

Solidarity in Javanese

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Abstract

Researching Javanese cannot be separated from its speech levels called *ngoko* 'low code' and *krama* 'high code'. The use of *ngoko* in Javanese enables the speakers of Javanese to express solidarity and intimacy (Wajdi, 2013) in their daily life of communication in speech a community of Java. The T/V framework (Brown and Gilman, 1960) is critically applied to analyze the pattern of use, the factors, and politeness system with the use of *ngoko* in Javanese. Method of document study and participant observation were applied to provide the data of the research. Recorded conversation is then transcribed, classified and codified according to the Javanese speech levels, and then analyzed by using the scale of social distance (Homes, 2001) and politeness system (Scollon and Scollon, 2001). The symmetrical use of *ngoko* reflects intimate communication, in which two participants employ *ngoko*, because of intimacy (-D) and equality (-P), and solidarity politeness is reflected in it. Finding of the research shows that the symmetrical use of *ngoko* could present the phenomena of politeness. It is concluded that the use of *ngoko* is identified as politeness, i.e. solidarity politeness. Symmetrical use of *ngoko* emphasized equality and solidarity.

Keywords: solidarity, politeness, intimacy, *ngoko*, Javanese

1. Introduction

Language of Java is widely known for its speech levels: *ngoko* 'low' and *krama* 'high' which enable its speakers to show intimacy, deference, and hierarchy among its speaker in the speech community of Java. Geertz (1981) as paraphrased by Fasold (1990: 34; cf. Hudson, 1982) admitted that "Javanese way of showing deference and intimacy by means of language is much more elaborate than any examples in European languages" which only have terms of address (T/V) (Brown and Gilman, 1960) and even the languages known in the world (Berman, 1998: 12; cf. Keeler, 1987; cf. Smith-Hefner, 1988: 537). T/V in Javanese is an integral part of *ngoko* and *krama* speech levels. Because of its *ngoko* and *krama* speech levels, Javanese is classified as a language of diglossia (Sadtono, 1972; Errington, 1998).

Interestingly Javanese diglossia could not be simplified to be similar to the other diglossias. Sneddon (2003) studied diglossia in Indonesian language in which standard Indonesian as H(igh) variation and non-standard Indonesian as L(ow) variation. Anderson (1966; 1990 in Jurrien, 2009: 16; Anderson, 1992; cf. Samuel, 2008) analysed standard Indonesian (H) using high speech level (*krama*) and non-standard Indonesian (L) is similar to low speech level (*ngoko*). Errington (1986) disagreed with Anderson's model of analyses and it is reinforced by Samuel (2008) that Errington has deep understanding on diglossia. Diglossia and Javanese diglossia could not be simplified to be either similar to bilingualism. That is why the phenomena in Javanese is not exactly similar to the phenomena in bilingualism, because diglossia is different from bilingualism (Romaine, 1985) which was associated with code-switching and or code-mixing as it was identified in the researches of Javanese. In this research the theory of terms of address (T/V) (Rubin (1972; cf. Schiffman, 1997: 213) is extended and critically applied to analyze the symmetrical use of *ngoko* 'low'.

Based on the background above, the use of speech levels in Javanese is the research problems of the study, namely (1) what patterns, (2) what factors, and (3) what politeness of the use of *ngoko* in Javanese. The research is meant to describe, analyze, and interpret (1) the patterns, (2) the factors which influenced, and (3) politeness of the use of *ngoko* in Javanese.

The research hopefully gives theoretical benefit, i.e. (1) a new understanding of the theory, and (2) reinterpretation of terms of address. The research is focused on (1) intimate and symmetrical communication: the symmetrical exchanges of *ngoko*.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Speech Levels

Many scientists of Javanese stated that there are three speech levels in Javanese called *ngoko*, *madya*, and *krar*. Principally, as it is simplified in this paper, there are two speech levels in Javanese, i.e. *ngoko* 'low' and *krama* 'high' speech levels. *Ngoko* is a variation with *ngoko* morpheme and *ngoko* vocabulary used to fulfill communication need with intimates and or the same

status or different status. Symmetrical use of *ngoko* speech level reflects no distance among the speakers. But the asymmetrical use of *ngoko* is index of inequality between the participants. *Ngoko* sentence *Saiki kowe mangan dhisik* 'You eat first now' is usually uttered by a person to an addressee who is intimate enough or uttered by a superior to an inferior. An older speaker has a right to speak *ngoko* to children. Between intimate friends it is allowed to use *ngoko* to each other.

Table 2.1
Ngoko and Krama Speech Levels

Category	Ngoko 'Low'	Krama 'High'	Meaning
Noun	<i>tangan</i>	<i>asta</i>	'hand'
Adjective	<i>tua</i>	<i>sepuh</i>	'old'
Verb	<i>mangan</i>	<i>nedha, dhahar</i>	'eat'
Adverb	<i>saiki</i>	<i>sakmenika</i>	'now'
Preposition	<i>nang</i>	<i>wonten</i>	'at'
2 nd Pronoun	<i>kowe</i>	<i>sampeyan, panjenengan</i>	'you'
Determiner	<i>iki</i>	<i>niki, menika</i>	'this'
Conjunction	<i>banjur</i>	<i>lajeng</i>	'(and) then'
Relative pronoun	<i>sing</i>	<i>ingkang</i>	'that'
Question	<i>sapa</i>	<i>sinten</i>	'who'
Auxiliary	<i>arep</i>	<i>ajeng, badhe</i>	'will'
Negator	<i>ora</i>	<i>mboten</i>	'no'

Table 2.2
Sentence in Ngoko and Krama

Ngoko	<i>saiki</i>	<i>kowe</i>	<i>Mangan</i>	<i>Dhisik</i>
Krama	a) <i>SAKNIKI</i> b) <i>SAKMENIKA</i>	<i>SAMPEYAN</i> <i>PANJENENGAN</i>	<i>DHAHAR</i> <i>DHAHAR</i>	<i>RIYIN</i> <i>RUMIYIN</i>
English	Now	you	Eat	first

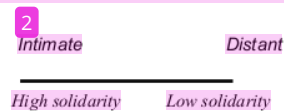
Krama is a variation with *krama* morpheme and *krama* vocabulary used to communicate with non-intimates and or to higher status or superior. *Krama* sentence *SAKNIKI SAMPEYAN DHAHAR RIYIN* or *SAKMENIKA PANJENANGAN DHAHAR RUMIYIN* 'You eat first now' is normally spoken by two non-intimate speakers. *Krama* is also used by an inferior when speaking to a superior in asymmetrical communication. In general there are three types of communication using speech levels of Javanese. The first is symmetrical exchanges of *ngoko*, the second is symmetrical exchanges of *krama*, and the third is asymmetrical exchanges of *ngoko* and *krama*.

2.2 Politeness Systems

Scollon and Scollon (2001) offer three politeness systems called solidarity politeness system, deference politeness system, and hierarchical politeness system. First, solidarity politeness system is described when two close friends have a conversation will show face solidarity. There is not any feeling and power difference (-P) and distance (-D) between the participants. Someone can find solidarity politeness anywhere the system is egalitarian and the participants feel or express closeness each other. Friendship between close colleagues is often in solidarity politeness. Second, deference politeness system is politeness in which the participants are considered to be equal or nearly equal but they treat each other in distance. Scollon and Scollon (2001) illustrate if a university professor named Dr Wong from Hong Kong meets a university professor from Tokyo name Dr Hamada, they are likely to refer to each other as "Professor Wong" and "Professor Hamada". Third, hierarchical politeness system in which the participants know and appreciate social differences which put someone in higher position or superordinate and the other as a subordinate. This is a face system where Mr. Hutchin (boss) speaks 'downward' to his employee (Bill) and Bill speaks 'upward' to his boss (Mr Hutchin) (Scollon and Scollon 2001).

Holmes (2001: 8—15) identified that the code choice is influenced by social factor and social dimension. Social factor refers to the participants (the user of the language). The other factor refers to the use of the language: social setting and interaction function. Holmes (2001: 8) also put *WHO is talking to WHOM* (e.g. superior-inferior, boss-servant, customer-servant) as social factor which is

important to determine code choice. Social scale and status scale are relevant enough to measure the degree of politeness. Social distance scale is useful to measure how well someone knows his or her interlocutor. Social distance scale is illustrated as follows.



Picture 1 Social Distance Scale

3. Method of Research

The data of the research was based on the observation, in depth interview, and document study. The recorded data then transcribed, classified or codified according to Javanese speech levels, analysed by terms of address or T/V (Brown and Gilman, 1960), politeness systems (Scollon and Scollon, 2001), and status and social distance scale (Holmes, 2001).

4. Results of the Study

The discussion, analysis, and interpretation include how the speech levels of Javanese are used and employed by its speakers to fulfill daily need of communication and interaction. The discussion here includes symmetrical exchanges of *ngoko*, symmetrical exchanges of *krama*, asymmetrical exchanges of *ngoko* and *krama*, and the dynamic (complexity) of the use speech levels of Javanese.

4.1 The Symmetrical Exchanges of *Ngoko*

Here is described symmetrical exchanges of *ngoko* which presents a dialog or a conversation between two participants. Dialog is a fundamental form of text. Text is a functional form of language, i.e. the language which plays its function in a context (Halliday and Hasan, 1985).

Text 1

- (01) **R** : *Luwih cedhak nek lewat anu..?* ' (Is it) nearer to go through ..?'
- (02) **W** : *Liwat mburi pasar kae lho...* 'Go through the street, back of the market....'
- (03) **R** : *Ooo, luwih cedhak* 'Ooo, it is nearer'
- (04) **W** : *Liwat ngarep...* 'Go through front of...'
- (05) **R** : *Mburi luwih cedhak?* ' (Is it nearer to go) through back of (market)?'
- (06) **W** : *He eh, luwih cedhak. Paling setengah jam* 'Yes right, (it is) nearer. (It takes) not more than half an hour'

Text 1 presents a dialog, done by two participants, in which all the participants use *ngoko* to speak to each other. Although Javanese provides its speakers H(igh) code (*krama*) and L(ow) code (*ngoko*), but the speakers in Text 1 prefer to use L code called *ngoko* to speak to each other.

4.2 Factors which influenced the use of *Ngoko*

4.2.1 Intimacy (-D)

When two speakers or participants in a certain dialogue, namely the first (P1) and the second speaker (P2), as seen in Text 1, use *ngoko* to speak to each other, the question is what factor drives them to use *ngoko*? Is it possible for the speakers of Javanese to use *ngoko* without being influenced by anything? If not, why do the participants choose to use *ngoko*? Why do not they use *krama* instead of *ngoko* since the language of Java provides its speakers with high speech level, *krama*? Why do they prefer to use *ngoko* to *krama* as a means of communication during their daily life? Solidarity which is developed by the participants, as shown in Text 1, is an explicit intimacy marker which is shown by the use of *ngoko*.

Ngoko words, in general, or term of address (*kowe* 'you' or *Tu* in Javanese), specifically when they are used by Javanese speakers as a means of communication in daily interaction with the members of community, is interpreted as a marker of intimacy (Errington, 1998; Wolff and Poedjosedarmo, 2002) or a marker of intimacy par excellence because the marker is not only shown in the use of terms of address exclusively but through *ngoko* speech level (terms of address is an integral part of speech levels of Javanese). What factors drive the participants to employ *ngoko* although they have

⁷ *krama* in their mother tongue? The use of low code (ngoko) in Javanese is driven by social factor of minus distance (-D), intimacy, and closeness between the participants. Intimacy and solidarity is the main factor which motivates the participants to use ngoko to speak to each other. Intimacy is symbolized by -D, 'minus distance', there is not any social distance between the participants. The more intimate the relationship between the participants is, the higher solidarity is shown by the use of ngoko.

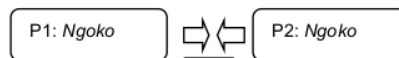
4.2.2 Equality (-P)

³ After being decided that the use of ngoko in symmetrical communication is influenced by the absence of social distance, i.e. minus distance (-D) between the participants as stated above, it is time to seek another factor why the participants prefer to choose ngoko in Javanese. The second factor which drives the participants employ ngoko during their daily interaction is equality between them. If it is carefully seen that the use of ngoko by the participant ⁵ indicates that all the participants are socially equal. That is why all participants agree to use ngoko to speak to each other. The use of ngoko, as shown by the participants, indicates equality, intimacy, familiarity, closeness, and the feeling of being in group (groupness) and we-ness. Equality factor is symbolized by (-P) 'minus power', which is developed by the participants shown in Text 1. Equality factor drove the participants to use and employ ngoko as a means of communication in their daily interaction. There is no hierarchical difference between the participants, that is why they always build minus power relation (-P) or egalitarian relationship. In this context, ngoko, or low code of Javanese that they choose and use in their ² daily life indicates that the participants are 'in group' and the use of ngoko indicates equality between the participants. There is not any social distance built by and between the participants.

4.3 Solidarity Politeness: Symmetrical use of Ngoko

¹ If it is seen from politeness point of you, is there any politeness in the symmetrical use of ngoko? Are the participants in Text 1 polite enough as part of the members of Javanese society? Are they showing impoliteness by using ngoko in their first language? There is an interesting statement about the code of ngoko. "If it is contrasted with code of basa (or krama: researcher) that is usually used by native speakers of Javanese, especially who live in the area of *Principlities*, the code of ngoko is often seen a means of communication which connotes "rough", "less polite", "direct", "blunt", "bald" than neutral. According to traditional value of Java, an example the claim, "bald" and "plain" words could also connote "less fine" or "less polite" (Purwoko, 2008a: 60). Poedjosoedarmo (1968: 57) also stated that there is not any politeness in ngoko words and do not express any respect. In his research, Gunarwan (2007) concluded that there is not any politeness aspect in ngoko utterances. Only krama utterances that could be classified into politeness. Even in asymmetrical use of ngoko and krama, the use of ngoko is not polite and only the use of krama which shows politeness.

This research, when two participants use ngoko to each other, identified and classified it as politeness. Solidarity which is developed by its participants drives them to use ngoko when they communicate to each other. The symmetrical use of ngoko, because it is used permanently, so in this analysis, is seen and categorized as politeness communication called solidarity politeness. The pattern of the use of ngoko in Text 1 is illustrated as follows.



Picture 2.1 Solidarity Politeness in Javanese

The first speaker (P1) is the interlocutor of the second speaker (P2) and vice versa. Two facing arrows symbolize equality and reciprocal exchanges. A black line under a pair of arrows is meant to describe ngoko in Javanese. Because the symmetrical use of ngoko is driven by equality and intimacy, that is why it is called solidarity politeness. The utterance of ngoko used reciprocally is an index of solidarity.

5 Conclusion

¹ The symmetrical exchanges of ngoko, in which the participants use ngoko to communicate to each other, is a phenomenon of language or code use. The analysis and interpretation of the use of

speech levels were driven by equality and intimacy factors. The symmetrical exchanges of *ngoko*, because of equality (-P) and intimacy (-D). The symmetrical exchanges of *ngoko* reflects solidarity politeness. The symmetrical use of *ngoko* shows consistency of language use or code between the participants. Once they decide to choose low code of Javanese called *ngoko*, they will use it for ever. It means that they use of language codes in Javanese, whether it is low '*ngoko*' code or high '*krama*' code, is a kind of social contract executed by the participants. Since it is a social contract, there should be rights and obligations that they have to hold. It is their rights and as well as obligation for them to use low '*ngoko*' code to speak to each other. When one of the participants breaks the contract by changing the code the usually use to each other by another code, let us say, one of the participants change to use high '*krama*' code, it is predicted that communication breakdown will take place. It will be unusual for them to choose the other code as far as the participants remain the same. The changes of *ngoko* code into *krama* means that the *krama* user will show his or her anger toward the addressee.

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