SPEECH LEVEL AND HONORIFIC SYSTEM IN JAVANESE

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Abstract

The article describes speech level and honorific system in Javanese. It aims at investigating the influence of speech levels on the honorific system in Javanese. The investigation was conducted based on empirical data of Javanese utterances in Javanese society. It used the research results on speech level in Javanese by Poedjosoedarmo et al. (1979) and the addressing system in Javanese by Suhardi et al. (1986) as a frame of reference.

The results show a correlation between speech level and the honorific system in Javanese. It can be assumed that speech level influences the honorific system. In communication, the use of honorifics is by the speech level used. For example, the honorific address *eyang* 'grandmother' is only used in a polite speech, such as **Eyang***, mbok length wae.* 'Grandmother, please sit down.'. However, the honorific address *kang* 'elder brother' (a clipped-form of *taking* 'older brother') can be used not only in the polite speech, like *Badhe tindak pundit* **Kang***?* 'Where are you going, Brother?', but in less polite speech, such *as Dhuwite and* **Kang***?* 'Where is the money, Brother?. Based on the previous examples, it is clear that the use of honorifics, such as in terms of address, is influenced by the speech levels.

Key Words

speech level, honorific system, Javanese

A. Introduction

Javanese is the first language or mother tongue of native inhabitants of Java living in Central Java, Special Region of Yogyakarta, East Java, Banten, Lampung, around Medan, and transmigration areas in Indonesia (among others, Riau, Jambi, Kalimantan Central), and abroad, namely Suriname, the Netherlands, New Caledonia, and West Coast of Johor (see Wedhawati et al., 2006: 1). According to the daily *Kompas* (16 November 2016 edition), the number of Javanese speakers is 85 million people. It is ranked 11th globally (*Intisari.grid.id*, 16 November 2016).

Javanese is one of the languages in Indonesia that has speech levels. Speech level, according to Clifford Geertz in his book *The Religion of Java* (1960) translated into Indonesian into *Abangan, Santri, Priyayi in Javanese Society* (1983 (first print: 1981)), relates to "language politeness ."Geertz (1960: 248; 1983: 333—334) states that the entire etiquette system is perhaps best summed up and symbolized in how the Javanese use their language. Geertz (1960: 248; 1983: 334) asserts that

"...that the Javanese pattern their speech behavior in terms of the same alus to kasar axis around which they organize their social behavior generally. Several words (and some affixes) are made to carry in addition to their normal linguistic meaning what might be called a "status meaning"; i.e., when used in actual conversation, they convey not only their fixed denotative meaning ("house," "body," "eat," "walk," "you," "passive voice") but also a connotative meaning concerning the status of (and degree of familiarity between) the speaker and listener. As a result, several words may denote the same normal linguistic meaning but differ in the status connotation they convey."

Speech levels are predicted to have appeared in the 17th century. This is clearly stated by Wedhawati et al. (2006: 11) as follows.

"It is predicted that speech levels appeared in the 17th century when King Sultan Agung (1613-1645) reigned in Mataram. Such phenomenon had appeared in the fifteenth century of the period of Middle Java, among which was contained in the text *Dewaruci Tembang Gedhé*. A disciple in the text, the character Bima communicated with Guru Drona and Dewaruci, his teachers, using variations of one or two *krama* words. Although speech levels appeared in the seventeenth century and its phenomenon in the fifteenth century, the embryonic elements of *krama* vocabulary, especially *krama inggil*, had existed in Old Javanese since ancient times. "

Speech levels in Javanese have been discussed by Poedjosoedarmo (1968) and Poedjosoedarmo et al. (1979). Poedjosoedarmo (1968) discusses forms of speech levels, the determination of speech levels, and the effects of social change on speech levels. Meanwhile, Poedjosoedarmo (1979) discusses the speech-level system, speech levels-determining vocabulary, third-person demonstratives, speech levels switching, and interaction of social situations with the speech-level system.

Speech levels are related to the honorific system. The honorific system in Javanese, especially regarding the addressing system, was studied by Suhardi et al. (1986). There are six points discussed in the research (results): type of address, factors of address, the origin of address, and collaborative address. This research also discusses the terms of address (follow Ervin-Tripp (1969)) in Javanese borrowed from Indonesian and other languages.

This paper discusses speech level and honorific system in Javanese. Speech level is a concrete form of linguistic politeness. However, there is also an honorific system in language politeness, so there is a relationship between speech level and the honorific system. In this case, the speech level influences the honorific system. This relationship can be seen in the use of honorific form. For example, the address

page can only be used by a wife to her husband, while *bune* can only be used by a husband to his wife (see Suhardi et al., 1986: 4). Therefore, this paper also discusses the influence of speech level on the honorific system in Javanese.

B. Method

This research is linguistic research. Linguistics is an empirical science. Empirical science bases its research on empirical data to be genuinely reliable. As an empirical science, the results of linguistic research are objective and open to be verified by other research (Subroto, 2007:11).

This research was conducted by taking three stages of strategy, namely collecting, analyzing, and presenting the results of data analysis. The data collected is in sentences from various levels of Javanese speech. The data were collected from the article's author as a native speaker of Javanese, Javanese magazine Djoko Lodhang No. 45/17/4/2021 and No. 46/17/4/2021, short story Kalimput ing Pedut 'Covered by Clouds' by Iesmaniasita (1998 published by Balai Pustaka, Jakarta), and research articles and Javanese grammar (paramasastra). Data were analyzed using qualitative methods, namely research methods that were not designed using statistical procedures (Subroto, 2007:4). The qualitative analysis describes the problem descriptively. Therefore, the qualitative analysis is descriptive; that is, the analysis is only based on empirical data from the use of the Javanese language in society.

C. Speech Level

Speech level is related to the degree of politeness. Accordingly, Poedjosoedarmo (1968: 56) states that speech level can be interpreted as a system to show (1) degree of formality and (2) degree of respect by the speaker to the interlocutor. Speech level is a language variation in which the speaker's attitude determines the difference between the interlocutor and the third person (Wedhawati et al., 2006: 10). The language variation is chosen based on age differences, degree of social levels, and distance of intimacy between the speaker and the interlocutor (Wedhawati et al., 2006; Dunky, 2020).

In Javanese, the speech level is called *unggah-ungguhe basa*. In general, Javanese has three types of speech levels, namely *ngoko*, *Madya*, and *krama*. *Ngoko* is a less polite, less respectful, and less formal language (see Prawiroadmodjo, 1988:469; Poedjosoedarmo, 1968; Dunky, 2021a). See the following examples.

(1) *Basa Jawa iku dianggo guneman wong Jawa, sing gunggunge luwih saka 60 yuta, sumebar ing saindhenging Nusantara* (Dwijawiyata, 1998; Dunky, 2021b)
      'The Javanese language is used by Javanese whose number is more than 60 million, spreading throughout the archipelago.'
(2) *Niki sampun sonten. Kula ajeng wangsul riyin.*
      'It is already late afternoon. I will go home first.'

(3)   *Bu Rana kera inggih Bu*. (Iesmaniasita, 1976:5)

'Mom, Mrs. Rana is skinny, isn't she?'

Example (1) uses *ngoko*, example (2) uses *madya*, and example (3) uses *krama*. A substantial difference between the levels of *ngoko*, *Madya*, and *krama* lies in the use of vocabulary. The list below shows the forms of *ngoko*, *Madya*, and *krama* from the vocabularies in the example (1) - (3) above.

Ngoko	*Madya*	*Krama*	**Meaning**
aku	*kula*	*kula*	I
arep	*ajeng*	*badhe*	will
basa	*basa*	*basa*	language
bu	*bu*	*bu*	mom
dianggo	*diagem*	*dipunagem*	(is) used
dhisik	*riyin*	*rumiyin*	first
gunggunge	*gunggunge*	*gunggungipun*	(the) number
guneman	*gineman*	*gineman*	conversation
iki	*niki*	*punika*	this
iku	*niku*	*punika*	that
ing	*ing*	*ing*	in
kuru	*kera*	*kera*	thin
luwih	*langkung*	*langkung*	more
mulih	*wangsul*	*kondur*	go home
nusantara	*nusantara*	*nusantara*	Archipelago/throughout Indonesia
saindhenging	*saindhenging*	*saindhenging*	entire
saka	*saking*	*saking*	from
sing	*sing*	*ingkang*	that (used in a subordinate clause)
sewidak (60)	*sewidak (60)*	*sewidak (60)*	sixty (60)
sore	*sonten*	*sonten*	afternoon
sumebar, nyebar	*sumebar*	*sumebar*	spread
(u)wis	*(e)mpun*	*sampun*	already
wong	*tiyang*	*piyantun*	people
ya	*nggih*	*inggih*	yes, or be (not) +subject (question tag)
yuta	*yuta*	*yuta*	million

Ngoko Javanese has two characteristics that are (a) it is used to communicate with a person who is already familiar, has equal social status, or has lower social status, and (b) it reflects that there is no sense of distance or respect between the speaker and the interlocutor (see Wedhawati et al., 2006: 11). *Ngoko* Javanese is impolite and informal, used only to communicate with a very familiar person, and does not express respect (Poedjosoedarmo, 1958: 57). Therefore, *ngoko* Javanese is usually used only in daily interactions between people who know

each other closely in informal situations, such as chatting with friends, familiar neighbors, between parents and children, or between children and children (see Sastrasoepadma, 1958: 42-43). Examples are as follows (quoted from the collection of short stories *Kalimput ing Pedut* 'Covered by Clouds' by Iesmaniasita (1998: 41).

(4)   *Gono iki mau ya mentas bae dijunjung embahne kakung. Wong olehe keturon ana pangkonku wis kawit mau kae. Hm, bocah kok oleh pinter yen ngomong. Ana-ana bae sing ditakokake, dicritakake. (d) Kok kaya cilikanmu bae. Kowe dhe cilik ya ngono, Yuwanti, pleg kaya anakmu si Gono kuwi.*

'His grandfather had just lifted Gono. Because he had been falling asleep in my lap a moment ago. Hm, the child is already talkative. Anything is asked, told. Just like when you were a little girl. When you were little like that, Yuwanti, you were just like your son, Gono.'

The example above is a close communication in an informal situation between Yuwanti's mother and Yuwanti, Gono's mother. Therefore, the Javanese used is ngoko Javanese.

In many Javanese, there are madya and krama vocabularies. Madya Javanese is the middle language between *ngoko* and *krama* (Dwiyawiyata, 1998: 9). Peodjosoedarmo (1958: 57) states that *the madya* Javanese medium has the characteristics of (a) being semi polite and semiformal and (b) using *madya* vocabularies when expressing middle-level formality, such as unfamiliar neighbors or older generations. See the example below (quoted from the collection of short stories *Kalimput ing Pedut* 'Covered by Clouds' by Iesmaniasita (1998: 41).

(5)   *Onten griya ngrika, piyambake terkadhang kathah wicantene, kala-kala mendel kemawon. Ning onten ngriki kok mendel mawon.*

'In that house (there), he sometimes speaks a lot, sometimes keeps silent. However, why doesn't he talk much here.'

Example (5) uses *madya* Javanese. On 'in,' *ngrika* 'there,' *piyambake* 'he,' *cante*en 'talk,' *ning* 'but,' and *ngriki* 'here' are *madya* vocabularies. Their forms of *Yoko* and *krama* are as follows.

Madya	*Ngoko*	*Krama*	**Meaning**
onten	*ana*	*wonten*	in
ngrika	*kana*	*mrika, ngrika*	there
piyambake	*dheweke*	*piyambakipun*	he
wicantene	*omongane*	*pangandikanipun*	talk (noun)
ning	*ning*	*nanging*	but
ngriki	*kene*	*mriki, ngriki*	here

Krama Javanese is a variation of Javanese used in polite and formal situations. *Krama* Javanese reflects politeness and signifies a sense of respect of the speaker to the interlocutor whose age and social status are higher than the speaker (Wedhawati et al., 2006: 11). Sastrasoepadma (1958: 44) states that *krama* Javanese is used by students (or university students) to their teacher (or

their lecturer), young people to the older, subordinates to superiors, and interaction among middle-level employees (*priyayi Tengah*). *Krama* Javanese is used for communication with people who are not familiar and whose social status is higher (Wedhawati et al. (2006: 11). See the examples as follows (quoted from the collection of short stories *Kalimput ing Pedut* 'Covered by Clouds' by Iesmaniasita (1998: 50-51).

(6)   *Kersanipun benjing menawi dalem sampun griya piyambak namung nggoreng tempe, tahu, nyambel korek sampun. Mboten warni-warni kados mekaten.*

'What I want in the future if I had my own house is only frying beancake, tofu, making *sambal korek* (traditional chili sauce). Not complicated like that.'

The speech level used in the example (6) is *krama* level. In the example, all the vocabularies are *krama* vocabularies. Those examples, of course, can be converted into the forms of *Yoko* and *madya*.

(6a)   *Ngoko*:

Karepe sesuk nek sku wis omah dhewa ming nggoreng tempe, tahu, nyambel korek bae.

'What I want in the future if I had my own house is only frying beancake, tofu, making *sambal korek* (traditional chili sauce).

(6b)   *Madya*:

Kersane njing nek kula empun griya piyambak namung nggoreng tempe, tahu, nyambel korek mawon.

'What I want in the future if I had my own house is only frying beancake, tofu, making *sambal korek* (traditional chili sauce).

The division of Javanese speech levels into three types is a general division. In detail, each speech level can still be divided into several types. Sastrasoepadma (1958: 42-45 followed by Dwijawiyata, 1998: 7) divided Javanese speech level into six types, namely *basa ngoko*, *basa madya*, *krama*, *krama inggil*, *basa kedhaton*, and *basa bagongan*. *Ngoko lugu* is used, for example, in speaking (a) with people you already know or (b) with a younger person (see Sastrasoepadma, 1958: 42; Dwijawiyata, 1998: 9). *Ngoko alus* is a combination of *ngoko* and *krama inggil* to honor the other person. See the following examples.

(7)   *Ngoko lugu*

(a) *Mas, dingapura nek aku mau nesu.* (*Djoko Lodang*, No. 46/2021:27)

'Old brother, I am sorry if just now I was angry.'

(b) *Ngomah ana apa? Kok aku dinesoni.* (*Djoko Lodang*, No. 45/2021:27)

'What has happened in our home? Why are you angry with me?'

(8)   *Ngoko plus*

Panjenengan arep kondur jam pira, Pak? (*Djoko Lodang*, No. 46/2021:27)

'What's time you will back home, Mr.?'

Basa madya is a language between the *ngoko* and *krama*. *Basa madya* is used by traders in the market or farmers in the village (Dwijawiyata, 1998: 9). See the following examples.

(9)   *Basa Madya*

(a) *Simbah sinten namine?* (*Djoko Lodang*, No. 45/2021:26)

'What is your name, Grandfather?'

(b) *Kula tak sinau nambani tatu, Mbah.* (*Djoko Lodang*, No. 45/2021:25)

'May I want to learn about healing injuries, Grandfather?'

Basa krama is a language used in addressing someone towards whom the speaker must be distant and formal (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968: 57).

Basa krama is usually used by young people to parents, children to parents, and so on (Dwijawiyata, 1998: 11). Examples are as follows.

(10)   *Basa Krama*

(a) *Katuran pinarak*. (*Djok Lodang*, No. 46/2021:27)

'You can visit.'

(b) *Bu, kula nyuwun arto kangge tumbas gendhis.*

'Mother, I ask for to buy some sugar.'

Basa krama inggil is a language used to address someone towards whom the speaker must be polite and formal. *Basa krama inggil*, for example, is used to pray to God. Examples are as follows.

(11)   *Basa Krama Inggil*

(a) *Abdi dalem sowan wonten ing Ngarsa Dalem.* (Dwijawiyata, 1998:12)

'I'm present before You.'

(b) *Gusti, Sampeyan Dalem punika tuladhanipun para mudha*.

'Lord, You are an example for young people.'

Basa kedhaton and *basa binagoongan* bases are Javanese languages used in the palace. The *basa kedhaton* is used in the Surakarta palace, while the *basa bagongan* is used in the Yogyakarta palace. Therefore, in classifying the Javanese speech level, Poedjosoedarmo (1968) and Poedjosoedarmo et al. (1979: 24—31) did not discuss the two speech levels.

However, in the current practice of Javanese, there is a mixing of speech levels between *Yoko*, *madya*, and *krama*. Such mixing occurs because many Javanese speakers today have no longer mastered Javanese. If they still master Javanese, many Javanese speakers do not understand the speech levels. As a result, the following utterances are often encountered in using Javanese.

(12)   *Tengga sekedhap nggih, kula badhe siram riyin.*

'Wait a moment. I will take a bath first.'

(13)   *Nuwun sewu, kula medal sekedhap. Kula dereng dhahar*.

'Excuse me. I am out for a moment. I have not eaten.'

In examples (12) and (13), there is a mixing between the levels of *krama* and *krama inggil*. The words *stream* 'to take a bath and *Shahar* 'to eat' are in *krama inggil*, while the others are in the form of *krama*. Both words should only refer to the interlocutor, not to oneself. Thus, both words can only be used, for example, in the following speech.

(14)   *Bapak sampun dhahar siang?*

'Have you had lunch, Sir?'

(15) *Mangga Pak menawi badhe siram rupiyin*.

   'Please, Sir, if you want to take a shower first.'

   The mixing of *Yoko* and *krama* can occur as well. See the examples below.

(16) **Panjenengan** *sumpah ya Mas, yen bakal nuruti* **panyuwun***ku.*

   'Make a swear, *Mas,* that you will comply with my request.'

(17) *Suk yen* **panjenengan rawuh** *maneh, mesti wis ora piyambakan kaya iki.*

   'Tomorrow, when you come again, you will not be alone like this.'

The words *panjenengan* 'you,' *panyuwun* 'request,' and *rawuh* 'to come' in the above example are *krama*, while the other vocabularies are in the form of *Yoko*. The *ngoko* forms of the three words are *k*nown 'you,' *panjaluk* 'request,' and *Teka* 'to come.'

D. Honorific System

Honorifics are forms used to express honor or respect, which in some languages are used to address specific people (Kridalaksana, 2008: 85 compared to Said D.M., 1985: 47). The terms of address are used to address addressee, either those with a very high social prestige or a very low prestige (Yatim 1983: 10). The type of address is in the form of an honorific, for example, an address with a title, position, and honorific pronouns at the level of *krama inggil* (Nurhayati, 2008: 146).

Communication involves three elements: speaker, interlocutor, and object of conversation. It uses words or phrases in the addressing system or terms of address. The terms of address in Javanese consider who is being addressed, where and when the conversation is being conducted, and what is spoken about. In Javanese, there are at least four terms of address, namely personal pronoun, proper name, kinship terms, and titles and rank.

Personal pronouns refer to humans (Wedhawati et al., 2006: 268). Javanese personal pronouns are grouped into the following three groups.

First-person pronouns : *aku, awakku, kula, adalem, kawula*

Second-person pronouns : *kowe, awakmu, sira, sliramu, slirane, sampeyan, njenengan, panjenengan, paduka, nandalem*

Third-person pronouns : *dheweke, dheknene, piyambake, piyambakipun*

(See Sudaryanto et al., 1991:92 cf. Wedhawati et al., 2006:268)

Of the three groups of personal pronouns, only the first and second-person pronouns are used in the honorific system of the Javanese.

The person's name may be a proper name or a nickname. The proper name is a word that refers to a person's name (cf. Alwi et al., 2014: 227). See the following examples.

(18) *Kesel,* **Yu***? – pitakone Samsu kang weruh* **Yuwanti** *ngeloni Gono lan Tuti*.

   'Are you tired, Yu? - asked Samsu, who saw Yuwanti putting Gono and Tuti to sleep.'

(19) *Kowe was adus,* **Ndhul***?*

   'Have you taken a bath, *Ndul*?'

   The word *Yu* in example (18) is a clipped-form of *Yuwanti*. The word *Yu* is a

term of address in the form of a proper name. Meanwhile, *Ndhul*, in example (19), is a clipped form of the word *Gundhul* 'bald'. The word *Ndhul* is a term of address in the form of a nickname.

The terms of address can be kinship terms, words that show the kinship relationship between the speaker and the interlocutor. The use of kinship terms to address symbolizes honor, closeness, and politeness (Nim-manupap, 1994: 45). See the following examples.

(20)   Yuwanti: *Bu Rana kera nggih **Bu**? – pitakone marang ibune.*

'**Mom**, Mrs. Rana is skinny, isn't she?' - she asked her mother.'

Ibu   : *Kuru banget, **Ndhuk**, wong kelangan anak*.

'Mother': 'I do not expect that at all.'

Yuwanti   : *Dalem piyambak boten nginten babarpisan.*

'Very skinny, **kid**, for losing a child.'

(21)   *Mengko dhisik ta, **Pak**. Aku ora nyrengeni. Aku mung nuturi Yuwanti.*

'Wait a moment, Sir. I do not get angry. I advise Yuwanti.'

(22)   ***Mas**, jare kepingin ngendikan sing kepenak?*

'Old brother, you said you want to talk something pleasant?'

The terms of address *Bu* 'Mom,' *Ndhuk* 'father/mother's call for their daughter,' *Pak* 'Mr./Sir,' and *Mas* 'address for older brother or husband' are kinship terms.

The terms of address in Javanese can also take the form of title and rank or position. See the following examples.

(23)   ***Dokter**, anak kula sakit punapa nggih?*

"Doctor, what is my son's illness?'

(24)   ***Prof**, sampun dangu rawuhipun?*

'Prof, has it been a long time since you came?'

Docter 'doctor' is an educational degree, while *Prof*, a clipped-from of professor, is a position. In the examples above, both words are used as the terms of address to the persons who have the title of doctor and professor position.

E. Influence of Speech Level on Honorific System

Javanese speech levels are chosen and used according to the situation and the speech situation. In a familiar situation, for example, the speech level of *ngoko* is chosen. In a semi-formal situation, for example, in a non-familiar family of neighbors, the speech level of *madya* is chosen. Meanwhile, in a formal situation, for example, in village meetings and talking with unfamiliar guests, the speech level of *krama* is chosen.

Speech levels affect the honorific system. In this case, the honorific system is determined by the speech level used in the utterance. Regarding honor through the terms of address, Suhardi et al. (1986: 3) discusses the following.

"... Javanese has the terms of address usually used in official situations, such as *para pinisepuh* 'elders', *para kadang sut*ures 'relatives', and so on. Meanwhile, the terms address *mbah* 'grandfather/grandmother,' *pak* 'mister, sir,' *think* 'little

brother/sister,' *lik*e 'uncle,' etc., usually appear in informal conversation situations. "

Thus, the speech situation determines the speech levels. Furthermore, the speech level used in an utterance determines the honorific system. The address *Ndhuk* (a clipped-form of *gendhuk*) 'address for a girl' and *Le* (a clipped-form of *thole*) 'for boys can only be used in *ngoko* speech. Both terms of address are not commonly used in *madya* and *krama* levels.

Yatim (1983: 12) argues that a speech level is a form of an honorific statement in Javanese. The speech level that was initially only three, namely *ngoko, madya*, and *krama*, then developed into nine (according to Poedjosoedarmo (1968)), eleven (according to Sastrasoepadma (1958)), or thirteen (according to Dwijawiyata (1998)) affects the honorific system in Javanese. The address *ingsun* 'I,' *pekenira* 'you,' *para Santana* 'king's relatives, and *para Abdi dalem* 'king's servant,' for example, are only used in the *Keaton* 'kingdom' language.

F. Conclusion

Javanese recognizes the speech levels of *ngoko*, *Madya*, and *krama*. The difference between speech levels can be expressed lexically and grammatically. The lexical words such as *ora* 'no,' *mengko* 'later,' *Lunga* 'to go,' and *mulch* 'to go home' are only found at the *ngoko* speech level. Those words change into *m*otion in many speech levels: 'no,' market 'later,' *kesah* 'go' and *wangsul* 'to go home. When used in *krama* speech level, those words change into *motion 'no,' damage(h)* 'later,' *tindak* 'to go' and *kondur* 'to go home. The grammatical marker *-e*, for example, in *balance* 'his/her way' and *delete* 'his/her house,' is commonly found in *ngoko* and *madya* Javanese, but in *krama* Javanese, the grammatical marker *-e* is changed to *-open*: *margin pen* 'his/her way,' *dalemipun* 'his/her house.'

The differences in speech levels also determine the choice of honorific vocabulary. Accordingly, the terms of address chosen in the speech depend on the speech level chosen. The terms of address in the form of a proper name, for example, seem to be only familiar in the ngoko speech level.

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