

JAVANESE SPEECH LEVELS

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In this paper, I should like to describe the Javanese speech levels and their usage: what the speech levels are, how they are formed, how many levels Javanese has, how the various levels are used, and what is happening to them. The study illustrates, first of all, the way in which a language may reflect certain cultural values of its speakers, in this case the great concern of the Javanese people with politeness.

Politeness within the Javanese culture involves showing the proper degree of respect to those who are of high rank and using the proper degree of formality in addressing those of an older generation and those with whom one is not on intimate terms. It is expressed by the Javanese in their gestures as well as through their speech. A complicated etiquette dictates the way a person sits, stands, directs his eyes, holds his hands, points, greets people, laughs, walks, dresses, and so on. There is a close association between the rigor with which the etiquette of movement is observed and the degree of refinement in speech. The more polite a person's language, the more elaborate are his other behavioral patterns; the more informal his speech, the more relaxed and simplified his gestures.

In other languages, politeness may be expressed by intonation, circuitous phrasing (e.g., Would you care to have a seat? or Won't you have a seat? rather than Sit down! or Be seated!), choice of personal pronoun (e.g., the French *vous* rather than *tu*), or by the addition of certain particles (e.g., *please*). Javanese uses all these devices. Two markedly different speaking tones occur: *allos*¹ polite, and *kasar* crude. The *allos* speaking tone

1. The following system of transcription will be used for all Javanese words:

Consonants:

	<u>Stops (vcl.)(vcd.)</u>	<u>Fric</u>	<u>Affric (vcl.)(vcd.)</u>	<u>Nasal</u>
Labial	p	b		m
Dental	t	d		n
Alveolar	ʈ	ɖ	s	
Palatal			tʃ	dʒ
Velar	k	g		ŋ
Glottal	q		h	
Trill r				
Lateral l				
Semi-vowels	y, w			

is slower, softer, and more tender; and it involves a more monotonous intonation. The kasar speaking tone is quite the opposite. It is loud, rough, and rapid, and it involves greater extremes of intonation. The difference between the two is clearly demonstrated in the wayang performance, where the well-mannered *satriyô*, or knight, uses only alos tones, and the impolite giant always speaks in kasar tones.

Round-about expressions abound in Javanese. For example, the word for wife is *sémah*, but when a person refers to his own wife he uses the expression *kôntjô wingkêng* (lit. "friend in the back [of the house]"), *kôntjô êstri* (lit. "female friend"), or *ibunipon larélaré* (lit. "the mother of the children"), or one of still other variants. To refer to the wife of the person one is talking to, one may say *ingkang rayi* (lit. "the little sister"). Similarly, the word for payment, *opah*, is never used when speaking politely regarding business transactions. Instead, one would say to a tailor *idjolê tukôn bolah*, "in exchange for the thread," or to a carpenter *idjolê tukôn paku*, "in exchange for the nail."

The choice of first and second person personal pronouns in Javanese is quite large. For the most part the degree of politeness indicated is a function of the speech level to which the pronoun in question belongs, but within the highest speech level, for example, one may express finer degrees of politeness by selection of personal pronouns alone. The words for "I" within this special respect vocabulary are *kawulô* (lit. subject) and *abdi dalem* (lit. your servant). There are many words for you: a) *pendjenengan*, b) *sampéyan dalem* (lit. your leg), c) *pendjenengan dalem* (lit. your you or your standing), d) *ngarsô dalem* (lit. your front), e) *êngkang sinuwon* (lit. the lifted up or the most exalted), f) *padukô* (lit. foot), and g) *padukô dalem* (lit. your foot). Example a is used for any respected person. Examples b through e are used only for the king. Examples f and g are used only for a great king or for God.

Closely associated with the pronouns are the terms of address. *Kang* (brother) is used for lower ranking people, while *mas* (also

(It should be noted that tj, dj, and nj are single phonemes. y has been selected as the symbol for the palatal semi-vowel because ty and dy are consonant clusters which contrast with the palatal affricates tj and dj.)

Vowels:

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Center</u>	<u>Back</u>
High	i		u
Mid	e	e	o
Low	e	a	ô

literally brother) is used for higher ranking persons. Titles of nobility, profession, and academic achievement are also used by many people to express respect. For example: *ndôrô dokter*, *paq guru*, *Dèn Bèi Profèssor*. The English particle 'please' has a Javanese equivalent, *mônggô*, which is used to make requests more polite. Another particle, *nuwon* or *njuwon* (lit. ask), may be added to words like *inggêh* 'yes,' or *kulô* 'I,' to make them more polite. *Nuwon sêwu* or *njuwon sêwu* (literally beg a thousand) mean something like 'excuse me.'

Finally, in addition to all these linguistic devices, the Javanese use a complex system of speech levels to express various degrees of politeness.² Theirs is not the only language to do so, for the related languages of Sundanese, Madurese, and Balinese exhibit the same feature,³ while certain unrelated languages such as Japanese and Thai also use fairly complicated linguistic means of expressing politeness. None of them, however, has developed a system as extensive as that of Javanese.

Definition and Formation of the Speech Levels

Speech levels in Javanese constitute a system for showing 1) the degree of formality, and 2) the degree of respect felt by the speaker toward the addressee. The greater the degree of respect and formality in an utterance, the greater the politeness shown. Since the degree of politeness expressed by a Javanese sentence is very subtle, one English sentence may be translated into Javanese in a number of ways.

Speech levels should not be confused with social dialects (i.e., the special dialect used by the people of a particular social class). They are nothing like "U" and "non-U" English

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2. Other sources of information on Javanese speech levels are J. Gonda, "The Javanese Vocabulary of Courtesy," *Lingua* (I), pp. 333-373; Mas Prijohoetomo, Javaansche Spraakkunst (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937); E. M. Uhlenbeck, De Tegenstelling krama: ngoko, haar positie in het Javaanse taalsysteem (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1950); A. H. J. G. Walbeehm, De Taalsoorten in het Javaansch (Batavia: Albrecht and Co., 1897); and L. C. Damais, "Les formes de politesse en Javanais moderne," Bulletin de la Soci t  des Etudes Indo-Chinoises (XXV), 1950, pp. 263-280.
 3. For information on speech levels in Sundanese, see Raden Satjadibrata, Unda-usuk basa Sunda (Djakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1956). For information on speech levels in Madurese, see Alan M. Stevens, "Language Levels in Madurese," Language (XLI), 1965, pp. 294-302.

in Britain.⁴ Social dialects do exist in Javanese, and so do geographical dialects;⁵ but speech levels are not distributed among groups of different social classes or different geographical regions. Rather, every speaker of Javanese, regardless of his social status or geographical origin, uses all of the speech levels, each level in the appropriate situation depending upon whom he is addressing.

Every Javanese sentence indicates a particular speech level or degree of politeness, principally by means of the selection of vocabulary and choice of affixes. Syntactically there are no differences between sentences of various levels except in the case of the affirmative imperative, which will be described later. Vocabulary items are of four types, three whose principal function is to indicate the degree of formality between the speaker and addressee, and a fourth which may be used in conjunction with words of any of the other three types to express high respect. The four vocabulary types are as follows:

1. *Ngoko* (Ng): non-polite and informal. The *Ngoko* vocabulary is used only in addressing someone with whom the speaker is very familiar. *Ngoko* words alone do not express any respect. They exist for all concepts, while the other vocabulary types have a limited number of members.

2. *Madyô* (Md): (lit. middle) semi-polite and semi-formal. *Madyô* words are used when addressing a person toward whom one must express a formality of intermediate degree, such as a neighbor who is not a close friend or sometimes a relative of an older generation.

3. *Krômô* (K): polite and formal. *Krômô* words are used in addressing someone toward whom the speaker must be distant and formal.

4. The fourth type of vocabulary differs somewhat from the other three. It also helps to define the exact speech level being used, but, unlike *Ngoko*, *Madyô*, and *Krômô* words, this fourth type of vocabulary item does not in itself indicate any degree of formality. It may be used in conjunction with words of any of the other three types to indicate high respect toward

4. See A. S. C. Ross, "Linguistic Class-indicators in Present-day English," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen (LV), 1954, pp. 20-56.

5. Some of the principal dialects of Javanese are those of the areas around Banjumas, Tegal, Tjirebon, Banten, Surabaya, Jogjakarta, and Surakarta. The dialect of the royal capital cities of Jogjakarta and Surakarta is normally considered as standard Javanese.

the addressee. This "respect vocabulary" has a second function as well: the words belonging to it may be used in sentences of any speech level to refer to a highly respected third person. This fourth type of vocabulary has two subdivisions: a) *Krômô Inggêl* (KI): (lit. high *krômô*) words used to refer to the highly respected person, his actions, and his possessions; and b) *Krômô Anḍap* (KAn) (lit. humble *krômô*) used in referring to any person's actions toward a highly respected person. These may involve the speaker acting toward the addressee, the speaker acting toward a highly respected third person, another third person acting toward the highly respected third person, and so on. There are also *Krômô Anḍap* personal pronouns.

Here are two examples of the way in which a given concept might be expressed by words of each of the vocabulary types just described:

<u>English</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	<u>Madyô</u>	<u>Krômô</u>	<u>KI</u>	<u>KAn</u>
Tell or ask to do something	akôn	kèn	kèngkèn or puréh	ḍawoh	ng-atu-r-i

The content of each of the Javanese words is the same. The only difference in meaning between them lies in the degree of formality and respect expressed by them.

There are three affixes in Javanese which have alternate *Krômô* and *Ngoko* forms:

<u>Ngoko</u> :	di-	-é	-(a)ké
<u>Krômô</u> :	dipon-	-ipon	-aken

Di-/dipon- is a passive prefix, -é/-ipon is a determinative suffix, and -(a)ké/-aken is a causative suffix. All other affixes have only one form, which is used with words of any vocabulary type.

The four types of vocabulary and the two types of affixes combine to form three sentence levels, each of which has three sublevels. These nine levels⁶ are:

6. In addition to the speech levels listed and described here, the existence of *Bôsô Kedaton* (lit. palace language) should be noted. This is a special Javanese dialect used by male members of the royal Javanese staff in the presence of the king and in written palace communication among themselves.

- A. *Krômô*: 1. Muḍô-krômô (MK)
 2. Kramantôrô (KA)
 3. Wredô-krômô (WK)
- B. *Madyô*: 4. Madyô-krômô (Md K)
 5. Madyantôrô (Md A)
 6. Madyô-ngoko (Md Ng)
- C. *Ngoko*: 7. Bôsô-antyô (BA)
 8. Antyô-bôsô (AB)
 9. Ngoko-lugu (Ng L)

The choice of one of the three main sentence levels (*Ngoko*, *Madyô*, or *Krômô*) is determined principally by the degree of formality between the speaker and the addressee: if the relationship is very close the speaker will use *Ngoko*; if the relationship is distant the speaker will use *Krômô*; if the relationship is intermediate the speaker will use *Madyô*. In any of these cases the sublevel used is determined by the degree of respect felt on the part of the speaker for the addressee, which depends principally on the addressee's social status. The sublevels are formed mainly by the presence or absence of the respect vocabulary: *Krômô* Inggél words to denote the person, possessions, and actions of the addressee; and *Krômô* Anḍap words to denote the person and the actions of the speaker directed towards the addressee.⁷ Generally speaking, *Krômô* Inggél and *Krômô* Anḍap words are used in addressing a member of the *priyayi*--the upper class--regardless of the social status of the speaker. Within *priyayi* families *Krômô* Inggél is used in addressing older members. Among the *wông tjilêq*, the common folk, *Krômô* Inggél words may be used in addressing an older person or a superior if the addressee is not a relative. Within *wông tjilêq* families, however, *Krômô* Inggél is not used.

A detailed description follows of the way in which each of the nine sublevels is formed, with examples of situations in which they would be used:

1. *Muḍô-krômô* (MK), literally young *Krômô*, is the most formal and polite level. It consists of *Krômô* affixes, *Krômô* vocabulary, and *Krômô* Inggél words to denote the person, possessions, and actions of the addressee. *Muḍô-krômô* is used by an inferior speaking to a superior, or by the young in speaking to the old if the addressee is a member of the *priyayi*. The speaker may or may not belong to the *priyayi*.

7. The use of *Krômô* Inggél words for the addressee always implies the use of *Krômô* Anḍap to refer to the speaker and his actions toward the addressee. Furthermore, it should be remembered that *Krômô* Inggél (and *Krômô* Anḍap) may be used in sentences of any level in reference to a respected third person.

2. *Kramantôrô* (KA), literally equal Krômô, is composed of Krômô affixes and Kromo words. Krômô Inggél words are not used to refer to the addressee. *Kramantôrô* is used to address a stranger or someone whom the speaker does not know very well. In either case the addressee is clearly not a member of the *priyayi*. *Kramantôrô* would not be used, however, in addressing someone of very low social status such as a beggar or a coolie.

3. *Wređô-krômô* (WK), literally old Krômô, is the polite form used by the old to the young among the *priyayi*, or by a superior to an inferior when the latter is older than the former. Sentences of this type are composed of Krômô vocabulary and Krômô affixes, except that *-ê* is sometimes used instead of *-ipon*, or *-(a)kê* is sometimes used instead of *-aken*.

4. *Madyô-krômô* (Md K), literally middle or semi-Krômô, is composed of Ngoko affixes and Madyô vocabulary, except that Krômô Inggél words are used to refer to the person, possessions, and actions of the addressee. Concepts that need not be expressed with Krômô Inggél words, and for which no Madyô words exist, are expressed in Krômô. *Madyô-Krômô* is usually used by the young to the old or by the inferior to the superior outside the family among the *wông tjilêq*, or occasionally among the *priyayi* where some feeling of intimacy prevails.

5. *Madyantôrô* (Md A), literally equal Madyô, is composed of Ngoko affixes and Madyô words (Krômô words in the absence of Madyô). Krômô Inggél words are not used to refer to the addressee. *Madyantôrô* is used in addressing a *wông tjilêq* person who is neither of extremely low rank nor on intimate terms with the speaker, for example a farmer-neighbor or fruitseller who is older than the speaker.

6. *Madyô-ngoko* (Md Ng) is composed of Ngoko affixes and Madyô vocabulary, with Krômô words used in the absence of Madyô ones. A few Ngoko words may be substituted for either Madyô or Krômô ones, but which words will occur in Ngoko cannot be predicted. The lower the status of the addressee, the more frequent the Ngoko words will be. This level may be used in addressing someone of very low social status, such as a servant, who is, however, much older than the speaker. Or the addressee may not be so much lower in social status than the speaker (e.g., he may be a farmer and the speaker a school teacher), but he may be much younger than the latter. In any case some degree of politeness is still involved.

7. *Bôsô-antyo* (BA) is composed of Ngoko affixes, Krômô Inggél words to refer to the person, possessions, and actions of the addressee, and Ngoko words elsewhere, except for occasional Krômô words, the occurrence of which cannot be predicted. The higher the status of the addressee, the more frequently the Krômô words will occur. *Bôsô-antyo* is used when addressing someone who is of very high status but closely related to the

speaker. For example, this level may be used by a wife in addressing her husband if he is of very high birth or rank.

8. *Antyô-bôsô* (AB) is like *Bôsô-antyô* except that it does not contain any *Krômô* words. It is used in addressing someone with whom the speaker has a close relationship and who is of high social status (though not so high as a person who would be addressed in *Bôsô-antyô*). Priyayi officials usually address their colleagues in *Antyô-bôsô*. Wives often use this level to address their priyayi husbands, and younger brothers to address their priyayi elder brothers.

9. *Ngoko-lugu* (Ng L), plain *Ngoko*, consists of *Ngoko* words and affixes exclusively (except, of course, for *Krômô Inggél* words in referring to a respected third person). This level expresses neither formality nor respect toward the addressee. It is used by many superiors to their inferiors, by elders to their juniors, and by people speaking to close friends and relatives of the same generation or to a relative of younger generation among the *wông tjiléq*.

On p. is an example of a sentence in each of the nine levels. It states: "Here is my child Tini about whom I told you just now."

The affirmative imperative is the only type of sentence in Javanese which differs grammatically according to the speech level in which it is delivered. Basically there are three sentence patterns involved:

1. In *Ngoko-lugu* and *Antyô-bôsô* the affirmative imperative consists of a verb with the imperative suffix. There is no pronoun.

2. In all other levels except *Madyô-krômô* the affirmative imperative consists of a second person pronoun and verb without the imperative suffix.

3. In *Mudô-krômô* the affirmative imperative consists of an optional second person pronoun, an obligatory phrase meaning "I beg," and the verb without the imperative suffix. In each level, of course, the appropriate vocabulary must be used. Examples of the affirmative imperative sentence in the various levels are:

a. take, or please take

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| 1. (pendjenengan) kulô aturi mundot | |
| 2. sampéyan | - pendet |
| 3. sampéyan | - pendet |
| 4. (pen)djenengan | - pundot |
| 5. sampéyan | - pendet |

MK	menikô (K)	anaq ⁸ (Ng)	kulô (K)	Tini ⁹	ēngkang (K)	kulô (K)	ator (K An)	-aken (K)	wau (K)
KA	"	"	"	"	"	"	tjriyôs- (K)	"	"
WK	"	"	"	"	sēng ¹⁰ (Ng)	"	"	-(a)kē (Ng)	"
Md K	niki (Md)	"	"	"	"	"	ator- (K An)	"	"
Md A	"	"	"	"	"	"	tjriyôs- (K)	"	"
Md Ng	"	"	"	"	"	taq (Ng)	kandaq- (Ng)	"	"
BA	iki (Ng)	"	"	"	"	"	ator- (K An)	"	mau (Ng)
AB	"	"	ku (Ng)	"	"	"	"	"	"
Ng L	"	"	"	"	"	"	kandaq- (Ng)	"	"
	here	child	mine	Tini	whom	I	told	(caus- ative suf- fix)	just re- cent- ly

8. *Anaq* (lit. child), has no Krômô form. The Krômô Inggél *putrô* is not used since one must never use Krômô Inggél words to refer to oneself or one's possessions or actions.

9. Personal names have no separate Krômô form.

10. *Sēng*, the Ngoko form, is always used in Madyô rather than the expected Krômô form *ēngkang*. It is also used in Wreḡô-krômô.

6. mang	-	djupoq
7. (pen)djenengan	-	pundot
8. -	-	pundut - en
9. -	-	djupuq - en
you	I beg	take

b. go, or please go

1. (pendjenengan) kulo aturi	tindaq
2. sampéyan	- késah
3. sampéyan	- késah
4. (pen)djenengan	- tindaq
5. sampéyan	- késah
6. mang	- lungô
7. (pen)djenengan	- tindaq
8. -	- tindaq - ô
9. -	- lungo - ô
you	I beg go

The Vocabulary of the Speech Levels

As has already been mentioned, it is Ngoko that forms the bulk of the Javanese vocabulary. For every item existing in any of the other vocabularies there is a Ngoko equivalent. Since the vocabularies other than Ngoko are limited as to their members, substitutions by items belonging to the vocabulary of one speech level must sometimes be made in utterances which are on a different level. The following rules govern the choice of vocabulary items in the absence of words from the level in use:

1. When speaking in Krômô, if no Krômô word exists, the Ngoko word is substituted.

2. When speaking in Madyô, if no Madyô word exists the Krômô word is substituted. If neither Madyô nor Krômô words exist, the Ngoko word is substituted.

3. When speaking in Krômô or Madyô, if a Krômô Inggél word is needed, and if no Krômô Inggél word exists, the Krômô word is substituted. If neither Krômô Inggél nor Krômô words exist, the Ngoko word is substituted. When one is speaking in Ngoko and a Krômô Inggél word is needed, the Ngoko word is substituted if no Krômô Inggél word exists.

4. Krômô Andap words behave like Krômô Inggél words in vocabulary substitution.

Within each of the five vocabularies, the words are classified as follows:

Ngoko

For every concept expressible in Javanese there exists a Ngoko word, and the vocabulary of this speech level numbers in the tens of thousands. Included in this large body is a small group of terms which are called *kasar* (crude). These words are for the most part nouns, adjectives, and verbs expressing such very common things as parts of the body, conditions of the body, and bodily functions. For every *kasar* word there is an ordinary Ngoko equivalent that does not have the implication of vulgarity which the *kasar* word has. Some examples follow:

<u>Kasar</u>	<u>Ordinary Ngoko</u>	
môtô	mripat	eye
tjôtjôt	tjangkem	mouth
waḍoq	weteng	stomach
modar	mati	dead
mblendéng }	meteng	pregnant
busong }	boḍo	stupid
gôblôg	mangan	eat
mbaḍôg	saresmi	copulate
laki		

Kasar words are always considered vulgar. They are not usually used by the upper class. Even lower class people usually use them only in anger. They can only be used in Ngoko sentences, unless the speaker wants to make a rather ridiculous and rude joke. Occasionally a clown in a *keḥôpraq*, *ḍagelan*, or *wayang* performance may use such a device.

Krômô

There are about 850 *Krômô* words. These can be divided into two main subgroups according to their phonemic make-up. The first group consists of words which do not phonemically resemble their Ngoko counterparts as, for example:

<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	
aku	kulô	I
omah	griyô	house
turu	tilem	sleep

The second group consists of words which are formed by changing the phonemic make-up of their Ngoko counterparts in one of several more or less predictable ways. The exact rules for the formation of the predictable *Krômô* forms are quite complicated and further research will need to be done before

they can be formulated adequately. The resulting Krômô forms, however, can be classified into the following subgroups:

1. those ending in -ôs

<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	
gantôs	ganti	to change
wadôs	wadi	secret
dandôs	dandan	to dress

2. those ending in -nten

<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	
kinten	kirô	to think
dinten	dinô	day

3. those ending in -bet

<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	
mlebet	mlebu	to enter
sambet	sambong	to connect

4. those ending in -wôn

<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	
awôn	ôlô	bad
kawôn	kalah	to lose

5. those ending in -djeng

<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	
madjeng	madju	forward
kadjeng	kayu	wood

6. those ending in -nton

<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	
panton	pari	rice (in the field)
lemanton	lemari	cupboard

7. those ending in -i

<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	
tuni	tunô	to suffer a loss
negari	negôrô	country

8. those having the form CiC $\{\hat{O}_{aC}\}^{11}$

<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	
kinô	kunô	ancient
sisah	susah	sad

9. those having the form Ce(C)C $\{\hat{O}_{aC}\}^{12}$

<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	
gegô	gugu	to follow advice
lenggah	lunggoh	to sit down

Krômô words may be standard or non-standard. Priyayi and educated persons are expected to use only the standard forms, but the wông tjilêq are usually unable to speak in exclusively standard Krômô forms. The greater the number of non-standard forms employed by a particular person, the more likely he is to be considered lower class.

Two of the sources from which non-standard Krômô words may come are geographical and class dialects. *Siyên* (for the standard *rumiyên*, 'formerly') is an example of a geographical dialect word, having originated in the Bantul and Wates area. *Wikônô* (for standard *mbôten mangertôs*, '(I) don't know') is from a class dialect, being employed by the wông tjilêq in many rural areas. A third source of non-standard Krômô is created when words which were already Krômô are reshaped according to one of the Krômô-forming rules by people who are not aware of their original Krômô nature. Examples of this kind of non-standard "hyper-Krômô" words are:

1. adjrôs for adjrêh (Ng wedi) afraid
2. kônten for kôri (Ng lawang) door
3. sedanten for sedôyô (Ng kabêh) all

It should be noted that what is considered standard in one area may be considered non-standard in another; this is definitely the case with those forms which originated in local dialects.

11. The symbol C means any consonant. The arrangement $\{\hat{X}_Y\}$ is linguistic formulaic notation for "X or Y."

12. Parentheses in linguistic formulaic notation mean that the enclosed items are optional.

Madyô

There are about 35 Madyô words. Some are the result of some kind of corruption of standard Krômô words, while others bear no phonemic resemblance to their Krômô counterpart. Examples of the first type are:

<u>Madyô</u>	<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	
ampon	sampon	ôdjô	don't
enggô	mônggô	ayo	come
niki	menikô	iki	this

Madyô words of the second type seem to be old borrowings of Krômô words from some local non-prestigious dialect. This is indicated by the fact that they are related phonemically to the Ngoko by one of the regular rules of Krômô formation. In all cases of this type, however, the standard Krômô form is of the kind which is phonemically unrelated to the Ngoko. Examples:

<u>Madyô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	<u>Krômô</u>	
adjeng	arep	bađé	will
kepripon	keprijé	kadôs pundi	how

The first example is formed by the process illustrated under the fifth subgroup of Krômô forms listed above. In regard to the second example, the final *-é* has the appearance of a suffix which has the Krômô counterpart *-ipon*. *Kepriyé*, however, is actually a single morpheme (i.e., the *-é* is *not* a suffix), but the word has been treated as though it were *kepri* + *-é* in the formation of *kepripon*. (*kepri* + *-ipon* formed *kepriyipon*; *-iyi-* contracted to *-i-*.)

Some Madyô words appear to be of the second type, since they bear no phonemic resemblance to their contemporary Krômô counterparts. Actually, however, they are of the first sort, the Krômô words from which they were corrupted being no longer used. An example of such a Madyô word is *awi* "please." It comes from the obsolete Krômô form *suwawi*, which at present has generally been replaced by *(su)mônggô*.

Krômô Inggél

There are about 260 Krômô Inggél words, and they bear no phonemic resemblance to the words of any of the other vocabulary groups. Many of them are borrowings from Sanskrit; others are taken from literary old Javanese. For example:

	<u>Ngoko</u>	<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Krômô Inggél</u>	<u>Source</u>
female	wadôn	èstri	putri	Sanskrit
ear	kupéng	--	talingan	Old Javanese

Since the number of Krômô Inggél words is quite small, some of them may have two or more Ngoko or Krômô equivalents:

<u>Krômô Inggél</u>	<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	
mundot	1. tumbas	tuku	to buy
	2. mendet	ndjupoq	to take
	3. neḍô	ndjaloq	to ask for
astô ¹³	1. --	tangan	hand
	2. --	tabôq	to box
ngastô	3. njambot	damel njambot	gawé to work
	4. njepeng	njekel	to hold
	5. mbektô	nggôwô	to bring
	6. --	nggarap	to do

There is a hyper-Krômô-Inggél word used by many people. This word is formed by the pattern for the first subgroup of Krômô forms:

<u>Hyper-Krômô-Inggél</u>	<u>Krômô-Inggél</u>	<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>
waôs	wôdjô	--	untu tooth

Krômô-Anḍap

Krômô Anḍap words, of which there are only about 20, for the most part describe actions which must have a recipient as well as an agent, such as giving, taking, lending, borrowing, etc. For example:

<u>Krômô Anḍap</u>	<u>Krômô Inggél</u>	<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>
njuwon	mundot	neḍô	ndjaloq to ask for
tjaôs	paréng	sukô	wènèh to give

Since the number of Krômô Anḍap words is extremely limited, many of them have a number of meanings:

13. The *ng-* of *ngastô* is a verb forming prefix. *Astô*, however, is also a verb by itself.

<u>Krômô Anḍap</u>	<u>Krômô-Inggél</u>	<u>Krômô</u>	<u>Ngoko</u>	
ator	ngendikô ḍawoh	tjriyôs --	kôndô âdjâq	to say to invite to go along with
	paréng ḍawoh	sukô kêngkèn	wènèh kôn	to give to tell to do something
	-- timbang timbang	kinton -- --	kirém undang undang aran	to send to summon, call to call, i.e. to use as a term of address.

Some Krômô Anḍap words may occur in composite forms the meanings of which are not necessarily predictable from the meanings of their parts. For example, from the word *njuwon* or *nuwon* "to beg," there are formed:

njuwon prêksô	to ask (a question)
njuwon ngampél	to borrow
njuwon pangapunten	(I) am sorry
njuwon dukô	(I) am sorry, I do not know
njuwon sèwu	excuse me
njuwon pamêt	(an expression used when taking leave of a host)
kulô nuwon	(an expression used instead of knock- ing when one wishes to enter some- one's house)
mator nuwon	thank you
nuwon inggêh	yes
nuwon mbôten	no
nuwon sendikô	yes, I will

Reference to a Third Person

As we have already seen, Krômô Inggél words may be used in sentences of any speech level to refer to a respected third person. But, while it is absolute status that matters in the use of Krômô Inggél to refer to the addressee--that is, whether or not the addressee is a member of the priyayi--it is a third person's status relative to that of the person with whom he is interacting that determines whether or not Krômô Inggél words are used in referring to him. The non-Krômô Inggél words used will depend on the speech level employed in the conversation; in the following rules for the use of Krômô Inggél words to refer to a third person, all examples are given in Ngoko:

1. In referring to an action between the speaker and a third person:

a. If the direction of the action is from the third person to the speaker, and if that person is of higher status than the speaker, Krômô Inggél is used. Example:

Paq Surônô karo putrané tindaq menjang omahé anaqu
Mr. Surono and his son went to the house my son
(KI) (KI)

b. If the direction of the action is from the speaker to a third person, and if that person is higher than the speaker, Krômô Anḍap will be used. Example:

Aku arep sowan menjang dalemé paq Surônô
I will visit to the house Mr. Surono
(K An) (KI)

c. Only the king may refer to himself with Krômô Inggél vocabulary. Anyone else doing so would be regarded as arrogant. Therefore, if the third person is of lower status than the speaker, a type of vocabulary other than Krômô Inggél (i.e., Ngoko, Madyô, or Krômô) is used regardless of the direction of the action. This is also the case if both are wông tjilêq. Examples:

(from third person to speaker)

Paq Surônô karo anaqé lungô menjang omahé anaqu
Mr. Surono and his son went to the house my son
(Ng) (Ng)

(from speaker to third person)

Aku arep dolan menjang omahé paq Surônô
I will visit to the house Mr. Surono
(Ng) (Ng)

d. If the speaker and the third person are of equally high status, an interesting kind of circumlocution is employed. To avoid any implication of relative rank, words are selected which have no Krômô Anḍap equivalents for verbs showing interaction between the two persons:

Aku arep sôndjô menjang dalemé paq Surônô
I will visit to the house Mr. Surono
(Ng)

Sôndjô, which is the synonym of *dolan*, has no Krômô Anḍap equivalent. It is selected rather than *dolan* because the latter has a Krômô Anḍap equivalent, *sowan*.

2. In referring to an action between the addressee and a third person:

a. If the direction of the action is from the third person to the addressee and if the former is of higher status than the latter, Krômô Inggél is used:

Paq	Surônô	arep	nimbali	pendjenengan
Mr.	Surono	will	call	you
			(KI)	(KI)

b. If the direction of the action is from the addressee to a third person, and the latter is of higher rank than the former, Krômô Anḍap is used:

Pendjenengan	arep	ngaturi	paq	Surônô
you	will	call	Mr.	Surono
		(K An)		

c. If the direction is from the third person to the addressee, and if the addressee is of higher status than the third person, Krômô Anḍap is used:

Paq	Surônô	arep	ngaturi	pendjenengan
Mr.	Surono	will	call	you
			(K An)	

d. If the direction is from the addressee to a third person, and if the former is higher than the latter, Krômô Inggél is used:

Pendjenengan	arep	nimbali	paq	Surônô
you	will	call	Mr.	Surono

e. Where addressee and third person are of equal rank, preference is given to the addressee. From addressee to third person, Krômô Inggél is used:

Pendjenengan	maringi	paq	Surônô	ôpô	?
you	gave	Mr.	Surono	what	
	(KI)				

From third person to addressee, Krômô Anḍap is used:

Paq	Surônô	njaôsi	pendjenengan	ôpô	?
Mr.	Surono	gave	you	what	
		(K An)			

However, if one can find a synonym which has no Krômô Inggél or Krômô Anḍap equivalent, it will be used instead:

Pendjenengan ngirimi paq Surônô ôpô ?
 you sent Mr. Surono what ?
 (Ng)

f. If addressee and third person are both wông tjilêq, types of vocabulary other than Krômô Inggél are used regardless of the direction of the action:

(from third person to addressee)

Paq Surônô mènèhi kowé ôpô ?
 Mr. Surono gave you what
 (Ng)

(from addressee to third person)

Kowé mènèhi paq Surônô ôpô ?
 you gave Mr. Surono what
 (Ng)

3. In referring to an action between two third persons (whom we will call 3A and 3B):

a. If the direction of the action is from 3A to 3B, and if 3A is higher than 3B, Krômô Inggél is used. Example:

Paq Surônô arep maringi buku Sariman
 Mr. Surono will give book Sariman
 (KI)

b. If the direction of the action is from 3B to 3A, and if 3A is higher than 3B, Krômô Anḍap is used:

Sariman arep njaôsi buku paq Surônô
 Sariman will give book Mr. Surono
 (K An)

c. If 3A and 3B are priyayi of equal rank, the speaker looks for a word which is synonymous with the intended word but which has no Krômô Inggél equivalent. For example:

Paq Surônô arep ngirimi buku paq Kusumô
 Mr. Surono will send book Mr. Kusumo
 (Ng)

If, however, no such synonym can be found, Krômô Inggél is used:

Paq Kusumô arep ngendikô ôpô marang paq Surônô ?
 Mr. Kusumo will say what to Mr. Surono
 (KI)

d. If 3A and 3B are both wông tjilêq, a vocabulary other than Krômô Inggél is used:

Sariman mènèhi buku Saridjan
 Sariman gave book Saridjan
 (Ng)

Changing Word Levels

Sometimes Javanese words change their status. There are two kinds of change possible: 1) standard words which belong to one level of vocabulary may begin to be used in another level; or 2) hyper-Krômô or hyper-Krômô Inggél words may come to be regarded as standard for their respective vocabulary levels. The first kind of change is always in a downward direction--that is, Krômô Inggél becomes Krômô, or Krômô becomes Ngoko, or sometimes Krômô Inggél even becomes Ngoko. Examples:

- a. Krômô Inggél becomes Krômô: *lingsem* "ashamed," *petek* "massage," *luntaq* "to vomit"
- b. Krômô becomes Ngoko: *ketigô* "the third season (of the Javanese year)"
- c. Krômô Inggél becomes Ngoko: *lidah* "tongue," *tandoq* "to take a second helping (of rice at dinner)"

The examples in a formerly had no Krômô equivalents. The result of the change in levels of the Krômô Inggél words is that the Ngoko counterparts, which could formerly be used in sentences of any level, are now used only in Ngoko sentences. In examples b and c the new Ngoko words are now regarded as synonyms of their old Ngoko counterparts (respectively *ketelu*, *ilat*, and *imboh*).

Examples of "hyper" words which have become standard are:

- a. Krômô Inggél *waôs* (from old standard *wôdjô*) "tooth"
- b. Krômô *kônten* (from old standard *kôri*) "door"
nami (from old standard *nômô*) "name"

In all these cases the old hyper form and the original standard form are now regarded as synonyms. However, it sometimes happens that as a result of a hyper form becoming standard the

original standard form comes to be regarded as non-standard. Examples of this are the Krômô words *radôsan* "street," and *mawî* "with," which derived from the old standard Krômô words *radinan* and *môwô*, now out of general use.

If there is no Krômô word for a given concept, a hyper-Krômô word is sometimes derived from the Ngoko. When this happens, if the hyper form comes to be regarded as standard, the Ngoko word will then be reserved for use in Ngoko sentences alone. An example of this is *selangkong* "twenty-five," from the Ngoko *selawê*. Similarly, though place names are not supposed to have Krômô forms, ignorant people sometimes make hyper-Krômô words from the original Ngoko names, and a few of these have become accepted as standard. An example is *Kiţôageng*, the name of a town, from the original *Kuţôgedê*.

Borrowings From Other Languages

It seems that no new words have entered the Krômô vocabulary from sources other than Krômô Inggél or hyper-Krômô within recent times. The recent prestigious loanwords from Indonesian, Dutch, English, etc., have entered the language as Ngoko words, although they are used in sentences of all levels since they have no counterparts in the other vocabularies. Examples of some recent loanwords are:

		<u>Source</u>
<i>buah</i>	fruit, dessert	Indonesian
<i>dapor</i>	kitchen	Indonesian
<i>kamar</i>	room	Dutch
<i>biyôskop</i>	movie theatre	Dutch
<i>pêknêk</i>	picnic	English

Determining the Choice of Speech Level

As already stated, the choice of speech level is determined by 1) the degree of formality in the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, and 2) the social status of the addressee. The degree of formality in the relationship determines the selection of the main level: when one speaks to someone whom one considers distant, the very formal speech level, Krômô, will be used; when one speaks to someone whom one considers close, the informal speech level, Ngoko, will be used; if the addressee is of intermediate distance Madyô will be used. The social status of the addressee determines whether or not Krômô Inggél words will be used in referring to him. One addresses a priyayi with Krômô Inggél words regardless of the main speech level being used. One does not use Krômô Inggél words in addressing a wông tjilêq.

It is difficult to make generalized rules about the selection of the proper speech level, since the decision as to the degree of formality in a relationship is a subjective one. Three things, however, seem to be very important in determining to what extent a given addressee should be considered distant. These are 1) familiarity; 2) the type of kinship relationship involved within a family, and, outside of the family, superiority in social standing; and 3) age.

A speaker will use Ngoko to someone with whom he is familiar, Krômô to someone with whom he is not familiar, and Madyô to anyone who falls in between these two categories. A close friend is considered familiar and is thus addressed in Ngoko. A neighbor, a classmate, an uncle, an in-law, a boss, or a spouse may (or may not) be considered a close friend. An outsider, i.e., not a close friend, is addressed in either Madyô or Krômô, unless any of the circumstances to be described below dictate otherwise.

Kin of older generations address those of younger generations in Ngoko. The latter reply in Madyô or Krômô. Which of these two respectful levels is selected depends on the feeling of familiarity between the people involved. The greater the difference in generation, the more likely it is that a higher level will be used. There are, however, some geographical differences in this practice. In most of East Java a child is allowed to speak in Ngoko to his parents and grandparents, permitting the feeling of an intimate relationship to develop within the immediate family. In Jogjakarta, however, and even more so in Surakarta, parents insist on being addressed in Madyô or Krômô by their children. Cousins who are friends speak Ngoko to each other, but those who seldom see each other use Madyô or Krômô. Again, in East Java Ngoko is preferred among cousins even if they are not on familiar terms.

Teachers speak in Ngoko to their pupils both in and out of class. If a pupil is the son of the king or of a prince, however, and if the teacher is of a social class which is much lower, the latter uses Krômô. A pupil always speaks in Krômô to his teacher. To avoid using a level which is too low to students who may be the sons of very high priyayi, a teacher in a high school or university usually uses Indonesian, which, as it has no speech levels, evades a possibly difficult situation.

A master speaks in Ngoko to his servant, and a servant speaks in Krômô to his master in most circumstances. If, however, the servant is very much older than the master, the master may possibly use Madyô in addressing him. Such a practice implies that the master is not an arrogant person, and further, that he is very conscientious about being polite.

An employee is expected to speak in Krômô to his employer. The employer normally addresses high-ranking employees in Krômô, low-ranking employees in Madyô, and sometimes unskilled laborers, especially if they are very young, in Ngoko.

Age as such is not a very important factor in determining the choice of speech level. It will only be considered after the factors already mentioned have been weighed. Generally speaking, if two people are on familiar terms and no hierarchical relationship between them dictates otherwise, they will use Ngoko to each other regardless of their respective ages. A great difference in age may tend to make a relationship more distant. Generally, though, anyone who uses speech levels to show respect to age indicates that he is very polite, since not everyone will do this. One exception to this generality is that, in speaking to an elderly stranger, a child is expected to use Madyô or Krômô, as well, at least, as he is able to do so.

Aside from the optional use of a higher speech level to show respect to age in a situation where Ngoko would otherwise be employed, the speech level may be partially determined by the relative ages of speaker and addressee in one other situation. In rural areas, many adults will address a small child who is a complete stranger in Ngoko, if he is obviously of a wông tjilêq family, even though they would address his parents in Madyô or Krômô. There are several reasons for this: 1) it is a way of "making friends" with the child so that he will answer questions; otherwise he might be shy and reluctant to speak; 2) Ngoko is the speech which the child certainly knows well since he is addressed in it by his family and friends, whereas he may not yet have mastered Madyô or Krômô; and 3) the adult may feel that he himself is deserving of some respect and may wish to indicate this by using Ngoko to the child. This last factor is usually quite a minor consideration. The child of priyayi parents, however, will always be addressed in Krômô by a stranger, regardless of the speaker's age or social class.

Although age is not a decisive factor in the selection of speech level, this should not be misunderstood to mean that respect for old age is not reflected in speech. If an aged man is addressed in Ngoko-lugu by a younger speaker, then the latter will at least use the alos tone of voice. Furthermore, an older person should not be called by his name alone. The name must be preceded by an appropriate term of address, such as *paq* "Mr. or father," *mbah* "grandpa," *lêq* "uncle," or *mbôq* "Mrs. or mother." The absence of such a term would be very rude.

Sex plays a very minor role in the selection of speech level. Among close friends of the same sex Ngoko is usually used, but social customs in Java call for unmarried persons of the opposite sex to preserve a more distant relationship than is reflected by that level, and they tend to use Krômô with each other.

Occasions on Which the Speech Level is Changed

There are certain times in which one may select a different speech level than that normally used in addressing a particular person. Sometimes this involves raising the level, sometimes lowering it. One occasion on which the speech level may be raised is in the presence of other persons, particularly if the prestige of the addressee is involved. For example, if a distinguished guest is present, a daughter who normally addresses her father in Antyô-bôsô will probably speak to him in Muđô-Krômô to indicate that he is properly respected by his family. Similarly, a janitor will address the principal of the school, who happens to be his distant cousin, in Muđô-Krômô if pupils and faculty members are present. If the two are alone, however, particularly if they are at home, the janitor will use Antyô-bôsô. In some regions older brothers and sisters are addressed in Krômô after they are married. This is particularly true if the spouse or in-laws of the older sibling are present. If, however, the younger and older sibling are alone the younger one will usually return to the use of Ngoko. Letter writing is usually considered as a formal affair, and young people who usually address their parents in Ngoko or Madyô may use Krômô in writing to them.

Lowering of the speech level used in addressing a particular person is often the result of the discovery of a kinship relation between the speaker and addressee, or else of the formation of a kinship relation due to marriage. Two acquaintances who discover that they are relatives will switch to Ngoko. If there is a difference in kinship generation, this will be especially true for the one of the older generation. A new father-in-law who formerly spoke to his prospective son-in-law in Krômô will change to Ngoko after the wedding ceremony. In either case there may be some initial faltering immediately following the switch.

One can express anger only in Ngoko. If two acquaintances who normally speak to each other in Krômô should begin to quarrel, they will switch to Ngoko. If a younger relative quarrels with an older one (an uncle, for example), to whom he usually speaks in Krômô, he will use Ngoko. The expression of anger in Krômô sounds very odd to native speakers of Javanese, and in folk plays such as the ketopraq or ðagelan this may be used as a device for getting laughs.

In addressing an audience on a formal occasion, even if the individual relationships involved are personal ones, such as among family and friends during a wedding ceremony, Muđô-Krômô is usually used. Leaders of some political parties, however, customarily use Ngoko when addressing an audience to demonstrate that all people are of equal rank. Although Krômô is usually used in correspondence, Ngoko is now being used by

many magazines to express the idea that they regard their readers as close friends, or, like the above-mentioned political parties, to emphasize that all people are of equal rank.

The Effect of Social Change
on Speech Level

The alterations that have taken place in Javanese society, particularly since the birth of the republic in 1945, have had a considerable impact on the language, particularly in the matter of speech levels. The most notable change is probably that which has been wrought in the use of Krômô Inggél. Words of this type are, as we have noted, reserved mainly for addressing or referring to members of the priyayi, which we defined roughly as "upper class." Formerly, that group was considered to include only those who possessed noble titles; everyone else was considered wông tjiléq. The distinction between priyayi and wông tjiléq still exists, but the concept of priyayi has now broadened to include not only those who possess titles but also most white-collar workers. Furthermore, there is now greater social mobility. Educational achievement and the accumulation of wealth usually bring high social status, which in turn means membership in the priyayi. The result of this has been a three-fold change in the use of Krômô Inggél words:

1. Krômô Inggél is used toward more people, both by non-priyayi in addressing the priyayi and among the priyayi themselves. Furthermore, people are constantly entering the ranks of those who are addressed with Krômô Inggél. For example, a farmer-uncle who normally speaks to his nephew in Ngoko-lugu will suddenly change to Antyô-bôsô if his nephew gains a position in a government office. The gaining of status by the son influences the rank of the parents as well. Thus many people will treat the parents as priyayi too and address them with Krômô Inggél. The opposite situation is rarer: The uneducated children of a noble parent who has fallen into poverty will normally still be addressed with Krômô Inggél words by their friends and acquaintances.

2. The degree of formality among the priyayi has decreased, largely due to the influence of the "nouveau riche." Formerly one high ranking person would usually address another who was not a relative in Krômô. Now, however, close friends of high rank often address each other in Ngoko.

3. The feeling of deference conveyed by many Krômô Inggél words has been reduced. An example is the word *sédô* (to die), which is now used so generally that it is no longer considered proper for reference to a king. Another Krômô Inggél word with the same meaning, *surot*, is accordingly reserved for reference to royalty. As a result of this process some Krômô Inggél words

are now regarded as Krômô. Examples of some such words are *lingsem* "ashamed," *petek* "massage," *luntaq* "to vomit."

In addition to general changes of this sort, it is becoming increasingly common to hear mistakes¹⁴ in the use of the speech levels among native speakers of Javanese. In fact, many teachers and conservative parents complain that children of the present generation cannot speak the polite language at all well. Not only is the number of people who misuse the speech levels increasing, but many people now make mistakes with no feeling of embarrassment, and sometimes even with a sense of pride. Here and there people are beginning to mock the "over-politeness" associated with the dialects of Jogjakarta and Surakarta.

There are two types of mistakes made in connection with the use of speech levels. The first involves selecting the vocabulary item appropriate to the speech level being used and the second is a matter of selecting the proper speech level itself. The first kind of mistake is likely to be made by a child or by an adult of the group called *wông ndēsô* (country people) or *wông nggunong* (hill people). This type of error usually involves the failure to use Krômô or Krômô Inggél words in places where they should be used or the use of Krômô Inggél words to refer to the speaker. The person who makes this kind of mistake is referred to as *durong bisô bôsô*, meaning that he "does not yet know how to speak the (polite) language." To most people this kind of mistake is very embarrassing.

The second kind of mistake may be in either of two directions:

1. The speaker may use a non-polite speech level in addressing someone of high status. This may cause him to suffer serious humiliation, for he will be labeled as someone who does not know his manners. This kind of mistake is somewhat rare, for one can always take precautions by using a polite level in uncertain situations.

2. The speaker may use a speech level which is too polite in addressing someone of lower status. This may result in either a) being called "awkward" or "inflexible" or b) being corrected by the addressee. The latter is especially likely to happen if, for example, the addressee is the nephew of the speaker.

14. Many linguists feel that any form normally used by a native speaker of a language reflects a natural development of that language and should not be regarded as a mistake. The term "mistake" is used here to mean deviation in the use of speech level from that which is considered standard by educated people or the priyayi.

A person's ability to manipulate the speech levels may be an indication of his social background to his listeners. From the point of view of the speaker, failure to manipulate the speech levels properly may be a source of great embarrassment. It is generally felt that Asians tend to be somewhat more timid and shy than Westerners; and the Javanese (as well as the Sundanese, Madurese, and Balinese) are considered especially shy and timid even by other Indonesians. There is a possibility that fear of mockery because of failure to manipulate the speech levels properly may be a contributing factor in the development of this reticence. That this is the case is further supported by the fact that in East Java, where people are more lax in their use of the speech levels, they are also more outgoing.

A chief factor contributing to the making of mistakes in speech level may be the difficulty of the system. Most people agree that Indonesian, which is syntactically not much different from Javanese, is much easier to learn. Javanese servant women who go to Djakarta can usually speak Indonesian quite well after about a year. Non-Javanese Indonesians, on the other hand, usually have difficulty speaking even broken Javanese after spending several years in Jogjakarta. Probably one of the reasons why Javanese was not adopted as the national language of Indonesia despite the large number of its speakers, its rich literature, and its cultural associations is that it is so difficult to learn. Native Javanese students of the present day are often unable to use the speech levels with complete competence even by the time they are in high school.

Of course, the difficulty of the language in itself does not explain the increasing number of people who cannot use the speech levels properly. Lack of practice by the current younger generation is probably a prime reason for their deficiency, for in school and on official occasions Indonesian is the language used. It is thus only at home and at non-official functions that Javanese is spoken, and, as already mentioned, there is an increasing tendency to use Ngoko in speaking to family members (including elders) and close friends.

There have earlier been formal efforts, based on ideological considerations, to move completely to Ngoko. Around 1916 there began a movement in Java to abolish the speech levels and use only the Ngoko level. It was thought by those active in this effort that the speech levels strengthened the barriers between the social classes and discouraged the spirit of *samarata-samarasa* (literally, equal level, equal feeling) which the movement was trying to foster. Articles were written and public lectures were delivered in Ngoko but the campaign, known as the Djôwô Dipô movement, found little response. It is interesting to note that the reaction of most aristocrats to the campaign was to suggest that if it were agreed upon to use only one speech level, then Krômô, the polite level, should be

selected, and they accordingly sponsored a Krômô-dêwô movement to this end.¹⁵

The present tendency to shorten the distance between individuals by the use of Ngoko is independent of any organized movement, but it has already resulted in a considerable erosion of the traditional system. There are a number of issues concerning the Javanese speech levels that are still uninvestigated-- it would be very interesting, for example, to study the way in which Javanese children learn their language and to trace their struggle to master the complex speech levels--and such studies should be conducted at the present time, while the system, at least in some areas, remains more or less intact. Although it is unlikely that so fundamental a part of the Javanese language as its speech levels will soon be totally eradicated, the ongoing change from a static, agrarian, feudalistic society to a mobile, industrial, and democratic one will probably increase the rate of decay and thus make the scholarly study of the system more and more difficult.

In the next issue of this journal, I hope to provide a vocabulary list of Krômô, Madyô, Krômô Inggél, and Krômô Anḍap words together with their Ngoko counterparts and kasar variants.