) show in their study regarding similar case of code-switching involving the Javanese language in a Java-themed film. In their study titled “*If Not Us, Who?: Preserving Javanese Language Through Code Switching Practice in Yowis Ben Movie*”, they take these fictional cases of code-switching to help with attempts of preserving a language, in this case Javanese, which is also the main language used in the film in conjunction with Indonesian and English. This approach into language use in a fictional media was possible primarily because of two reasons: 1) the movie in question uses Javanese more often as it is its main storytelling language, and 2) the Javanese language uses including its code-switching with other languages are representative of the real life and when they occur they actually serve a number of functions or purposes (Pangestu & Sudarwati, 2021; Swandani et al., 2022).

Granted, the Javanese language as we know it now is not immediately under a threat of dying or extinction, mainly because it is still actively spoken by at least 80 million people living in East Java, Central Java and Yogyakarta (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2020.). But it does not easily mean that it can be just left as is remembering that there have been observed some changes in the language tendencies regarding the use of Javanese (and its subsequent politeness forms) among predominantly the younger generation, from choosing Indonesian over *krama* in place of interactions needing elevated politeness (Setyawan, 2011; Subroto et al., 2008), using Indonesian in places of numbers (Winarti, 2018), rather heavy use of code-switching or mixing between Javanese and other languages (Setyawan, 2012; Ulya et al., 2020), and perhaps even other unreported events.

Likewise, studies relating the multilingual conditions among Javanese people have focused on various aspects of it, such as the language mix (Arps, 2009; Riani et al., 2022; Sugianto, 2019; Ulya et al., 2020), language tendency (Kweldju, 2020; Nurhayani et al., 2020, 2022; Subroto et al., 2008; Winarti, 2018), even language interference (Wardani & Suwartono, 2019). Additionally, if we see cases of these real-life language uses, we would always find ourselves talking about the dynamic nature of any languages—even if it means some unfortunate things. As such, though, discussions on language performance in fictional media like films are rather scarce, be it around Javanese itself or other minor languages in Indonesia. This, then, brings us back to what I called earlier the suboptimal executions of Javanese-Indonesian code-switching in the two films at hand—particularly if we connect it to the already quickly changing Javanese people's uses of their language (Riani et al., 2022; Sugianto, 2019; Winarti, 2018).

What has been quite common in terms of studies concerning social representation in films is *cultural* representation per se, which might include beliefs (Bahruddin & Hamad, 2021; Hasan et al., 2023; Hoesterey & Clark, 2012), habits (Hamadun et al., 2021), norms and values (Devi et al., 2023; Supiandi & Elyta, 2023; Wibowo, 2019), art, but not commonly including language (Agustina & Masyhuda, 2021; Puspasari et al., 2020; Tazakka et al., 2020)—at least not as thoroughly, just as a part of the “cultural representation”, for reasons that are not very much clear. Again, this is somewhat unfortunate given what can or needs to be discussed in many film representations of a certain language or a language phenomenon, considering that language easily becomes a crucial part of what

shapes a culture (Culler, 1977:99, 2013:7). On the other hand, impact-wise, films are indeed not classroom teaching materials or real-life learning lessons that would easily influence how an individual behave or affect their language proficiency in this case, but neglect in this arguably grey area of language use could potentially bring unwanted consequences, especially if we in fact have the option of making the most use out of it.

In contrast, slightly detached from the academic discussions on the representation of language in specific communities in film media, many YouTube videos (some originating from big channels with a substantial audience) have created several contents addressing this topic. They bring in relevant experts to assess how accurately language is represented in various film titles (Sabia, 2017a, 2017b; Singer, 2018; Zhang, 2022), covering accents, historical accuracy of time periods, translations, and so forth. For simply raising awareness of this issue, I believe that these videos might be considered sufficient, but in-depth analyses and/or discussions are clearly overlooked in these videos maybe due to the short duration of the video format and/or the many numbers of films covered in one session.

The very question asked in the title of their study, “if not us, who?” had me moved in trying to, in a way, bring justice to the Javanese language being represented in the aforementioned two films of similar Java-centred theme, “*KKN di Desa Penari*” and “*Sewu Dino*”. As I am Javanese myself and studies criticising and/or correcting relatively bad choices of language use in films specifically are rare, I wish this study could make future approach in representing cultures in a fictional media (specifically language) more considerate, and invite people of said represented language to be more critical of the way it is represented in the fictional media.

In achieving the premise of critically analysing and further correcting the suboptimal Javanese-Indonesian code-switching practices in the two films, this study is guided by the following research questions:

1. Are there specific patterns and purposes behind the Javanese-Indonesian code-switching practices implemented in the films “*KKN di Desa Penari*” and “*Sewu Dino*”?
2. If so, are these specific patterns and purposes different from or similar to code-switching practices found in other related studies?
3. Based on the assumption that the implementation of Javanese-Indonesian code-switching in both films is suboptimal, are there better approaches or corrections that can be suggested?

## 2. Research Methods

### 2.1. Research Design and Framework

This study is qualitative in nature with expositions and descriptions used as a means of conveying the data and their subsequent analysis. It was designed as a textual study, focusing solely on transcribed utterances from two films as they appear in the original dialogues. No audience data or reception-based interviews are used; instead, interpretation is drawn exclusively from the language presented within the cinematic narrative. The purpose of the study is to investigate the phenomenon of Javanese-Indonesian code-switching as performed by film characters, considering both its presence and notable absences in the expected contexts.

The study is grounded in Pieter Muysken’s (2011) typology of code-switching, which offers structural classifications, and in Koziol’s (2000) framework for analysing communicative functions of code-switching. These are complemented by selected insights from translation technique theory (Berezowski, 1997; Molina & Hurtado Albir, 2004), where relevant to the representational strategies found in dialogue construction. This interdisciplinary foundation enables a close examination of language use as both a socially situated practice and a narrative device. The theoretical framing also aligns with sociolinguistic approaches that see code choice within multilingual communities as a reflection of identity, context, and ideology.

Additionally, elements of Spradley’s (1980) ethnographic method—specifically domain, taxonomic, componential, and thematic analyses—are adapted to assist with organising and

interpreting patterns within the textual data. The films are viewed through a narrative-functional lens, following Santosa (2021), which posits that each stage of a narrative (orientation, complication, resolution) has its own semantic and stylistic discourse characteristics. This is particularly useful in understanding how code-switching may serve different narrative or social functions at different points in the story.

## 2.2. Data Collection, Processing and Analysis

The data themselves are taken verbatim using transcriptions (not subtitles) from the two films with the selection of lines or dialogues are done through purposive sampling approach. Criteria in selecting the utterances are focused not merely on those containing Javanese-Indonesian code-switching, but also in places where such code-switching is to be expected but is instead absent in the story. Once the data are gathered, they are then categorised, for the purposes of the analysis, following several social aspects that would generally affect one's code-switching practice.

Firstly, utterances from each film are separated because they have different sets of complex characters, even though in certain aspects of the storyline, these characters share many similarities (e.g., they come from two or more social groups with different socio-economic status and some characters have particularly in-depth knowledge of Javanese occult). Secondly, these utterances are grouped into where they are said in a given story timeline since both films present a similar social image setting, contrasting the urban side of the area or city the story takes place with the more rural side of that area. This was deemed necessary because many previous multilingualism studies have shown a tendency for code-switching or the use of a specific language to be more frequent or abundant depending on the location under discussion (Andriyanti, 2019; Kweldju, 2020; Nurhayani et al., 2020, 2022; Rastitiati & Suprastayasa, 2022; Yannuar & Tabiati, 2016). Thirdly, there is a differentiation of who expresses a particular part of a dialogue or conversation since Javanese is generally sensitive to age, social status, or even wealth (Suryadi, 2014; Winarti, 2018), coupled with changes in societal tendencies towards the use of the Javanese language itself compared to words or phrases from other languages (Pangestu & Sudarwati, 2021; Subroto et al., 2008; Winarti, 2018). Table 2 below shows the detailed categorisation of the data.

**Table 2: Data Categorisation Criteria**

<i>KKN di Desa Penari</i>			
<i>General division of the characters</i>	: University students doing the KKN programme (Widya, Ayu, Nur, Wahyu, Anton)	Family of the students doing the KKN programme (Ayu's brother, Widya's mother)	Villagers where the KKN programme takes place
<i>Further division of the villagers</i>	: Ordinary villager (Bu Sundari)	Village official (Pak Prabu)	Shaman/person with interest in the occult (Mbah Buyut)
<i>Setting of time for the interaction(s)</i>	: Widya's house (acting as a representation for the more modern or urbanised place of origin of the students)	The unnamed village where the KKN programme takes place	
<i>Sewu Dino</i>			
<i>General division of the characters</i>	: The maids (Sri, Erna, Dini)	House owner and/or house keeper (Mbah Karsa, Mas Sugik)	Shaman/person with interest in the occult (Mbah Tamin, Mbah Karsa)
<i>Further division of the maids</i>	: Less experienced in the job-related business (Sri)	More experienced in the job-related business (Dini & Erna)	
<i>Setting of time for the interaction(s)</i>	: Sri's village or place of residence	House or property(-ies) belonging to the employer's/Mbah Karsa's family	

Furthermore, since we are dealing with bilingual data (delivered herein in English as the third), distinctions need to be made in conveying which words belong to which language. When showing the data as is (i.e. not in close proximation with the English analysis) Indonesian words are typed in regular font style, while the Javanese ones are typed in italics. Additionally, these Javanese words presented in this study are not typed following the proper, official Javanese vowel writing guide according to Sastra Sriwedari, primarily due to the many similarities in the writing of Javanese and Indonesian words, often differentiated only by pronunciation. Therefore, the presentation of Javanese words found will be more in line with their pronunciation (e.g., for the word “cahaya” /cahyo/ or “light” in Indonesian, instead of writing it as “*cahya*” in Javanese following Sastra Sriwedari’s guidelines, “cahyo” is used). Other examples of this can be seen in Table 3.

**Table 3:** Example on the method of telling apart the Javanese and Indonesian Words in the Data<sup>1</sup>

<i>KKN di Desa Penari</i>	<i>Sewu Dino</i>
Widya’s mother: <i>Yo wis lek ngono, nduk. Jogo awakmu. Jogo sikap. Jogo ucapan.</i> Ada pepatah Jawa bilang, “Air mengalir selalu ke timur.” Di timur semua kumpul <i>nang kono</i> .	Sri’s relative: Rumah makane keluarga Atmojo <i>iku akeh, nyebar</i> dari timur sampai barat Pulau Jawa. Jadi, <i>mesu butuh</i> .
Pak Prabu: Tapi beberapa tahun belakangan ini <i>banyune asad</i> . Jadi, warga agak kesulitan akses air, <i>soale sungaine gak patio cidek soko kene</i> .	Lydia: <i>Alah</i> , nggak punya ijazah. <i>Yo wis</i> , nggak apa-apa. Tahan <i>sik, yo</i> , sedikit lagi. Nah, udah selesai, ya.
Bu Sundari: Saya <i>mboten saged nolak</i> , ‘kan?	Sri’s father: <i>Yo uwis</i> kalau itu maumu. Bapak <i>pesen</i> , jaga diri, <i>yo</i> .

Although driven by the question “if not us, who?” from Pangestu and Sudarwati (2021), this study differs from theirs in terms of the focus of analysis in that it deals less with the language preservation part, and more with the language performance of the characters in the two films uttering supposedly purposefully written lines. As such, this study would do things like scrutinising the code-switching patterns or styles (if any) in the data using my own Javanese perspective and several comparison data from previous studies on Javanese multilingual situations. Due to the unfortunate lack of proper written rules regarding Javanese syntactic grammar—that is, the morphology side is more defined (Sumadi & Setiyanto, 2010), I expect readers of this study would be open to subjective discussion as I am open to corrections to my analysis myself.

As for the linguistic focus of the analysis process itself, this study would like to discuss where the code-switching occurs in a given line, what words are substituted, and for what apparent purpose or reason—if any—the switch happens. Considerations in the commentary and subsequent corrections come from both the artistic or aesthetic aspects of films seen as literary writing (Culler, 2007:234-235) and the degree of representativeness of the real Javanese people’s way of practicing their language repertoire (Culler, 1981:290). Concerning the correction process itself, it is rather heavily influenced by factors such as the common usage of a word in one of the two languages, language appropriateness following the previously mentioned categorisation (Table 2), and other further considerations that may arise during the analysis process. Again, such approach is also quite similar to that of Pangestu and Sudarwati (2021) in that they also discussed the code-switching practice between Javanese and several other languages within the social context of Malang city represented in the TV/web series *Yowis Ben*.

<sup>1</sup> See appendices for the complete English translation of the data provided in this study.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1. Javanese-Indonesian Code-Switching Patterns Found Implemented in Films “*KKN di Desa Penari*” dan “*Sewu Dino*”

As seen in other research findings regarding code-switching practices in multilingual communities, whether directly (Kweldju, 2020; Nurhayani et al., 2022; Rastitiati & Suprastayasa, 2022; Setyawan, 2012; Yannuar & Febrianti, 2021) or as a form of representation in fictional media such as films (Pangestu & Sudarwati, 2021; Swandani et al., 2022), behind these social practices, there are certain discernible patterns related to the choice of words used, the structure of code-switching, or other aspects.

In general, these code-switching patterns can be distinguished into two categories: those occurring *within* a clause or sentence (intra-sentential) and those occurring *between* different clauses or sentences (inter-sentential). Moreover, the percentage of languages used (between one and another) sometimes becomes a specific concern, especially when related to the perspective of language preservation (Pangestu & Sudarwati, 2021) or maintenance (Riani et al., 2022; Setyawan, 2012). Furthermore, since this study addresses two data sources simultaneously, it would be better if each is presented separately, following the data categorisation shown in Table 2.

**Table 4:** Type and Tendency of Javanese-Indonesian Code-Switching in “*KKN di Desa Penari*”

No.	Character and their utterance	Type of code-switching found	Comparison in the number of Javanese or Indonesian being used
1.	Nur: Saya mengalami kejadian <i>iku</i> sekitar empat tahun yang lalu. <i>Karo konco-konco</i> kampus saya. Tapi ternyata <i>kabeh sing</i> terjadi <i>selanjute gak koyok sing awake dewe</i> bayangkan. Waktu <i>iku</i> saya <i>sing</i> diajak almarhum <i>gawe</i> membuat survey dulu.	Intra-sentential	Indonesian > Javanese
2.	Widya: Kami ke sana <i>gawe</i> KKN. Tapi <i>deso sing</i> kami pilih <i>dudu deso biasa</i> . <i>Sing</i> kami pikirkan, <i>yaopo carane</i> proker KKN kami berhasil.	Intra-sentential	Indonesian > Javanese
3.	Ayu’s brother: Mas Prabu <i>ki pamong deso nang kene</i> , <i>ngko</i> beliau yang <i>dadi</i> pengawas kegiatan KKN kalian. <i>Jogo</i> baik-baik kepercayaan Mas Prabu. <i>Yo? Ojo nggarai repot</i> .	Intra-sentential	Javanese > Indonesian
4.	Widya’s mother: <i>Yowes lek ngono, nduk. Jogo awakmu. Jogo sikap. Jogo ucapan</i> . Ada pepatah Jawa bilang, “Air mengalir selalu ke timur.” Di timur semua <i>kumpul nang kono</i> . Mulai dari yang baik, yang buruk, sampai yang pualing buruk.	Inter-sentential & Intra-sentential	Javanese > Indonesian
5.	Wahyu: Santai <i>ae</i> pak, <i>wes biasa aku koyo ngono</i> . <i>Nang kene</i> , listrik belum masuk, <i>nang kosanku</i> belum bayar. Santai <i>ae</i> , pak.	Intra-sentential	Javanese > Indonesian
6.	Bu Sundari: Saya <i>mboten saged nolak</i> , ‘kan?’	Intra-sentential	Javanese > Indonesian
7.	Pak Prabu: Dulu tempat ini dijadikan tempat mandinya para penari. <i>Tapi saiki wes gak ono meneh penari ndek deso kene</i> . Nah terus tempat ini sempat beralih fungsi jadi sumber mata air desa kami. Tapi beberapa tahun belakangan ini <i>banyune asad</i> . Jadi, warga agak kesulitan akses air, <i>soale sungaine gak patio cidek soko kene</i> .	Inter-sentential & Intra-sentential	Indonesian > Javanese

No.	Character and their utterance	Type of code-switching found	Comparison in the number of Javanese or Indonesian being used
8.	Mbah Buyut: Kamu <i>iku anak getih anget</i> . <i>Sing</i> seperti kamu ini <i>guampang</i> disukai mereka. Kumin ini bisa bantu menangkal mara bahaya di sekitar sini. Pokoknya kamu tenang aja.	Intra-sentential	Indonesian > Javanese

Generally, there is nothing particularly noteworthy about the code-switching patterns observed in the representative data excerpt above. Even the entirety of the two films cannot be said to favour either Javanese or Indonesian in complete disregard or other aspects of the stories. What is intriguing is the absence of a specific structure serving as a reference for the film script writing in relation to specifically the Javanese language used. As seen at the beginning of “*KKN di Desa Penari*” where Nur and Widya express the following monologue, their code-switching pattern is indeed a common intra-sentential type, but executed with a technique not commonly found in society or in other films that genuinely pay attention to the language used (Pangestu & Sudarwati, 2021; Setyawan, 2012; Swandani et al., 2022).

Nur: Saya mengalami kejadian *iku* sekitar empat tahun yang lalu. *Karo konco-konco* kampus saya. Tapi ternyata *kabeh* *sing* terjadi *selanjute gak koyok sing awake dewe* bayangkan. Waktu *iku* saya *sing* diajak almarhum gawe membuat survey dulu.

(I experienced that event around four years ago, with my friends from college. But everything that happened afterwards turned out to be completely different from what we could’ve imagined. At the time, I was the one asked by the deceased to conduct the first survey.)

Widya: Kami ke sana *gawe KKN*. Tapi *deso sing* kami pilih *dudu deso biasa*. *Sing* kami pikirkan, yaopo carane proker KKN kami berhasil.

(We went there to do a College Community Service programme [KKN]. But the village we chose wasn’t a regular one. The only thing we cared about was the success of our KKN programme.)

“*Sewu Dino*”, meanwhile, has a slightly different code-switching characteristics following its smaller number of characters compared to the other film, and as such how said characters are categorised in Table 2 as well as subsequently analysed.

**Table 4:** Javanese-Indonesian Code-Switching in “*Sewu Dino*”

No.	Character and their utterance	Type of code-switching found	Comparison in the number of Javanese or Indonesian being used
1.	Kerabat Sri: Rumah makane keluarga Atmojo <i>iku akeh, nyebar</i> dari timur sampai barat Pulau Jawa. Jadi, <i>mesti butuh</i> . Sepuluh juta, lho, Sri. <i>Sopo ngerti ono pangeran sing gawe bojo</i> .	Intra-sentential	Indonesian > Javanese
2.	Lydia: <i>Alah</i> , nggak punya ijazah. <i>Yo wis</i> , nggak apa-apa. Tahan <i>sik, yo</i> , sedikit lagi. Nah, udah selesai, ya. Nanti kamu copot perbannya di rumah aja, ya?	Intra-sentential	Indonesian > Javanese
3.	Sri’s father: <i>Yo uwis</i> kalau itu maumu. Bapak <i>pesen</i> , jaga diri, <i>yo</i> .	Intra-sentential	Indonesian > Javanese
4.	Dini: Tenang <i>ae</i> , kita semua punya <i>tondo iki</i> . <i>Artine</i> si Mbah sudah melakukan hal yang sama pada kamu juga.	Intra-sentential	Indonesian > Javanese

No.	Character and their utterance	Type of code-switching found	Comparison in the number of Javanese or Indonesian being used
5.	Sugik: <i>Wes mlebu ae</i> , nanti bakal <i>dijelasno</i> . Di sini ngga <i>ono</i> listrik yo. Sebelum gelap, semua lampu <i>kudu dinyalakno</i> . Di situ kamar kalian.	Intra-sentential	Indonesian > Javanese
6.	Mbah Tamin: Saya Tamin. Kalian pasti bingung untuk apa <i>digowo merene</i> . <i>Jawabane ono ning kamar iki</i> . <i>Saiki, jarik</i> ini dipakai. <i>Jarik iku bakalan nggo njogo</i> kalian, karena sudah dibasahi air kembang tujuh rupa, <i>diratus</i> asap menyan, akar wangi dan juga kayu <i>cendono</i> . <i>Haruse wewangian iku bisa gawe dek'e</i> lebih tenang	Intra-sentential	Indonesian > Javanese

For a film titled in Javanese, not to mention its storyline closely tied to Javanese cultural supernatural beliefs, “*Sewu Dino*” predominantly utilizes the Indonesian language in the communication among its characters—with the notable exception of Sri. This includes ordinary people, highly educated individuals, and those with lower education levels, as well as the elderly and the young, from various social backgrounds. Other than Mbah Karsa, who rarely expresses herself in Javanese despite her role as a Javanese shaman, almost all characters in this film frequently code-switch between Javanese and Indonesian without a specific structure, with a tendency to prioritize Indonesian. This even occurs with Sri’s father when interacting with his child at home, where Sri herself is portrayed as more inclined to use Javanese than Indonesian.

**Table 5:** Comparison of Characters’ Tendencies in Using Either Indonesian or Javanese in “*Sewu Dino*”

No.	Character and their utterance(s)	Analysis of the language choice and code-switching being performed
1.	Sri’s relative: Rumah makan e keluarga Atmojo <i>iku akeh</i> , <i>nyebar</i> dari timur sampai barat Pulau Jawa. Jadi, <i>mesti butuh</i> . Sepuluh juta, lho, Sri. <i>Sopo ngerti ono</i> pangeran <i>sing gawe bojo</i> .	Shown as an owner of a small traditional restaurant ( <i>warung</i> ), the language choice of Sri’s relative or Mbak Yu in terms of the code-switching placement and language tendency are what one would expect to find in a real-life Javanese villager, especially at the present day. The way her few lines are written would in turn be a strong point of reference for other characters in the story, primarily due to its better consistency and representativeness of the real world.
2.	Sri: Tempat <i>lain opo</i> , Pak? Kita <i>kelangan</i> Tyas <i>goro-goro</i> <i>gak</i> mampu bayar. Sri <i>gak</i> mau <i>kelangan</i> Bapak karena kita <i>gak</i> punya uang, Pak.	In the film, Sri is presented as speaking Javanese more often than Indonesian regardless of who she talks to, especially when compared to other characters in the story. However, she is also shown to never use <i>Jawa Krama</i> (the most polite form of Javanese) in spite of her coming from the lower social class or being younger than the person she talks to. The Javanese she uses is exclusively <i>Jawa Ngoko</i> (the least polite form)—in conjunction with Indonesian—be it with her own father, her employer (Mbah Karsa) or people older than her (her relative and Mbah Tamin), three categories of people to traditionally talk to in <i>Jawa Krama</i> .
3.	Sri:	The use of the word <i>sebenere</i> is actually quite representative of what Javanese people use in real

No. Character and their utterance(s)	Analysis of the language choice and code-switching being performed
	<p>life to say some truth. Yet, it is still not Javanese but Indonesian, which given the fact that her line shown here is fully written in Javanese other than the word <i>sebenere</i>, a proper Javanese word for it (such as <i>asline</i> or <i>sakjane</i>) should be used instead. In addition, using <i>sebenere</i> as a conscious choice for code-switching in this case would serve no purpose or function in any conversational context.</p>
<p>Lydia: <i>Alah</i>, nggak punya ijazah. <i>Yo wis</i>, nggak apa-apa. Tahan <i>sik</i>, <i>yo</i>, sedikit lagi. Nah, udah selesai, ya. 4. Nanti kamu copot perbannya di rumah aja, ya?</p>	<p>Shown as the maid for Mbah Karsa (who speaks fully in Indonesian) for a long time, Lydia's tendency for using Indonesian more than Javanese is easily understandable, even if she might have initially come from a family of lower social class than Mbah Karsa, primarily due to shifts in her daily language use with her employer.</p>
<p>Mbah Karsa: Setelah ini kamu tidak bisa mundur lagi. Ikuti saya. Mendekat, Sri. Mulai saat ini, kamu adalah hambaku. Dengan ini, perjanjian kita direstui. Tunaikan tugasmu, maka akan kutunaikan bagianku. Kamu tidak boleh mengkhianatiku, karena nyawamu sudah tergadai di tanganku. Sri, tolong basuh aku dengan air ini. Rasakan lukaku, <i>nduk</i>. Mbah janji, kamu nggak akan mengalami luka ini asalkan kamu menepati janji. 5.</p>	<p>Aside from the discrepancy between her keen knowledge of Javanese dark magic and her exclusive use of Indonesian, the way her lines are written is more consistent with her own character than the lines of other characters as she comes from a high social class family, rich and knowledgeable. Other than the easy consistency of language use caused by her exclusive use of Indonesian, the few code-switching she does is shown to only be that of tag-switch as shown in the example with the word <i>nduk</i> when she refers to Sri, the young girl she speaks to.</p>
<p>Sri's father: <i>Yo uwis</i> kalau itu maumu. Bapak <i>pesen</i>, jaga diri, <i>yo</i>. 6.</p>	<p>The use of Indonesian at all by Sri's father is rather unfortunate remembering the short time his character appears in the story, on top of the fact that his daughter almost always uses Javanese like that is the only language she knows—not to mention his quite old age and social or economic status that would not suit his leaning towards Indonesian words (his short appearance is shown with him speaking more in Indonesian).</p>
<p>Dini: Tenang <i>ae</i>, kita semua punya <i>tondo iki</i>. <i>Artine</i> si Mbah sudah melakukan hal yang sama pada kamu juga. 7.</p>	<p>In terms of the language tendency between Indonesian and Javanese, Dini is the opposite of Sri where she prefers to use Indonesian more. The two characters are similar, though, in that the way they practice code-switching is practically random with no apparent function, distinct purpose/meaning, or even symbolism.</p>
<p>Sugik: <i>Wes mlebu ae</i>, nanti bakal <i>dijelasno</i>. Di sini ngga <i>ono</i> listrik <i>yo</i>. Sebelum gelap, semua lampu <i>kudu dinyalakno</i>. Di situ kamar kalian. 8.</p>	<p>Different from Lydia who uses Indonesian more often, Sugik (who has also been working for Mbah Karsa exclusively for a long time) is shown to use Javanese more often, quite possibly having to do with his background interest in Javanese magic too. However, a rather strange pattern appears in his choices of words such as combining Indonesian words with Javanese morphological rules like <i>dinyalakno</i>, as well as other structure-less and function-less code-switching practices between Javanese and Indonesian words.</p>

No.	Character and their utterance(s)	Analysis of the language choice and code-switching being performed
9.	Mbah Tamin: Saya Tamin. Kalian pasti bingung untuk apa <i>digowo merene</i> . <i>Jawabane ono ning kamar iki</i> . <i>Saiki, jarik</i> ini dipakai. <i>Jarik iku bakal nggo njogo</i> kalian, karena sudah dibasahi air kembang tujuh rupa, <i>diratus</i> asap menyany, akar wangi dan juga <i>kayu cendono</i> . <i>Haruse wewangian iku</i> bisa <i>gawe dek'e</i> lebih tenang.	With his extensive knowledge of Javanese dark magic on par with Mbah Karsa, while being older than her, I expect his character to use Javanese more often—and even the <i>Krama</i> form remembering his age. Indonesian words in his lines should be just fillers or such as <i>kamu</i> , <i>kita</i> , or tag-switching kind such as <i>gitu ya</i> , etc. Instead, his character is shown to use Indonesian more often, with the Javanese words only appear in random places or at best in place of Javanese-specific items such as <i>jarik</i> and <i>kayu cendono</i> .

### 3.2. Lack of Clear Purpose, Intention or Function Regarding the Javanese-Indonesian Code-Switching Practice Being Shown in the Two Movies

In line with the patterns observed in the social practice of code-switching among multilingual communities, there are almost always specific reasons or factors behind these patterns when someone uses two or more codes or languages simultaneously in a given setting at the same time. These reasons could include a person’s proficiency in one code compared to another (Brice, 2015; Halim, 1971; Nurhayani et al., 2022), their social status (Isodarus, 2020; Suryadi, 2014), educational background (Andriyanti, 2019; Riani et al., 2022; Sukoyo, 2017), age difference between speakers (Setyawan, 2012), or to indicate a specific identity (Arps, 2009; Kweldju, 2020; Yannuar & Febrianti, 2021).

Referring to the research data from Pangestu and Sudarwati (2021), specifically Table 1.2 numbers 5-8, we can observe examples of code-switching from Indonesian to Javanese (and vice versa) caused by limitations in one language compared to the other.

**Table 6:** Reasons for Javanese-Indonesian Code-Switching in the TV/web Series *Yowis Ben\**

No.	Examples of the code-switching practice	Reason or purpose
5.	Nando: <i>Wis</i> . Coba!	To fulfill their inability in using their language
6.	Bayu: Bertiga? <i>Cenglu lek'an</i> . Gak boleh nanti kena polisi.	To distinguish Bayu’s friends who speak Indonesian and Javanese
7.	Bayu: Ayo Al, boleh. <i>Ayo muleh, wes talah</i> .	To distinguish Bayu’s friends who speak Indonesian and Javanese
8.	Doni: Emang aku pakai bahasa apa ngobrolnya? <i>Opo'o se wong-wong iki?</i>	To express feelings of disappointment

\*modified from Pangestu and Sudarwati (2021)

**Table 7:** Code-Switching Practice of “The City People” in “*KKN di Desa Penari*”

No.	Character and their utterance(s)	Analysis of the language choice and code-switching being performed
1.	Widya’s mother: <i>Nggak ono nggon liyo ta, nduk? Lapo se kok kudu nang nggon iku?</i>	Widya’s mother here is shown to fully speak Javanese to her daughter, even when she presumably comes from rather rich family (i.e. her daughter goes to college) and lives in more urban area.
2.	Widya: Widya <i>kan sampun</i> jelasin, Bu, Ayu <i>ngeroso lek nggone cocok kangge</i> program KKN.	Instead of using <i>jelasne</i> or <i>jelasaken</i> (Javanese verb forms for the adjective <i>jelas</i> using inflectional morphemes <i>-ne</i> and <i>-aken</i> ), Widya uses Indonesian’s informal inflectional form for the root word <i>jelas</i> using <i>-in</i> . This is particularly interesting, though admittedly representative of the real

No.	Character and their utterance(s)	Analysis of the language choice and code-switching being performed
		younger Javanese generation, since the rest of her sentence is spoken more in Javanese.
3.	Widya's mother: <i>Nang kono nggone alas tok lho, nduk, gak umum dinggoni gawe menungso.</i>	Again, Widya's mother here is shown to fully speak Javanese to her daughter.
4.	Widya: <i>Nur kaliyan Ayu sampun ngecek kok, Bu. Pak Kades nggih sampun ngijinin. Beliau niku kenalane mase Ayu.</i>	Beside shown as sometimes mixing Javanese words with Indonesian morphological rules and vice versa, Widya is also shown to have some degree of proficiency in <i>Jawa Krama</i> , as shown in the words <i>sampun, kaliyan, nggih</i> , and <i>niku</i> .
5.	Widya's mother: <i>Ibu mek wedi nek anake ibu siji-sijine iki kenopo-nopo, nduk.</i>	Widya's mother still fully speaks in Javanese to her daughter.
6.	Widya: <i>Enten Nur kalih kanca-kanca liyane, jadi Ibu gak usah kuatir. Pareng, nggih, Bu, Widya berangkat KKN?</i>	However, Widya's use of <i>Jawa Krama</i> is not perfect as can be seen in the <i>ngoko</i> word <i>liyane</i> whose <i>krama</i> version <i>lintune</i> is still a common word to say in the society. This is important to note since her previous words <i>enten</i> and <i>kalih</i> are both in <i>krama</i> .
7.	Widya's mother: <i>Yowes lek ngono, nduk. Jogo awakmu. Jogo sikap. Jogo ucapan. Ada pepatah Jawa bilang, "Air mengalir selalu ke timur." Di timur semua kumpul nang kono. Mulai dari yang baik, yang buruk, sampai yang pualing buruk.</i>	In this instance, instead of keeping her 100% tendency towards Javanese, Widya's mother somehow switched to Indonesian when she mentions a presumably Javanese saying " <i>Air mengalir selalu ke timur</i> (water always flows to the east)". This is arguably quite contradictory and sounding wrong when she could easily stay speaking in Javanese but perhaps followed by Indonesian explanation or repetition for said mythical saying.

The fact that Widya's mother, whose daughter is a college student assumed to reside in a relatively modern area, predominantly uses Javanese when communicating with her daughter is an intriguing reference. This becomes particularly interesting when we shift our focus to an ordinary villager, Bu Sundari, from the village where the community service programme (KKN) is conducted. This is noteworthy because, at the beginning of the film, Pak Prabu, head of the village, mentions that electricity has not yet reached their village—a small yet significant factor often linked to the lack of modernity in the area, subsequently influencing the linguistic proficiency of the local residents.

**Table 8:** Code-Switching Practice Among the Villagers Where the KKN Programme Takes Place in "*KKN di Desa Penari*"

No.	Character and their utterance(s)	Analysis of the language choice and code-switching being performed
1.	Bu Sundari: <i>Saya mboten saged nolak, 'kan?</i>	When interacting with Pak Prabu, who spoke to her prior to this utterance in <i>Jawa Ngoko</i> , Bu Sundari's short line is questionably written in an unnecessary way of mixing Indonesian and Javanese words—here exemplified by her use of <i>saya</i> (formal Indonesian first person pronoun) instead of <i>kulo</i> (formal first person pronoun in <i>Jawa Krama</i> ) despite her next two words being spoken in complete <i>Jawa Krama</i> .
2.	Bu Sundari: Di desa ini, hampir semua rumah itu terbuat dari anyaman bambu. Jadi, kita bisa denger apa saja yang kalian bicarakan dan apa pun yang kalian pakai.	Bu Sundari's character seems to prefer speaking Indonesian than Javanese, since even mentioning herself that she could hear all of the college girls' conversation through the thin bamboo walls who were talking to each other in Javanese themselves in

No.	Character and their utterance(s)	Analysis of the language choice and code-switching being performed
		her house, she still scolds them here in full Indonesian—again, instead of all Javanese or even some switching between the two.
3.	Pak Prabu: Dulu tempat ini dijadikan tempat mandinya para penari. <i>Tapi saiki wes gak ono meneh penari ndek deso kene.</i> Nah terus tempat ini sempat beralih fungsi jadi sumber mata air desa kami. Tapi beberapa tahun belakangan ini <i>banyune asad.</i> Jadi, warga agak kesulitan akses air, <i>soale sungaine gak patio cidek soko kene.</i>	Different from Bu Sundari, Pak Prabu, who is several years younger than her and is head of the village, is still depicted using Javanese quite often, with a rather consistent patterns at that (doing inter-sentential switching more often)—again, despite knowing that the college students he talks to can fully understand Javanese thus making his use of Indonesian is practically unnecessary outside of personal preference.
4.	Mbah Buyut: Diminum dulu kopinya. Nggak baik menolak pemberian tuan rumah. Ini memang dipersiapkan untuk kamu. <i>Monggo,</i> diminum dulu.	Seeing the person he talks to speaks little Javanese and comes from the city, Mbah Buyut’s character in this case is shown to speak in full Indonesian except for one tag word <i>monggo</i> which is arguably understood by every person in Indonesia and not just Javanese.
5.	Mbah Buyut: <i>Putumu tibak’e nggagak ruh nek sampeyan wes njogo ket biyen. Dek e wes janji gak bakal ngganggu maneh. Wes, tenang ae, sing nang kene wes dadi tanggung jawabku.</i>	When interacting with supposedly a guardian ghost he encounters, Mbah Buyut fully speaks in Javanese. This character’s language choice in this excerpt and number 4 is probably one of the few reasonable cases of code-switching practices found in “ <i>KKN di Desa Penari</i> ”.

Examining the student characters frequently using Javanese in “*KKN di Desa Penari*”, along with their thorough understanding of Pak Prabu’s regular use of Javanese (depicted by them not asking for repetitions or clarity to his statements and the absence of Pak Prabu himself repeating the Javanese phrases), the fact that two senior villagers prefer using Indonesian raises a little discomfort. This is especially more prominent in Bu Sundari’s character who appears in the whole film only twice, performing her lines shown in Table 8 above. This discrepancy does not align with the depicted environmental conditions in the film: the village is still remote, the two seniors are elderly, and Javanese is not portrayed as a language barrier to communication among the characters. On top of that, another character of the opposite “modernity” level in the story is shown to prefer using Javanese despite also being younger than Bu Sundari and Pak Prabu alike.

### 3.3. Corrections on the Syntactic Patterns (or Lack Thereof) of Javanese-Indonesian Code-Switching Practices Implemented in “*KKN di Desa Penari*” and “*Sewu Dino*”

In providing corrections to this matter, several options can be considered. The first is to enforce the use of the Javanese language entirely and opt for displaying specific subtitles in the film—a choice that is perceived as challenging due to the abundance of dialogue to be conveyed in Javanese. The second option is to emphasize a code-switching pattern between sentences, with the expected effect of providing a more structured transition and avoiding the impression of jumping randomly between the two languages used. The third option is to prioritize the consistency of each language used, regardless of other factors.

The intent behind the third option is to eliminate code-switching that only involves one or two words within a sentence (e.g., using only one Javanese word in a sentence where the rest is in Indonesian), as seen in cases such as Bu Sundari (Saya *mboten saged nolak*, ‘kan?), Mbah Buyut (Kamu iku anak *getih anget. Sing* seperti kamu ini *guampang* disukai mereka.), and Mbah Tamin (Saya Tamin. Kalian pasti bingung untuk apa *digowo merene*).

**Table 9:** Corrections to Some Representations of Javanese-Indonesian Code-Switching Practices in “*KKN di Desa Penari*” dan “*Sewu Dino*”

Some code-switching examples in the two films	Code-switching version <i>I</i> would do
<b><i>KKN di Desa Penari</i></b>	
Nur: Saya mengalami kejadian <i>iku</i> sekitar empat tahun yang lalu. <i>Karo konco-konco</i> kampus saya. Tapi ternyata <i>kabeh sing</i> terjadi <i>selanjute gak koyok sing awake dewe</i> bayangkan. Waktu <i>iku</i> saya <i>sing</i> diajak almarhum <i>gawe</i> membuat survey dulu.	<i>Aku ngalami kejadian iku</i> sekitar empat tahun yang lalu. <i>Karo konco-konco kampusku</i> . Tapi ternyata semua yang terjadi selanjutnya <i>gak koyok sing awake dewe bayangno sak durunge</i> . <i>Wektu iku aku sing diajak almarhum gawe ngenekno survey awal</i> .
Widya: Kami ke sana <i>gawe</i> KKN. Tapi <i>deso sing</i> kami pilih <i>dudu deso biasa</i> . <i>Sing</i> kami pikirkan, <i>yaopo carane</i> proker KKN kami berhasil.	Kami ke sana untuk KKN. <i>Tapi deso sing awak dewe pilih dudu deso biasa</i> . Yang kami pikirkan, <i>yaopo carane</i> proker KKN e berhasil.
Ayu's brother: Mas Prabu <i>ki pamong deso nang kene, ngko</i> beliau yang <i>dadi</i> pengawas kegiatan KKN kalian. <i>Jogo</i> baik-baik kepercayaan Mas Prabu. <i>Yo?</i> <i>Ojo nggarai repot</i> .	Mas Prabu <i>ki pamong deso nang kene</i> . Nanti beliau yang jadi pengawas kegiatan KKN kalian. <i>Jogo apik-apik</i> kepercayaan Mas Prabu. <i>Yo?</i> <i>Ojo nggarai repot</i> .
Widya's mother: <i>Yowes lek ngono, nduk. Jogo awakmu. Jogo sikap. Jogo ucapan</i> . Ada pepatah Jawa bilang, “Air mengalir selalu ke timur.” Di timur semua <i>kumpul nang kono</i> . Mulai dari yang baik, yang buruk, sampai yang pualing buruk.	<i>Yowes lek ngono, nduk. Jogo awakmu. Jogo sikap. Jogo ucapan</i> . Ada pepatah Jawa bilang, “ <i>Banyu iku miline mesti ngetan</i> .” <i>Ning sisih etan kabeh podu kumpul nang kono</i> , mulai dari yang baik, yang buruk, sampai yang pualing buruk.
Bu Sundari: Saya <i>mboten saged nolak</i> , ‘kan?’	Kulo <i>mboten saged nolak, kan?</i>
Mbah Buyut: Kamu <i>iku anak getih anget. Sing</i> seperti kamu ini <i>guampang</i> disukai mereka. Kunir ini bisa bantu menangkal mara bahaya di sekitar sini. Pokoknya kamu tenang aja.	Kamu itu <i>anak getih anget. Sing koyo awakmu iki guampang</i> disukai mereka. <i>Kunir iki iso bantu nangkal moro boyo ning sekitar kene</i> . Pokoknya kamu tenang saja.
<b><i>Sewu Dino</i></b>	
Sri's father: <i>Yo uwis</i> kalau itu maumu. Bapak <i>pesen</i> , jaga diri, <i>yo</i> .	<i>Yo uwis nek iku penginmu, nduk. Bapak pesen, jagoen awakmu, yo</i> .
Dini: Tenang <i>ae</i> , kita semua punya <i>tondo iki. Artine</i> si Mbah sudah melakukan hal yang sama pada kamu juga.	<i>Tenang ae, awak dewe nduwe tondo iki kabeh</i> . Artinya si Mbah sudah melakukan hal yang sama pada kamu juga.
Sugik: <i>Wes mlebu ae</i> , nanti bakal <i>dijelasno</i> . Di sini ngga <i>ono</i> listrik <i>yo</i> . Sebelum gelap, semua lampu <i>kudu dinyalakno</i> . Di situ kamar kalian.	<i>Wes mlebu ae, ngko tak jelasno. Ning kene ora ono listrik yo</i> . Sebelum gelap, semua lampu <i>kudu diurupno</i> . Di situ kamar kalian.
Mbah Tamin: Saya Tamin. Kalian pasti bingung untuk apa <i>digowo merene. Jawabane ono ning kamar iki. Saiki, jarik</i> ini dipakai. <i>Jarik iku bakalan nggo njogo</i> kalian, karena sudah dibasahi air kembang tujuh rupa, <i>diratus</i> asap menyan, akar wangi dan juga kayu <i>cendono. Haruse wewangian iku</i> bisa <i>gawe dek'e</i> lebih tenang.	Aku Tamin. <i>Mbak-mbak e mesti bingung ono opo kok digowo merene. Jawabane ono ning kamar iki</i> . Sekarang, <i>jarik</i> ini dipakai. <i>Jarik iku bakalan nggo njogo sampean-sampean, mergo wis ditelesi karo banyu kembang rupo pittu, diratus karo menyan, akar wangi karo kayu cendono</i> . Harusnya wewangian itu bisa membuat dia lebih tenang.

#### 4. Discussion

This study was initially motivated by the growing interest in understanding how multilingual practices, especially code-switching, are represented in fictional media. While earlier works such as Pangestu and Sudarwati (2021) and Swandani et al. (2022) have foregrounded code-switching as a tool for *language preservation*, particularly in a Java-centric narrative environment like *Yowis Ben*, the two films under scrutiny in this study—*KKN di Desa Penari* and *Sewu Dino*—do not seem to share this objective. Rather than serving as mediums of cultural-linguistic assertion, both films display a curious ambivalence in their representation of Javanese-Indonesian code-switching, especially when judged against the films' thematic and geographic alignment with Javanese culture.

From a structural standpoint, the forms of code-switching observed fall broadly within established typologies—namely, intra- and inter-sentential (Setyawan, 2012; Nurhayani et al., 2022; Rastitiati & Suprastayasa, 2022). Yet, the significance of these forms lies not in their frequency but in their situational inappropriateness. For instance, the frequent use of Indonesian by elderly characters in *Sewu Dino*, including Mbah Karsa and Sri's father, departs from common sociolinguistic expectations where older, rural, and less formally educated speakers are more likely to rely on their native code (Isodarus, 2020; Riani et al., 2022; Suryadi, 2014). This deviation calls into question whether the scriptwriting process took into account the social indexicality of language choice, something that films like *Yowis Ben* seem to have foregrounded much more conscientiously.

In contrast to the representational fidelity seen in *Yowis Ben*, which used code-switching to reflect real-world sociolinguistic dynamics and as a subtle form of advocacy for Javanese linguistic identity (Pangestu & Sudarwati, 2021), the films discussed here appear to use code-switching without regard for either representational accuracy or narrative function. This is further underscored by the fact that even when Javanese is employed, it often lacks structural consistency and appears disconnected from contextual cues that would otherwise prompt its use (e.g., age of speaker, familiarity, and setting). One particularly telling case is that of Bu Sundari in *KKN di Desa Penari*, whose use of Indonesian despite being an elderly villager in an electricity-deprived, rural setting suggests a form of linguistic flattening, where Javanese becomes merely an ornamental linguistic element rather than a socially embedded one.

This flattening stands in tension with sociolinguistic research highlighting how spatial, generational, and identity-based factors influence code choice (Andriyanti, 2019; Kweldju, 2020; Subroto et al., 2008; Yannuar & Febrianti, 2021). It may also reflect a broader tendency in Indonesian media to privilege Bahasa Indonesia even in contexts where a local language would be more socially plausible, thereby reinforcing a kind of narrative hegemony. While this may not amount to overt language marginalisation, it does complicate the idea that film can be an effective vehicle for linguistic representation or revitalisation—especially if the representation lacks internal logic or fails to resonate with actual speech communities.

Moreover, while studies such as those by Arps (2009) and Sugianto (2019) have examined how language use in media participates in identity work, such identity signals are underutilised in the two films examined here. The characters do not appear to code-switch to mark identity shifts, social alignment, or affective stance in any discernible way. This is especially surprising given that the settings of both films are steeped in traditional cosmologies and rural lifeways where Javanese would typically serve not just as a linguistic medium but as a cultural anchor.

Therefore, the contribution of this study lies not merely in reaffirming that films do or do not represent multilingualism “accurately,” but in criticising *how* such representations can fail to align with known sociolinguistic patterns, even in ostensibly ideal contexts. These mismatches underscore the need for a more nuanced understanding of language performance in fictional narratives—one that goes beyond the surface form of code-switching to ask whether it serves aesthetic, ideological, or communicative purposes.

## 5. Conclusion

In terms of general sociolinguistic research, this study does not directly examine language use in an actual community but merely a representation of their language and the behaviours around it within the fictitious social setting or social group portrayed in the film media. However, considering the success of both films in capturing a rather massive audience attention, their representation of a specific socio-cultural community (particularly language) was deemed highly significant. Therefore, the scriptwriting approach taken should not lack special attention, as it may reinforce the cultural impression as well.

The discussion in this study highlighted various shortcomings in terms of reasons, purposes, or specific structures in the blending of dialogues or expressions uttered by the films' characters from diverse backgrounds. Some seem to perform it merely without adhering to specific reasons or structures but also without overtly contradicting other backgrounds (as seen in the cases of characters Wahyu, Pak Prabu, and Mbah Karsa). However, others notably deviate from social situations and personal backgrounds (as in the cases of Nur, Bu Sundari, and Sri's father).

It is true, though, that creative-aesthetic choices in filmmaking like this do not directly impact the social life of the represented community or the perceptions of other societies towards it. Yet, as emphasized in the study on the preservation of the Javanese language through film media by Pangestu and Sudarwati (2021), specific objectives in representing language in film media can play a significant role in the preservation or maintenance of a language, especially when considering the longevity of such media compared to formal education or direct language use in a highly dynamic society.

Hence, this study also included corrections to several monologues or dialogues from both films that were deemed to represent the overall code-switching practices implemented in them. The purpose of these corrections was to provide input on the balance between creative-aesthetic choices in an entertainment medium that also maintains a fine alignment between what is represented in a film medium and what exists in the community.

While this study is limited to examining the linguistic aspect of cultural performance—specifically Javanese-Indonesian code-switching—in two popular films, it inevitably touches upon a wider issue: the increasing commodification of local cultures in Indonesian cinema, especially in the horror genre. As demonstrated, language in film is never neutral—it carries ideological weight, reflects societal attitudes, and performs cultural identities. Yet, current cinematic trends often present local languages and cultural features (e.g., Javanese, Sundanese, Dayak) merely as aesthetic or atmospheric tools rather than as integral, meaning-bearing systems.

Future studies are therefore encouraged to expand upon this line of inquiry by adopting a more critical stance toward how language, belief systems, and cultural markers are represented in film. Scholars should not hesitate to position themselves as cultural “caretakers” who not only observe but also evaluate these representations, particularly when they risk misrepresenting or flattening complex traditions for the sake of entertainment or mass appeal.

Furthermore, interdisciplinary approaches that combine linguistic analysis with cultural criticism, media studies, and even ethnographic perspectives could offer more robust insights. These studies could also benefit from exploring the reception side: how audiences—especially those from the cultures being depicted—perceive such representations, and whether these portrayals contribute to cultural pride, linguistic revitalisation, or conversely, to stereotyping and simplification.

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