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Linguistic Development in Java

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Linguistic Development in Java

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Indonesia (*Republik Indonesia*), the world's largest island nation, declared its independence on 17 August 1945. It consists of approximately 13,000 islands, of which the largest are Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulawesi (Celebes), and Irian Jaya. Its total land area is 1,900,000 square kilometers and its population exceeded 164 million as of 1985 [BIRO PUSAT STATISTIK 1987a, 1987b]. This vast and massively populated land is divided into 35 large or 150-250 small language groups, each of which has evolved a distinct civilization or culture. After World War II, Indonesia was liberated from Japanese occupation, won a war of independence against the Netherlands, and became independent both in name and reality. National unity has been effectively achieved by making Indonesian (*bahasa Indonesia*) the official common language. At the same time, regional languages, supported by tradition, survive, particularly Javanese (*basa Jawa*), which is spoken by the largest ethnic group in the Republic.

In this paper, I will discuss the dramatic and ongoing changes resulting from the spread of Indonesian and decline of Javanese that characterize the development of contemporary Indonesian civilization. My observations are based on my own survey data.

2. THE WORLD OF JAVANESE, A CLOSED LANGUAGE: CASE STUDY OF MARTANI HAMLET

Martani Hamlet (not its real name) is occupied by only Javanese people. It is located in Kalasan County of Suleman Regency, the Special District of Yogyakarta (Jogjakarta), Central Java. The hamlet, located near famous *Candi Prambanan* (Prambanan Hindu Temple), has 343 residents or 73 households, is a typical

Javanese hamlet.¹⁾ For the most part, the inhabitants use Javanese on all occasions, including daily conversations, hamlet meetings, and various ceremonies. The following are some examples. As indicated in Table 1, Javanese has three broad speech levels—ten levels if one differentiates more finely; I have attempted to reflect these differences in the translations.²⁾

Example 1

A: Kowe karo pitik milih endi, apa milih ...

B: Aku milih pitike we gelem kok aku ...

A: Hiyaaa, ha, ha.

B: Pitike wae teleki no. Ayo diadu jagomu.

A: Tenan hayo.

B: Jagoku wis kluruk lo.

A: Jagoku ya wis kluruk.

B: Menang, jedhot, jedhot ...

Translation

A: Which chicken d'you want to take? Which ... ?

B: I'll take this, 'cause I like it.

A: Wow, ha, ha.

B: Hey, that chicken just shit! Let it fight with yours.

A: D'you really want to? OK, let 'em at each other!

B: Mine clucked.

A: Mine clucked too.

B: Get 'im, boy! Go for it! ...

These boys, about six years old, were mimicking *adu jago* (cockfighting) in front of the house where I lived during the survey. They are using the ordinary form (*ngoko*) of the language.

1) The survey in Martani Hamlet was performed between 1977 and 1979. Because my main purpose was to elucidate their social class system and the underlying concepts, I chose this survey site where its residents had widely varied occupations and social status. I anticipated that their thinking and behavior would be different from those of villages where residents' occupations are relatively homogeneous. Martani Hamlet was a *dukuh* (the smallest rural administrative unit) in the Special District of Yogyakarta. (The unit is now called *dhusun*.)

2) Javanese 'speech levels (*unggah-ungguh ing basa*)' must be seen both as style and category in the vocabulary. There are roughly three levels in style (polite, semi-polite and ordinary) or, more precisely, ten levels if you take into account that very frequently some words may be divorced from the style out of consideration towards the conversation partner or the referred person (See Table 1). There are four categories in the vocabulary: *krama inggil* (high polite, when referred to oneself *krama andhap* (humble polite)) words, *krama* (polite) words, *krama madya* (semi-polite) words, and *ngoko* (ordinary) words. For more details, see Someya [1981].

Example 2

- A: ... Pitung piring, nek digawa kabeh okeh yoh, gelas gelas ana, ning kok ora. Baskom baskom ki ya ora digawani ki. Mung piring tok.
- B: Pinten to?
- A: Piringe?
- B: Mboten, le mlebu.
- A: Niku lo njugil gedheg terus mbok menawi lawange dijugil nganggo apa ngono kancinge. Wong piringe sebagian ana cerak nggenthong ngono kuwi teng kureb, lha piring kok dikurebke ki ngapa, kaget kula punika.
- C: Nembe wau dalu?
- A: Wau dalu. Mangka aku ya wis ngllilir, rumangsaku pakne ... nggokku baskom piring piring ki ya ora digawa. Kumbahan barang neng nggon ember ki ya ora digawa. Kok lucu, aku ngono, kok sing digawa kok mung piring tok.
- B: Pitik sing kemanggung kemanggung wolu, dadi sing pitik dek emben niku gedhe gedhe niku papat, sing gedhe, sing cilik cilik niku lima. Empun tunggale sing dibeleh siji dek emben. Arep tak beleh bapakne Muni keciliken ngaten.
- C: Mboten pirsira jam pinten kinten kinten?
- A: Antawispun jam setunggal. Aku ki krungu. Gugah gugah bapakne to.

Translation

- A: ... Seven dishes, my god, if lots of stuff had been taken, ... but we still have cups. Our washing tub wasn't stolen either. Only dishes were taken.
- B: How many, ma'am?
- A: You mean dishes?
- B: No, the men who broke in, ma'am.
- A: He used a crow bar for the bamboo walls. With a crow bar, the lock on the door is useless, y'know. How come some of the dishes had been placed upside down by the water pitcher over there? How come the dishes had been placed upside down in a place like that, I wondered.
- C: Was it last night?
- A: It was last night. I woke up, but, I thought, it must be Dad. We didn't lose our washing tub. Stuff like the washing in the bucket wasn't taken. Isn't it strange? The only stuff taken was dishes.
- B: Eight chickens just ready for broiling. Four biggies and five small ones from two days ago. I mean they were with the one I killed two days ago. I meant to kill 'em, but Muni's Dad told me that they were too small.
- C: You wouldn't know exactly what time it happened, would you, ma'am?
- A: It was about one o'clock. I heard it. I woke up Dad lots of times.

This conversation was recorded when I visited A's house the morning after an incident in which A's house was burglarized and only dishes were stolen. The dialog was among A (housewife, 36), B (housewife, 53) and C (my young assistant). I was also present. A's husband is an older brother of B's husband. Unless you know this fact, the dialog sounds odd; the younger A is using the ordinary form to the older B while the older B is using the polite form (*krama*) to the younger A. These forms are not unnatural since A is considered an 'elder sister' of B. This is a typical example where the kin relationship overrides actual age differences. In this

example, however, on one occasion ("Eight chickens ..."), B used the ordinary form to A because of other factors: the actual age difference and the intimacy because of their everyday contacts. In this dialog, no first- or second-person pronouns are used except *aku* and *kula* ('I' by A) and *tak* ('I' by B)—this is quite common in actual speeches.

Example 3

A: La dereng kenging ditumpaki ta.

B: Lo perkara kuwi, bingkile aa bingkile ngendi? Bingkile kuwi cetha, aja, ... bocahe rak wis pite didandakke pokoke sak sakapike.

C: Sakapik-apike.

B: A, nggih, sing nragadi kana. A kuwi mung bingkile endi?

D: Kudune nggih wau mboten dibalekke kok ... dibalekke teng mrika malih.

B: Le ndandakke neng endi?

A: Mboten ngertos je, turene nggih teng rika ngoten. Bingkile tutup.

B: Mula kuwi sing salah ki. Ya mung bingkile kuwi, tegese ki ...

D: Mesthine sing ajeng ngijoli mesthine nggih, sakapike pit.

B: A nggih, jelas ki kok. Wong seksine ya, ning saiki kowe rak ora apa-apa ta? Enjor sekolah ora? Nek ora, tak boncengke. Ngonono jarene.

Translation

A: Well, it [the bicycle] is still not usable, sir.

B: Oh, what a mess! The repair shop, well, where's the repair shop? Really! You know the repair shop I mean, right? Too bad, ... the kid's OK, right? The thing is, you must have the bicycle fixed as completely as possible.

C: As completely as possible, you know!

B: Well, naturally. Its cost should be borne by that party. Well, where is the repair shop?

D: The truth is, you shouldn't have returned the motorbike. You returned it.

B: Who'll fix it?

A: I don't know, sir. They say that the shop is around here. There's another repair shop but it's closed.

B: So I told you that was a mistake. At the repair shop, that is ...

D: You should've exchanged it with the best bicycle, to tell you the truth.

B: Yes, that's right. That's obvious. There are witnesses. By the way, she's OK now, isn't she? She can go to school, right? If not, I'll take her there. That's it.

A's daughter (14, middle school student) was hit by a motorbike on her way from school, got slightly hurt and her bicycle was wrecked, so before a marriage-related *kendhuri* ritual³⁾ was performed, A asked for guidance from other persons in attendance: the hamlet mayor (B), a neighbor (C), a *kaum* (Islamic official, D). The seating arrangement for this particular *kendhuri* was set in a rectangle as shown in Figure 1. This arrangement made it possible for A, who brought up the subject,

3) *Kendhuri* (sometimes called *kendhuren* or *slametan*) is a commensality ritual accompanying other rituals such as rites of passage. For details, see Someya [1984].

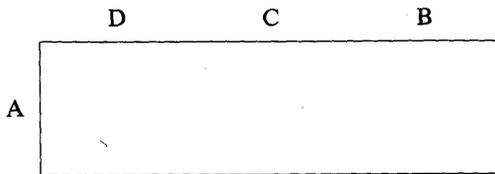


Figure 1. Seating Arrangement for a *Kendhuri*

to look at the other three; D could look at A on his right while also paying attention to those on his left.

Among the four, A uses polite (*krama*) words most often. This is probably because he is the advice-seeker and lower in both age and social position in the hamlet when compared with the two other men (C and B). He is followed by D, who spoke twice in the form of advice to A. He basically uses the ordinary (*ngoko*) words to the older A, probably because he is an adviser in this case and is self-conscious of his religious status. Occasionally he uses the semi-polite (*madya*) words or *krama* words, probably because he takes into account that B and C are present. B uses the *ngoko* words exclusively except when he is chiming in with C and D in the *madya* words. This is because B talks mostly to the younger A, whose social position is lower than his.

Example 4

Nuwun sewu, gandheng sampun telat wekdalipun pramila keparenga langsung kemawon badhe kula wiwiti. Sak derengipun keparenga ing ngriki kula badhe ngaturaken urut-urutanipun acara pepanggihan ing dalu punika. *Acara rapat K.T.M. tanggal tigabelas bulan duabelas, seribu sembilan ratus tujuh puluh delapan.*

...

Nanging *percobaan* ingkang nembe kemawon tumindak, punika nyimpang saking *anggaran dasar*, amargi *dipandang* perlu wontenipun sekedhik ngrobah saking *anggaran dasar*. Nggih punika *si pemilik sawah*, ugi *si penanggung jawab* ulam lan *si penyelenggara tempat* punika nggadhahi hak sepalih penuh tanpa dikurangi harga pembelian bibit. Kanti dhasar ngaten, punika *keuntungan hanya dibagi dua*. *Pemilik sawah, menyelenggarakan tempat, menyelenggarakan a, ... mengadakan penanggung jawab keamanan mina-padi*. Ning *K.T.M.* namung *semata-mata mengeluarkan bibit*, mbenjingipun kantung ngajeng-ngajeng sepalih hasilipun.

Translation

Excuse me, since it is getting late, I think it better to ask you to permit me to begin right away. First, I would like to explain to you the schedule of our tonight's meeting.

The schedule for the K.T.M. (Fresh Water Fish Farming Business Organization) Conference on 13 December 1978. ... However, the current experiment is actually against the Articles. That's because we need to infringe on the Articles. The paddy field's owner or the fish manager and the site manager are entitled to half without counting the cost of the fish that will bear fry. On such a basis, the profit is split

fifty-fifty. The paddy field's owner and the site manager take care of ... (They) become responsible for maintaining the fish. That is, K.T.M. can clearly hope for half the profit just by providing the fry-bearing fish.

This is a keynote address which the President of Fresh Water Fish Farming Business Organization gave at their 13 December 1978 conference. It begins with the young-polite form (*krama mudha*) of Javanese, which fosters the formal atmosphere appropriate for the opening of the conference. However, as he proceeds to the schedule, he suddenly switches to Indonesian (the italic words) because his topic turns to business matters. In this way, Indonesian was frequently mixed with Javanese at this conference—a rare event in a hamlet. Still, the language at the conference was basically Javanese.

As evident from the above, Javanese is fundamentally characterized by its speech levels; it is a language that cannot be spoken without simultaneously considering the social status of all the people involved. A Javanese speaker is bound to be constantly aware of how he is treating each person he is speaking to or referring to. There is, however, some degree of freedom within these parameters: since the interpersonal relationships in daily life are based on numerous factors, the system needs to be sufficiently flexible so that it can adjust itself to the social level or psychological distance between people depending on situations. Still, if one uses a socially inappropriate form, one is penalized in one way or another. Here "form" is what Tanner calls "code" or "form of speech" which includes speech levels, dialects and alternative forms, "whether named or unnamed, that the society in question differentiates from other forms" [TANNER 1972: 126]. Most daily conversations in Martani Hamlet are conducted in Javanese by choosing the right codes, in Tanner's sense.

It should also be noted that, as the hamlet residents get in touch with the outside world more and more, they have come increasingly to use Indonesian. It is true that this is the current trend in general, but it is also important to note the specific economic factors that brought this change to this particular hamlet.⁴⁾ Languages are vehicles for interacting with the outside world and, in the case of Martani, the vehicle is Indonesian, the country's official and common language. The information from the outside and the requests from the hamlet in all areas (government administration, industry, economy, education, and so on) are now communicated through the medium of Indonesian. In the past, this role was played by the polite form of Javanese, and obviously the outside world meant Javanese society then.

4) Martani Hamlet and its surrounding area support a large number of people for the land space for cultivation, so, besides being rice farmers, its residents earn their living working as chicken and pig breeders, grain traders, masons, tinkers, and cabinet makers, tradeswomen at *pasar* (market) or public servants such as teachers. Obviously, such occupations necessitate making contact with the outside world. For this hamlet's economic status, see Someya [1980].

In Indonesia, this switch of the principal language for communication from the polite form of Javanese to Indonesian is still underway. Those who are fluent in Indonesian are better at the interaction with the outside world, so it is possible for them to expand their activities further. It is not an accident, therefore, that they generally choose to marry someone who lives far away from them.⁵⁾ The rest of the hamlet residents hold these people in high regard, and, in turn, the highly respectful language they use to them distances the 'respected' from the rest; *i.e.*, the linguistic factor "pushes them out of the hamlet." Because they are enterprising in nature, they tend to act differently, break community rules, or disturb the hamlet's peace. To many residents, they are a nuisance.⁶⁾ Still, residents' criticisms towards them aren't usually expressed openly; residents seem to view such people as *bekel*,⁷⁾ who were just above peasants in social status and were arrogant towards peasants under the Dutch control. According to Marbangun Hardjowirogo,

in 1900s, aristocrats were still privileged in Yogyakarta or Solo. They were usually very wealthy. Moreover, it was mandatory that *wong cilik* (little men) paid respect to aristocrats as *kawula* (servant) of the court of Yogyakarta or Surakarta. Aristocrats, on the other hand, often made clear their position to peasants by deliberately demonstrating their arrogance. ... Interestingly, *wong cilik* themselves took aristocrats' arrogance for granted, though they may not have been happy deep down [MARBANGUN HARDJOWIROGO 1983: 19].

The Indonesian speakers have created a similar phenomenon: the aristocrats have simply been replaced by influential people in the hamlet.

Besides those who "stick out" in the hamlet, there are also those who "stay in" and try to protect the rural community. Residents did not regard the latter as highly as the former, which is understandable because not showing respect can be taken as one of the signs of intimacy. The latter are thus "drawn into" the hamlet and become hamlet insiders.

Thus there are two kinds of relatively conspicuous people in the hamlet. Members of the first group may be tentatively called "individual-oriented types," for they are individualistic, realistic, pragmatic, and enterprising reformists. Most of these are fluent Indonesian speakers; they are also fluent in Javanese, so they live in both the Javanese and Indonesian worlds simultaneously. Members of the second group may be tentatively called "people-oriented types" since they are humanis-

5) For details on the upper class's preference to marrying someone living far away and the lower class's preference to marrying someone living near-by, see Someya [1987].

6) For example, they may send a representative to a neighbor's *kendhuri* to save time; they may dump pig manure into a river used by neighbors for bathing and washing or neglect sound-proofing their rice processors because they put such a high priority to their business; or they may operate illegal gambling and loan money to those who lose.

7) Appanage holders (*patuh*) appointed these men for collecting tax (rice), which was collected originally once a year and from 1830 twice a year. *Patuh* kept their portions and submitted the remainder to Sultans [SELOSOEMARDJAN 1962: 26].

tic, conservative, with interests in the community and a belief in mysticism. People of this type inhabit the Javanese world only.

3. THE WORLD OF INDONESIAN, AN OPEN LANGUAGE: CASE STUDY OF ENDI DISTRICT, YOGYAKARTA CITY

Javanese is still an important language in the daily lives of Java's city dwellers just as in Martani Hamlet. Let's look next at Yogyakarta City, the core city of the island. People still anchor their lives in Javanese here. This is clear not only from their conversations but also from many of their radio and television programs. News as well as traditional arts are broadcast in Javanese.

As an example, let me quote part of the 8 a.m. news in Javanese on Yogyakarta #2 Nusantara Station of *Radio Republik Indonesia*.

Example 5

Nuwun para miyarsa, sarining pawartos enjing punika. Menteri P dan K Daud Yusuf maringaken tandha pangalembana dhateng wakil wakilipun negeri tuwin pimpinan masyarakat ingkang sami biyantu dhateng pedhamelan rampungipun mulyakaken Candi Borobudur ingkang dinten punika badhe dipungebyagaken dening Presiden Suharta. ...

Samangke jengkeping pawartos.

Menteri P dan K Daud Yusuf kala wingi siyang wonten ing Hotel Ambarukmo Ngayogyakarta maringaken tandha pangalembana dhateng wakil wakilipun negeri tuwin pimpinan masyarakat sajakipun wolulukur ingkang sami biyantu dhateng pedhamelan mulyakaken Candi Borobudur.

Menteri Daud Yusuf wonten ing pidatonipun ugi nyandrakaken bilih Candi Borobudur ingkang kalebet kabudayaan warisanipun. ... boten namung gadhah bangsa Indonesia kemawon nanging ugi gadhahipun sadaya umat saindenging bawana.

Translation

Good morning to all of you listening. Today's feature, first. Minister of Education and Culture, Daud Yusuf, presented letters of commendation to national representatives and social leaders who have contributed greatly to the completion of the Borobudur Temple renovation, which will be officially celebrated by President Suharto today. ...

Now the details of the news.

Minister of Education and Culture, Daud Yusuf, presented letters of commendation to national representatives and social leaders, 28 in all, who have contributed greatly to the completion of the Borobudur Temple renovation, at Hotel Ambarukmo in Yogyakarta at noon yesterday.

In his speech, Minister Daud Yusuf said, "the cultural heritage of Borobudur Temple is not just for us Indonesian people. It's for the people of the whole world ..."

The whole text is in the polite form (*krama*) of Javanese. This could be because radio broadcasts are sent directly into the ears of unspecified listeners.

This makes radio different from newspapers and magazines, which use ordinary form (*ngoko*),⁸⁾ and highlights an important fact: language is, above all, the sound of the voice, which is its primary manifestation.

Not only is the language used on this broadcast in the *krama* form, its diction makes it highly formal. For example, *pangalembana*, which means 'commendation', is considered highly literary. The same can be said for words such as *saindenging bawana* 'whole world' and *nyandrakaken* 'to represent by metaphor' (from *candra* 'moon').⁹⁾

Although their language is based on Javanese, urban dwellers now use Indonesian more frequently than their rural counterparts. When I heard a district chief make a speech in pure Indonesian at a meeting in Endi District (not its real name) of Mergangsan County, located to the south of Yogyakarta, I felt I was in a completely different world from Martani, which was only several dozen kilometers away. There Indonesian is now indispensable¹⁰⁾ because its residents come from Sunda, Kalimantan, Sumatra, Sulawesi, and other areas where Javanese is not spoken. Most of its residents are Javanese, to be sure, but non-Javanese are so significant that they can no longer be ignored if the district is to function.¹¹⁾

The following is the initial part of a speech made by a district chief at a directors' election held in Endi District on November 21, 1983:

Example 6

Bapak bapak wakil dari Pemerintah Kecamatan yang terhormat, Bapak Lurah yang terhormat, ibu ibu dan saudara saudara sekalian baik pengurus RT maupun bapak bapak pengurus RK dan saudara saudara sekalian yang ditunjuk dalam rapat

-
- 8) Some of the reason why *ngoko* is used in newspapers and magazines is that it saves more space in general and more articulate than *krama* or *krama inggil* (high polite), whose style contains many metaphors.
- 9) Since *krama* or *krama inggil* words are used metaphorically, one can see something in common between these and literal expressions.
- 10) As the following quote shows, *becak* (pedicab) drivers in Yogyakarta mostly come from rural areas, and speak Javanese for the most part, but, because of the nature of their job, have begun to use more Indonesian, which is far from being polished:
Hearing his buddies chatting in accented Indonesian with lots of Javanese expressions, Parmin said "Those guys all like to show off since they came to town." Because others used Indonesian even for which they used to say in Javanese, Parmin thought they were 'showing off'. Actually their Indonesian had coarse accent [HEDDY SHRI AHIMSA PUTRA, 1977: 33].
- 11) Endi District is located to the south of the Palace (*kraton*) of Yogyakarta. This area used to have a flourishing industry of *batik* making, once the art of the court. As cheap prints were introduced, the industry declined. People in this area now earn their living by boarding students who attend the near-by private university and National *Akademi* (junior college), or by engaging in teaching, civil service, retailing or *becak* driving. Students who have come from all over the country are treated as local residents and have voting rights in the elections for the chief of the district (*Rukun Kampong*), the neighborhood board chairman (*Rukun Tetangga*), etc.

yang lalu sebagai anggota panitia pemilihan yang terhormat.

Pertemuan sore ini adalah kelanjutan daripada pertemuan pendahuluan yang kita adakan pada tanggal empatbelas yang lalu, dimana merupakan acara tunggal ialah pelaksanaan pemilihan pengurus RK period delapan puluh tiga delapan lima.

Translation

Honorable Ward Office Representatives, honorable Mayor, Neighborhood Board Members, District Board Members, and those elected to serve in Election Committee: tonight's meeting is a continuation of the pre-election meeting on the 14th. At today's meeting, what remains is to perform the election of District Board for '83-'85.

Here Javanese words are not used at all. This is particularly common in Jakarta, a big city where many ethnic groups live together.¹²⁾

4. JAVANESE AND INDONESIAN

Martani Hamlet and Endi District represent a rural community and a regional urban community respectively. As in Table 1, in the rural community Javanese is the main language, and Indonesian and other languages are "outside languages." On the other hand, in urban community, just like in rural community, Javanese is still the base, but Indonesian is no longer an "outside language."

As explained earlier, Javanese has many levels that may be arranged along a continuum of *alus* (elegance) versus *kasar* (vulgarity). Upperclass language is characterized by the "grandness" or "weight" that comes from its intellectual richness, use of long words, protracted use of indirect similes, and gravity of its slow pace.

Indonesian, by contrast, is said not to have such levels. This is because it is based on *Bahasa Melayu* (Malay), the *lingua franca* of Southeast Asian islands. As one of the Youth Oaths (*Sumpah Pemuda*) adopted at The Second Indonesian Youth Congress (1928) says, "We Indonesian youths, both male and female, support and use Indonesian, the unifying language (*bahasa persatuan*)." Indonesian was adopted as a communication tool for bringing together the various ethnic groups of Indonesia (then called *Nederlandsch Oost Indie* [Dutch East Indies]). Indonesian was felt to be just right because, unlike Javanese, it does not focus on hierarchical or vertical personal relationships: it was the language of "solidarity,"

12) The exact ethnic composition of Jakarta is not clear, but one can guess it by checking the birth places of the population. According to the 1985 census, 7,140,000 who live in the city area of Jakarta come from all over the country: over 1,250,000 or 17.6% from Central and Eastern Java (mostly Javanese), 920,000 or less than 13% from Western Java (mostly Sundanese), 170,000 or 2.4% from North Sumatra (mostly Bataks), and over 150,000 or 2.2% from West Sumatra (mostly Minangkabaus) and so forth. A little less than 4,300,000 or 60% responded that they were born in Jakarta, and a fairly large number of them are thought to be Javanese and other related ethnic groups [BIRO PUSAT STATISTIK 1987b: 23].

Table 1. Codes of Rural and Urban Communities in Java

rural community				
English, Dutch, the other foreign languages and the other Indonesian languages	High Indonesian	high polite	High Indonesian	English, Dutch, the other foreign languages and the other Indonesian languages
		young polite		
		plain polite		
		old polite		
		middle semi-polite		
	Low Indonesian	polite semi-polite	Low Indonesian	
		ordinary semi-polite		
		lowest 2		
		lowest 1		
plain ordinary				
urban community				
English, Dutch, the other foreign languages and the other Indonesian languages	High Indonesian	high polite	High Indonesian	English, Dutch, the other foreign languages and the other Indonesian languages
		young polite		
		plain polite		
		old polite		
		middle semi-polite		
	Low Indonesian	polite semi-polite	Low Indonesian	
		ordinary semi-polite		
		lowest 2		
		lowest 1		
plain ordinary				

which values horizontal personal relationships.

This does not, however, mean that Malay or Indonesian has no hierarchical structure. This is hardly surprising in view of the fact that these languages originated with the people who established Malay Kingdom. Modern Indonesian's hierarchical structure can be seen in the terms used for the first-, second- and third-persons¹³⁾ and in the diverse expressions that may be classified as elegant or vulgar. I will therefore divide Indonesian into High Indonesian and Low variety: the former is a formal language used in addresses at ceremonies, lectures, radio and television news, or academic papers; the latter is an everyday language characterized by ab-

13) For details on the hierarchical structure of terms of the first-, second- and third-person in Indonesian, see Someya [1976a] and [1976b].

breviations, omissions, substitutions, alternate word orders, soft pronunciations, and light rhythm. It now includes a considerable amount of vocabulary called "Jakarta dialect," including slang (*bahasa prokem*) used among youths.¹⁴ The existence of these two kinds of Indonesian is probably due to the fact that Indonesian has little specifically ethnic, historical or cultural background from which it has gained an "identity" [MARBANGUN HARDJOWIROGO 1983: 7].

Today, as in the past, Javanese people use polite forms (*krama*) of Javanese towards those Javanese whose status or rank is unknown. But especially urban Javanese now tend to use Indonesian with those (whether Javanese or not) whose status or rank is unknown, while using ordinary forms in everyday life. One of the interesting conclusions Tanner reached in his language survey among Indonesian students in the United States is that "when in doubt, Indonesian is the choice" [TANNER 1972: 130]. "In doubt" refers to the uncertain relationships between the speaker and the addressee; occurrence of such doubt is not confined to Indonesian abroad, but is now quite common in urban Indonesian society as well, where all walks of life intermingle on a daily basis.

As a language solely for ethnic Javanese, Javanese cannot deal with this diversity of urban society, and as a result Indonesian tends to replace Javanese *krama*. "Our language will eventually consist of Javanese *ngoko* and Indonesian. I think that *krama* will gradually fall into disuse," according to Mr. Nama, a professor of medicine at a national university, who lives in Yogyakarta. At home, he, his wife and their three daughters use Javanese *ngoko* and Indonesian almost exclusively. Hearing his daughters talking to him in *ngoko*, I asked him why. His response was "With *krama*, the parent and the child naturally keep some distance, which in turn makes it harder for the child to ask his parent for advice. The child will keep his suffering to himself; this should not be so. This is why friendly *ngoko* is better." He is negative about *krama*.¹⁵ He represents the extreme view that one need not use *krama* when speaking to one's parents as one would when speaking to someone whose status or rank is unknown.

On the other hand, Mr. Tanda of the Endi district represents the traditional way of thinking. When I told him about Mr. Nama, he disapproved, saying, "Children who are not afraid of their parents are dangerous. Children need disciplines. I would give even 10,000 Rupiah to my child if he asked, 'Pak, nyuwun arta (Father, would you please give me money?)' in Javanese using *krama* with

14) Novels which are popular among youths and the language they use among themselves are said to be full of novel words and slang. Special dictionaries (*Kamus Bahasa Prokem*) have been published to decipher them.

15) It was the norm in the Javanese society that one used *krama* towards one's father, and, as the comments by Mr. Tanda which follow, it is still seen now. However, it is getting quite common that *fathers* prefer *ngoko*, presenting reasons such as this (Mr. Nama knows very well that he is violating the traditional Javanese norm). Mr. Nama's daughters spoke Indonesian to him only occasionally, which was probably because it created some distance among them.

Krama andhap words. But I wouldn't feel like giving even 1 Rupiah if I were asked, 'Pak, minta uang (Dad, gimme some money)' in Indonesian." He added, "In the old days, children respected their parents and were afraid of them. Parents had to persevere to be respected. But, now they are like friends. I feel sick when I see a parent and his child behave like friends. In the old days, parents could work. Because of that, the children can live today. This is why respect for one's parent is different from respect for the rest." This sort of attitude is still quite common. Soepomo Poedjosedarmo and Koendjono remark, "Some educators say that it is much easier to teach *kewibawaan* (authority) and *ketertiban* (order) if pupils or children use *krama* of Javanese rather than Javanese *ngoko* or Indonesian to their teachers or parents" [n.d.: 70].

What is clear from Mr. Nama's claim that *krama* is not necessary and Mr. Tanda's support of *krama* is that the replacement of *krama* with Indonesian involves the abandonment of the hierarchy of authority that has been traditional in Java. Indonesian, in other words, makes it hard to establish a hierarchy of authority because the language is not well equipped for expressing it.

5. CONCLUSION

Ngoko is only a part of Javanese. *Ngoko* and *krama* must complement each other. Since both *krama* and Indonesian play a similar intermediary role, *krama* is gradually replaced by Indonesian. But the coexistence of Indonesian and *ngoko* does not constitute the complementary relationship except the division of role between Indonesian, which is used with outsiders as a language of liaison, and *ngoko*, which is used within the community as an inner language. In the set of Indonesian and Javanese *krama* we cannot see any hierarchical authority relationship because Indonesian is essentially egalitarian.

Indonesian which is replacing *krama* is High (and 'Almost High') Indonesian. Is *ngoko* not replaced by Low Indonesian? Mr. Nama was opposed replacing *ngoko* with Indonesian, but this shift is already happening among the younger generation, and I believe it will intensify as time goes by. Indonesian will spread from the capital to other cities, and then like a tide to rural areas, eventually replacing Javanese entirely.

Of course, this will not happen without some resistance. One aspect of this is the so-called *kramatization* of High Indonesian, in which Indonesian is influenced by Javanese.¹⁶ As long as there are uniquely Javanese expressions for which Indonesian has no corresponding forms, people will supplement their Indonesian with a large helping of Javanese vocabulary. This type of Indonesian is already used widely now. It will be interesting to see the extent to which it will be accepted in Javanese society and the rest of the country. On the other hand, as Indonesian civilization develops, people may also reject certain Javanese expressions as obsolete or old-fashioned.

Javanese, which blossomed in the period of such kingdoms as the Majapahit

Table 2. An Example of Difference in Basic Vocabulary in Indonesian and Javanese

Indonesian	Javanese		English
	Ngoko	Krama	
satu	siji	setunggal	one
dua	loro	kalih	two
tiga	telu	tiga	three
empat	papat	sekawan	four
lima	lima	gangsals	five
enam	nem	nem	six
tujuh	pitu	pitu	seven
delapan	wolu	wolu	eight
sembilan	sanga	sanga	nine
sepuluh	sepuluh	sedasa	ten

and Mataram, is gradually becoming incompatible with such values as directness, clarity, effectiveness, and speed of communication—necessary conditions for the national unity, the “blending” of Indonesian ethnic groups, democracy, modernization and rationalization required by today’s Indonesian government, industries, education, arts, and sciences. This is not only because Javanese is a regional language, but also Javanese culture accepts these populist values only with great reluctance. Javanese increasingly plays a smaller role except insofar as it remains the basis of ethnic identity for the Javanese people, whose number is the tens of millions. The old kingdoms that nurtured Javanese and the current republic have fundamentally different forms of civilization. Although Indonesian is still a language “under development,” I believe that it has great potential. It will eventually come to meet the demands of modern civilization, and grow through many twists and turns to be a language suited to its value system, occasionally being aided by numerous regional languages.

The conflicts between Indonesian and the regional languages are different in

- 16) One often encounters an Indonesian greeting, “saya menghaturkan beribu-ribu terima kasih.” The English translation should be something like “I am greatly obliged” and not simply “Thank you very much,” because “*menghaturkan*” comes from Javanese “*ngaturake*” or “*ngaturaken*.” Indonesian *atur* does not imply “say humbly” but means “arrange.” This is an example that Indonesian is influenced by Javanese. Another example is the Indonesian word “selamat.” A Javanese who works for a national bank told me that he was uncomfortable using the frequently used word. His reasoning was that “*slamet*” which is the Javanese equivalent in meaning is *ngoko* (in *krama* it is “*wilujeng*” and in *krama inggil* (high polite equivalent) is “*sugeng*”), so when he heard “selamat” in Indonesian he could not help thinking it in terms of Javanese. For more about Javanese greetings, see Someya [1985]. Regarding Javanese function as vocabulary supplements to Indonesian, Marbangan Hardjowirogo discusses this in one of his books [1983:8-9].

many ways from those associated with modern Japan's choice of the language used by the Tōkyō middle class as its standard language. First of all, Indonesian, in contrast with Javanese, has never been a language spoken in a politically or culturally dominant region. Secondly, although the languages of Indonesia including Indonesian (Malay) belong to the Austronesian family, Indonesian and the rest were alien to each other in all but a few areas such as Western Sumatra. A simple comparison of the numerals in Indonesian and Javanese shows how far apart these languages really are (Table 2). It would be interesting to study how the difference in the ways the standard and common language was chosen in Japan and Indonesia influenced the ways their modern civilizations developed.

Finally, one can regard Indonesian as a linguistic experiment in progress. The grand idea of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* 'different but united', meaning the harmonious coexistence of different languages and cultures, is a national policy in Indonesia, and its success or failure has relevance for the rest of the modern world, where a unified language or culture has yet to emerge.

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