

LANGUAGE, SUBCULTURE, AND POPULAR MUSIC: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE “KICAU MANIA” REGISTER IN THE SONG LYRICS OF NDARBOY GENK

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Abstract

Language in contemporary Javanese popular music no longer functions merely as an aesthetic medium; it has become a dynamic arena for negotiating social identity and the symbolic resistance of the working class. This study aims to dissect the linguistic representation of the kicau mania (bird-singing enthusiast) subculture in the lyrics of “Kicau Mania” (2026), performed by Ndarboy Genk, Banditoz Yaow 86, and BoyCord. Employing a descriptive qualitative approach and a content-analysis method integrated with the ethnography of communication, this study analyzes twenty-four (24) linguistic units classified into three main corpora: in-group marker lexicon, communal solidarity construction, and code-mixing patterns. The theoretical analysis was conducted through triangulation of Dell Hymes’ Speech Community theory, Bonny Norton’s Social Identity theory, and Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of linguistic habitus. The findings show that exclusive lexical items such as *gacor* and *nggantang* have undergone linguistic translocation from an isolated physical space to the macro digital marketplace. Furthermore, sociocultural metaphors such as *kalah kondangan* are actively constructed to democratize Javanese masculine identity and to build communal solidarity. Finally, the hybrid code-mixing patterns reflect the linguistic habitus of the urban working class, adapting to modernity without losing the authenticity of its locality.

Keywords: *sociolinguistics, popular music, kicau mania, Ndarboy Genk, linguistic habitus, social identity*

Introduction

Language in popular music has long been an object of interest within sociolinguistic scholarship. One of the most significant elements of any musical work is its lyrics. Song lyrics do not merely serve an aesthetic function; they also record, reproduce, and negotiate the social identity of speakers and their communities (Frith, 1996). Popular music acts as a discursive space in which cultural identity is dynamically constructed, while simultaneously reflecting sociolinguistic shifts within society (Gibson & Connell, 2005). In Indonesia, contemporary Javanese music displays this phenomenon quite

clearly, as evident in the changing role of regional languages, which are no longer regarded as static or traditional entities but rather as fluid, hybrid media for celebrating modernity while asserting locality (Barendregt, 2014; Luvaas, 2013). This phenomenon is particularly visible in the modern Javanese pop-dangdut movement, within which language functions not only as a medium of communication but also as a cultural identity that resists sociolinguistic marginalization.

In early 2026, the Indonesian musician Ndarboy Genk released a song entitled "*Kicau Mania*" ("Bird-Singing Enthusiast"). The song was officially released on 22 January 2026, performed together with Banditoz Yaow 86 and BoyCord. It stands as a striking recent instance of this linguistic phenomenon: having surpassed 18 million streams on Spotify, it has moved beyond mere entertainment to become a massive social text. The central concern of this study is how the song's lyrics linguistically represent the social identity of the *kicau mania* community—a subculture of bird-singing competition enthusiasts deeply rooted in the masculine and sociocultural traditions of Javanese society (cf. Jepson & Ladle, 2005). The song's success marks an important turning point at which a highly specific local narrative has managed to cross the boundaries of national mass consumption through the mediation of popular music.

In sociolinguistics, the *kicau mania* community can be categorized as a speech community with its own distinctive linguistic repertoire (Gumperz, 1968). Its members reproduce technical vocabulary and a specialized register (such as *gacor*, *nggantang*, *murai*, and *latberan*) that functions as a social boundary distinguishing in-group from out-group members (Tajfel, 1974). Communication within this subculture is bound by unique sociocultural norms and solidarity values born of shared experience in the competition arena. When Ndarboy Genk brought this sociolinguistic dialectic into his song lyrics, a process of linguistic translocation occurred: a register that was once exclusive and confined to physical spaces (bird markets and competition arenas) has now "taken the stage" within the realm of popular digital media, accessed by a heterogeneous, cross-cultural audience.

Linguistic studies of *campursari* music have been conducted on several previous occasions. Supriyanto (2019) examined code-mixing in *campursari* music, while Weintraub (2010) studied the politics of identity in *koplo* music. Nevertheless, analyses specifically dissecting the register of a traditional hobbyist subculture as it is integrated into contemporary pop-dangdut remain scarce. Most previous studies tend to view Javanese in popular music through a rigid dichotomy between standard Javanese (*Krama/Ngoko*) and Indonesian (Setyadi, 2021). This study seeks to fill that empirical gap by exploring how popular song lyrics become a hybrid space bringing together subcultural lexicon, dialectal variation, and code-mixing practices as a reflection of speakers' linguistic habitus (Bourdieu, 1991).

Building on this research gap, the study formulates three key research questions:

1. Which lexical items function as in-group identity markers of the *kicau mania* community within the song's lyrics?
2. How does the linguistic structure of the lyrics construct and reinforce communal solidarity values?
3. How do code-mixing patterns in the lyrics reflect speakers' linguistic habitus in the modern era?

Based on this background and problem formulation, the study aims to uncover the linguistic mechanisms through which popular music builds, negotiates, and reproduces

local subcultural identity in Indonesia. Theoretically, this study makes a significant contribution to the development of critical sociolinguistics in Indonesia, particularly by extending its scope of inquiry to twenty-first-century Javanese popular music. Practically, the study offers a new perspective on how regional languages and their register variation sustain their vitality through adaptive and inclusive cultural commodification.

Theoretical Review

This study is grounded in three complementary critical sociolinguistic frameworks used to dissect the dialectic between language, hobbyist subculture, and popular music. These three pillars are speech community theory, social identity theory within discursive space, and the concept of linguistic habitus, which serves as the sociological bridge between them

Speech Community Theory and Register Variation

This study adopts Dell Hymes' (1974) theory of speech community, which defines a speech community as a group of people who share not only the same linguistic signs but also agreed-upon rules of speaking and linguistic values. Hymes emphasizes that membership in a speech community is determined not by formal linguistic similarity or abstract grammatical structure, but by active participation in communicative norms and shared ways of making meaning within a particular social context. This idea engages closely with Gumperz's (1968) concept of linguistic repertoire, which holds that every subculture produces internal language variation to fulfil its social functions.

Within the context of this study, the *kicau mania* community is regarded as a sociocultural speech community that produces a specialized register—including lexical items such as *gacor*, *nggantang*, and *latberan*. Halliday (1978) argues that register reflects the social structure and situational configuration in which language operates. The specific lexicon of the *kicau mania* community is not merely technical jargon but an in-group identity marker (Tajfel, 1974) that determines who is entitled to claim membership within the subculture. Hymes' theory—particularly through the framework of the ethnography of communication—is applied here to identify how these lexical items function as cultural codes asserting communal boundaries when transposed into the text of popular song lyrics.

Social Identity Theory and Discursive Negotiation in Popular Music

To understand how language in the lyrics constructs solidarity values, this study applies Bonny Norton's (2000) theory of social identity. Norton views language not as a neutral medium of communication but as a discursive site in which social identity is dynamically, multiply, and continuously negotiated across space and time. She argues that when a person speaks, writes, or produces a text, they are not merely conveying literal information but also reorganizing their social relations with the outside world and displaying their position within the social hierarchy.

Within popular music, this process of identity positioning takes place in sociocultural through what Frith (1996) calls the performative function of lyrics. Popular song lyrics act as a "communal voice" that allows listeners to identify themselves within the narrative being sung. By integrating the language of the *kicau mania* community into the Javanese pop-dangdut genre, musicians such as Ndarboy Genk deliberately represent

the identity of a marginal group (the traditional-hobbyist working-class subculture) within a broader cyber-public space (cf. Luvaas, 2013). Norton's theory is used here to analyse how the lyrics of "*Kicau Mania*" construct group solidarity (an imagined community in Anderson's [1983] sense) and negotiate the existence of a local subculture amid the encroachment of mainstream urban pop music.

The Concept of Linguistic Habitus and Contemporary Code-Mixing Practices

To dissect the code-mixing patterns found in the lyrics, this study draws on Pierre Bourdieu's (1991) concept of linguistic habitus. Bourdieu argues that an individual's choice of language, accent, dialect, and speech style is a product of habitus—an embodied system of dispositions shaped by the trajectory of a speaker's social, economic, and cultural experience within a particular social structure. Linguistic habitus determines the value, or "price," of the linguistic capital an individual possesses within the linguistic market. A speaker's choice to mix codes is not simply a failure of linguistic performance but a reflection of a sociological strategy for gaining cultural legitimacy.

The fluid interaction between *ngoko* Javanese, the technical vocabulary of the *kicau mania* community, and elements of Indonesian in Ndarboy Genk's lyrics manifests the linguistic habitus of the contemporary Javanese working class (*wong cilik*, or "common people," adapting to modernity). Viewed through a Bourdieusian lens, this code-mixing phenomenon is no longer seen as a "corruption" of standard language but as a tactic of symbolic resistance that dismantles the feudal hierarchy of standard Javanese while asserting the group's sociocultural authenticity (cf. Weintraub, 2010). Popular music becomes a new linguistic market in which this traditional subcultural habitus is simultaneously commodified and validated as a legitimate form of modern identity.

Research Method

This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach with a qualitative content-analysis design, methodologically integrated with the perspective of the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1974). Content analysis is not used quantitatively to merely count word frequencies but rather qualitatively and interpretively, to uncover the latent meanings, ideologies, and identity representations underlying the textual structure (Krippendorff, 2018). The ethnography-of-communication perspective, in turn, serves as an analytical lens for understanding how the song's lyrics reflect the speech situation, speech event, and speech act that occur in the real, empirical sociocultural life of the *kicau mania* community.

This study utilizes primary data in the form of linguistic elements—including lexical items, phrases, clauses, and sentences—that exhibit the *kicau mania* community's register, expressions of solidarity, and code-mixing variations within the song lyrics of "*Kicau Mania*" (by Ndarboy Genk, Banditoz Yaow 86, and BoyCord, 2026), sourced directly from transcribed audio and official lyric texts on Spotify and Ndarboy Genk's official YouTube channel. To complement these findings, secondary data were gathered from contextual textual sources, including a corpus of listener comments on Spotify and YouTube to analyze speaker reception of the negotiated identity, alongside digital documentation detailing communicative practices, informal glossaries, and the broader social ethos of the Javanese *kicau mania* community.

Data were collected using the listen-and-note-taking method (Sudaryanto, 2015) through a systematic process beginning with a repeated listening stage, which involved audio-visually observing the music video and melody to capture prosodic emphasis and intonation on specific lexical items. This was followed by an orthographic transcription stage to convert the audio lyrics into complete written text, including interjections and emphatic Javanese particles such as *lho*, *kae*, and *tah*. Finally, during the data inventory stage, all captured linguistic units were categorized and entered into a raw data corpus based on an initial sociolinguistic typology.

Adopting the interactive model and data-condensation approach of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014), the data analysis is operationalized through four sociolinguistic stages: data transcription and segmentation, data condensation and coding, data display, and conclusion drawing and interpretation. Initially, the process involves rechecking the transcribed lyrics and segmenting the text into relevant linguistic units, after which data condensation refines these units by removing sociolinguistic insignificant elements and applying codes based on in-group lexicon criteria (Code-LK), solidarity-structure markers (Code-SL), and hybridity or code-mixing patterns (Code-CK). The coded findings are then organized into a sociolinguistic classification matrix containing lyric excerpts, denotative meanings, types of language variation, and subcultural usage contexts accompanied by a descriptive-explanatory narrative. Ultimately, the researcher performs in-depth verification of the emerging patterns to achieve theoretical abstraction, illustrating how the lyric text acts as a discursive agent that reproduces the communal identity of the *kicau mania* community.

To ensure trustworthiness and qualitative validity, this study employs both theory triangulation and data-source triangulation (Denzin, 2009). Theory triangulation is carried out concretely by examining a single unit of lyric data through three analytical lenses simultaneously: identifying the sociolinguistic boundaries of a lexical unit using Hymes' ethnography of communication, examining its negotiating function toward listeners using Norton's social identity theory, and dissecting its sociological roots through the lens of Bourdieu's linguistic habitus. Source triangulation, meanwhile, is carried out by cross-checking the results of the lyric analysis (primary data) against audience-comment data and documentation of the community's sociocultural practices in the field (secondary data), so as to ensure that the researcher's interpretation remains objective and context-grounded.

Research Findings

Based on the listen-and-note-taking method and data condensation applied to the lyrics of "Kicau Mania", 24 linguistic units bearing significant sociolinguistic content were identified. These 24 data points are tabulated below into three main corpora (Code-LK, Code-SL, and Code-CK).

Table of Data Findings

Data No.	Song Lyric Excerpt & Linguistic Unit (in bold)	Code Category	Denotative Meaning & Subcultural Context
DT-01	"Manukmu wis gacor , siap digawa ngalor" ("Your bird is already <i>gacor</i> , ready to be taken competing")	Code-LK	Gacor : A bird singing loudly and steadily; a symbol of peak performance.

Data No.	Song Lyric Excerpt & Linguistic Unit (in bold)	Code Category	Denotative Meaning & Subcultural Context
DT-02	“Ayo ndang nggantang , ojo mung disawang” (“Come on, hang the cage now, don’t just watch”)	Code-LK	Nggantang : Hanging the cage on the competition pole to be judged.
DT-03	“Mung tingkat latberan , rasah kemalan” (“It’s only a <i>latberan</i> -level contest, no need to be ashamed”)	Code-LK	Latberan : “Joint practice session”; the lowest, grassroots tier of competition.
DT-04	“Manuk mbagong kok njaluk juara” (“A bird that’s <i>mbagong</i> yet wants to win”)	Code-LK	Mbagong : The fluffed-feather behavior of a Kacer bird, regarded as “off form.”
DT-05	“Ekor panjang kuwi jenenge Murai ” (“That long-tailed one is called a Murai”)	Code-LK	Murai : The long-tailed Murai Batu species, the most prestigious competition class.
DT-06	“Ngenteni ndodok , lagune ra metu” (“Waiting for it to <i>ndodok</i> , but the song won’t come out”)	Code-LK	Ndodok : The bird’s posture of crouching rather than standing upright on its perch during competition.
DT-07	“Gara-gara ngeplay , juri langsung kepincut” (“Because it was <i>ngeplay</i> , the judge was instantly charmed”)	Code-LK	Ngeplay : A bird’s attractive display of tail/wing movement while singing.
DT-08	“Kalah tos , ra sah nggo nangis” (“Lost the <i>tos</i> , no need to cry over it”)	Code-LK	Tos : A coin toss used to break a tie between birds with equal scores.
DT-09	“ Salam satu hobi , seduluran tekan pati” (“One hobby, one greeting—brotherhood until death”)	Code-SL	A unifying sociocultural slogan that dismantles economic-class boundaries.
DT-10	“Senajan kalah kondangan , sing penting kekancan” (“Even if we lose the <i>kondangan</i> money, what matters is friendship”)	Code-SL	Kalah kondangan : Losing a contest yet accepting the forfeited entry fee gladly, for the sake of fellowship.
DT-11	“Gantangan iki papan srawung sejati” (“This competition arena is a true place of social gathering”)	Code-SL	Papan srawung : An egalitarian social space among hobby enthusiasts.
DT-12	“Ora usah ngrasani , podo-podo golek seneng” (“No need to gossip, we’re all just here for fun”)	Code-SL	Ngrasani : Gossiping about/criticizing another’s bird set-up; an ethical prohibition within the community.
DT-13	“Siji susah , kabeh melu ngopeni ” (“If one struggles, everyone helps care for it”)	Code-SL	Ngopeni : Caring for one another collectively; reflects the sociocultural value of mutual cooperation (gotong royong).
DT-14	“Menang ra terbang, kalah ra tumbang ” (“Winning doesn’t make you fly off, losing doesn’t make you fall”)	Code-SL	A principle of collective mental resilience in the competitive arena.

Data No.	Song Lyric Excerpt & Linguistic Unit (in bold)	Code Category	Denotative Meaning & Subcultural Context
DT-15	“Guyub rukun neng kene, rasah padha gontok-gontokan” (“It’s all harmony and togetherness here, no need to fight each other”)	Code-SL	Guyub rukun : A traditional Javanese social ethos incorporated into the modern subculture.
DT-16	“Neng kene kabeh sedulur, ra mbedakke kasta” (“Here, everyone is family, with no class distinction”)	Code-SL	Sedulur : Fictive kinship based on shared interest rather than blood ties.
DT-17	“Golek settingan bojo kuwi angel, kaya nyetting Murai” (“Finding the right ‘setting’ for a spouse is as hard as setting a Murai”)	Code-CK	English–Javanese code-mixing (<i>setting</i> → <i>nyetting</i>); adaptation of a Western technical term.
DT-18	“Jangan panik, manukmu muk didis rasah dadi perwira” (“Don’t panic, your bird is just preening, no need to overreact”)	Code-CK	Indonesian–Javanese code-mixing. Didis : a bird preening its feathers due to mites or stress.
DT-19	“Manukku over birahi, kudu diet jangkrik” (“My bird is over-aroused, it needs to go on a cricket diet”)	Code-CK	Indonesian–Javanese code-mixing; a biological term (<i>birahi</i> , “arousal/libido”) absorbed into the hobbyist register.
DT-20	“Iki masalah prestasi, dudu masalah materi” (“This is a matter of achievement, not of money”)	Code-CK	Indonesian–Javanese code-mixing; shifts orientation from commercial gain to recognition.
DT-21	“Gantangan wis open, ndang disiapke kabeh” (“Registration’s open now, get everything ready”)	Code-CK	English–Javanese code-mixing; absorption of the word <i>open</i> to mark the opening of registration.
DT-22	“Manukmu konslet, durasi ra ana tanding” (“Your bird’s gone <i>konslet</i> [short-circuited], no one can match its stamina”)	Code-CK	Metaphorical electronics–Javanese code-mixing; <i>konslet</i> describes a Lovebird singing non-stop without pause.
DT-23	“Urusan gantangan dadi prioritas utama” (“The matter of the competition arena becomes the top priority”)	Code-CK	Indonesian–Javanese code-mixing; reflects the position of the hobby within daily habitus.
DT-24	“Rasah syirik, rejeki wis ana sing ngatur” (“No need for envy—fortune is already arranged by God”)	Code-CK	Arabic (<i>syirik/shirk</i>)–Javanese–Indonesian code-mixing; hybridity of religious and hobbyist language.

Lexicon Marking In-Group Community Identity

The findings show that the lyrics of “*Kicau Mania*” are dominated by the use of a technical register that functions as an in-group identity marker. Based on the parameters of Dell Hymes’ speech community theory, lexical items such as *gacor* (DT-01), *nggantang* (DT-02), and *latberan* (DT-03) do not operate as random vocabulary but as a

shibboleth—a linguistic code that separates authentic members of the speech community (in-group) from the lay public (out-group).

When Ndarboy Genk uses the phrase “*manukmu wis gacor*” (“your bird is already gacor”), a process of invoking the community’s collective memory takes place. The lexeme *gacor* represents the highest achievement a bird enthusiast can attain. The presence of such words in popular song lyrics is particularly compelling because it compels general listeners outside the speech community to learn the subculture’s “rules of speaking” in order to grasp the song’s full meaning. In this way, a subcultural language that was once marginal and confined to the bird-market environment undergoes a domain expansion into public digital space.

Construction of Communal Solidarity Values in the Lyric Text

In terms of social construction, the lyrics discursively build strong solidarity values by affirming a shared fate and a shared hobby. Through the lens of Bonny Norton’s (2000) social identity theory, language is used by the musician as a medium of social investment to embrace listeners from a particular social class (generally the sociocultural working class). This is clearly evident in data DT-09 (“*Salam satu hobi, seduluran tekan pati*”, “One hobby, one greeting—brotherhood until death”) and DT-10 (“*Senajan kalah kondangan, sing penting kekancan*”, “Even if we lose the *kondangan* money, what matters is friendship”).

The phrase *kalah kondangan* is a highly specific sociolinguistic metaphor. In the sociocultural reality of bird-singing competitions, the majority of participants lose and never recoup their entry fee—likened to money given as a wedding gift (*kondangan*). By embedding this bitter reality within an upbeat lyric, the song text performs an act of identity negotiation: that economic or hobbyist failure does not diminish self-worth but instead strengthens the emotional bonds among community members. This lyrical structure actively reproduces the *guyub rukun* (“harmonious togetherness”) value characteristic of traditional Javanese society, reconfigured into a form of modern subcultural solidarity.

Code-Mixing Patterns as a Reflection of Linguistic Habitus

The most complex sociolinguistic finding lies in the pattern of language variation in the form of code-mixing. The song consistently blends *ngoko* Javanese, the community’s technical vocabulary, modern Indonesian, and even English loanwords (*setingan*, *panik*). Applying Pierre Bourdieu’s (1991) concept of linguistic habitus as an analytical lens, this hybridity pattern reflects the mental and sociological disposition of Indonesia’s contemporary urban working-class speakers.

Consider data DT-17: “*Golek setingan bojo kuwi angel, kaya nyeting Murai*” (“Finding the right ‘setting’ for a spouse is as hard as setting a Murai”). Here, the English loanword *setting* is Javanized into *nyeting* and then juxtaposed with a community-specific lexeme (*Murai*). This shows that the linguistic habitus of the musician and his community is neither rigid nor purist. They reject the confines of feudalistic standard Javanese, yet they do not fully dissolve into formal urban Indonesian either. This code-mixing is an adaptive linguistic tactic: they draw on the linguistic capital available to them to assert that being traditional (a Javanese bird enthusiast) can coexist with a modern identity fluent in technology and social media.

Discussions

The 24 linguistic units identified in the lyrics of “*Kicau Mania*” reveal a complex sociolinguistic dynamic in which popular music acts as an active discursive agent. This section confronts these findings with critical sociolinguistic theory in order to map out this study’s contribution to filling the existing empirical gap.

The first corpus of findings (DT-01 through DT-08) demonstrates that the *kicau mania* community operates as a fully developed speech community, consistent with the classic theses of Gumperz (1968) and Hymes (1974). Specific lexical items such as *gacor*, *nggantang*, *mbagong*, and *ndodok* are not merely contemporary slang but a form of linguistic boundary. This finding reinforces Tajfel’s (1974) social identity theory regarding the marking of in-group and out-group members: one cannot claim membership in this subculture without mastering its linguistic repertoire.

However, the theoretical novelty this study offers lies in its process of linguistic translocation. Whereas prior research such as Setyadi’s (2021) holds that the use of Javanese in contemporary pop music tends toward standardized, common vocabulary to ensure ease of understanding, “*Kicau Mania*” runs counter to this pattern. Ndarboy Genk deliberately carries a highly exclusive, oral register from an isolated physical space—the competition arena (*gantangan*)—directly into the macro digital space of Spotify and YouTube. This phenomenon aligns with Barendregt’s (2014) notion of sonic modernities, in which twenty-first-century Southeast Asian popular music becomes a hybrid space where local tradition is no longer concealed but celebrated globally through digital commodification.

The analysis of the solidarity data (DT-09 through DT-16) substantiates the argument made by both Bonny Norton (2000) and Simon Frith (1996) that popular song lyrics are never politically or socially neutral. Through slogans such as “*Salam satu hobi, seduluran tekan pati*” (DT-09) and the concept of *kalah kondangan* (DT-10), the lyrics succeed in constructing an imagined community (Anderson, 1983) bound together by shared hobby rather than by geographical boundary or blood ties.

This sociocultural contextualization becomes especially compelling when set against Jepson and Ladle’s (2005) anthropological study of bird-keeping in Java, which notes that the practice was originally closely tied to the traditional masculine socioeconomic status symbol of the *priyayi* (Javanese aristocracy/gentry). Data DT-11 (*papan sawung*) and DT-16 (*ra mbedakke kasta*, “no class distinction”), however, point to a sociolinguistic shift in Ndarboy Genk’s lyrics: the song text democratizes this hobby, reclaiming it as belonging to the *wong cilik* (working class). Through this song, language is used to reorganize listeners’ social relations, creating a new egalitarian space that rejects socioeconomic caste stratification in the modern era. This extends Luvaas’s (2013) finding that Indonesia’s grassroots creative industries possess an inherent capacity to produce their own value systems and solidarity, independent of the mainstream urban capitalist narrative.

The most crucial finding of this study is the code-mixing pattern (DT-17 through DT-24), which reflects the linguistic habitus (Bourdieu, 1991) of its speakers. The fluid blending of *ngoko* Javanese, Indonesian, and hybrid terminology such as *nyeting* (DT-17) and over *birahi* (DT-19) confirms that today’s linguistic market of Indonesian popular music places considerable value on working-class sociocultural authenticity.

Critically, this finding revises Supriyanto's (2019) research, which tends to view code-mixing practices in contemporary Javanese music (such as *campursari*) as a form of "interference," or a decline in linguistic quality resulting from insufficient adherence to standard grammar. Viewed through a Bourdieusian lens, we argue instead that the code-mixing in "*Kicau Mania*" constitutes a form of symbolic resistance.

The *kicau mania* speech community rejects the confines of hierarchical, feudal standard Javanese (*Krama*), yet it is equally unwilling to dissolve into the formality of urban Indonesian, which is perceived as detached from their everyday reality. This pattern of hybridity, as analogized in Weintraub's (2010) seminal social history of Indonesian popular music, is a way for marginalized communities to assert their agency. Being modern does not require abandoning local identity, and being local does not require being ill at ease with modernity.

To demonstrate how this article addresses the empirical gaps overlooked by prior scholarship, this section provides an in-depth examination of two representative sociolinguistic data points highlighting subcultural register and solidarity construction, directly confronting them with conclusions from previous studies.

The first instance involves the micro-analysis of subcultural register in Data DT-01 ("*Manukmu wis gacor, siap digawa ngalor*" / "Your bird is already *gacor*, ready to be taken competing"), which centers on the lexeme *gacor*. In broader research on Javanese in contemporary pop music, Setyadi (2021) concludes that musicians lean toward linguistic simplification and standardization, selecting vocabulary limited to common *Ngoko* diction (such as *tresno*, *kelangan*, *loro*) to keep songs accessible to cross-ethnic listeners. However, Data DT-01 reveals the opposite trajectory: Ndarboy Genk actively resists linguistic simplification. Far from generic Javanese, *gacor* is an exclusive technical register originating within the *kicau mania* subculture, denotatively referring to a bird singing loudly, densely, and consistently. Viewed through Hymes' (1974) ethnography of communication, embedding *gacor* into pop-dangdut lyrics marks the penetration of a subcultural register into mainstream popular culture. Rather than diluting the linguistic register to cater to the broader market—as Setyadi's thesis implies—Ndarboy Genk compels a heterogeneous digital audience to adapt to and internalize the cultural code of the *kicau mania* community.

The second instance focuses on the micro-analysis of solidarity construction in Data DT-10 ("*Senajan kalah kondangan, sing penting kekancan*" / "Even if we lose the *kondangan* money, what matters is friendship"), analyzing the hybrid phrase *kalah kondangan*. Previous research by Supriyanto (2019) on linguistic variation in contemporary Javanese music posits that shifts in linguistic form are primarily driven by aesthetic motives, rhyme, or songwriters' linguistic deficits, treating such formations as peripheral phenomena lacking sociological depth. Data DT-10 directly overturns Supriyanto's premise. The emergence of *kalah kondangan* is neither linguistic corruption nor a simple rhyming device, but a deliberate discursive tactic to foster communal solidarity. In the bird-competition arena, where most participants inevitably lose, the community metaphorically reframes the lost entry fee as money given voluntarily and wholeheartedly as a wedding gift (*kondangan*) in traditional Javanese marriage rituals. Applying Norton's (2000) social identity theory, language here serves as a tool of social investment to assert a collective identity, sublimating economic defeat in the arena into social victory through brotherhood (*seduluran*). This demonstrates that linguistic

variation in 21st-century Javanese pop-dangdut carries potent sociological agency to redefine working-class identity—a critical dimension overlooked in earlier scholarship.

Conclusion

This study successfully uncovers the complex sociolinguistic mechanisms at work behind the lyrics of Ndarboy Genk's "*Kicau Mania*". Through the analysis of 24 linguistic units, it can be concluded that: (1) subcultural technical lexicon such as *gacor* and *nggantang* function not merely as hobbyist jargon but as a powerful marker of in-group identity boundaries; (2) the linguistic construction of the lyrics actively democratizes a traditional Javanese hobby that was once feudal and elitist, reclaiming it as belonging to an egalitarian working class, in which financial failure (*kalah kondangan*) is transmuted into a bond of social solidarity; and (3) the hybrid code-mixing practice reflects the linguistic habitus of contemporary urban speakers, one that adapts to modernity without eroding the cultural roots of their locality.

This study offers significant theoretical and practical contributions to critical sociolinguistics by extending the concepts of speech communities and sociolinguistic habitus into 21st-century popular digital media. Theoretical implications challenge conservative views that dismiss subcultural language variation and code-mixing as "linguistic corruption," demonstrating instead that these linguistic choices function as deliberate tactics of cultural agency and symbolic resistance among marginalized speakers. On a practical level, this research provides a useful model for sociologists, linguists, and creative-industry practitioners by illustrating how regional language maintenance can be effectively accelerated through adaptive, inclusive popular-culture commodification. Despite these contributions, the scope of this study remains limited to lyric texts and qualitative digital contextual reception. Consequently, future research should incorporate quantitative sociolinguistic methods—such as large-scale computational corpus analysis or perception surveys—or employ direct, field-ethnographic approaches across diverse *kicau mania* communities to investigate synchronic variations in the real-world usage of this subcultural register.

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